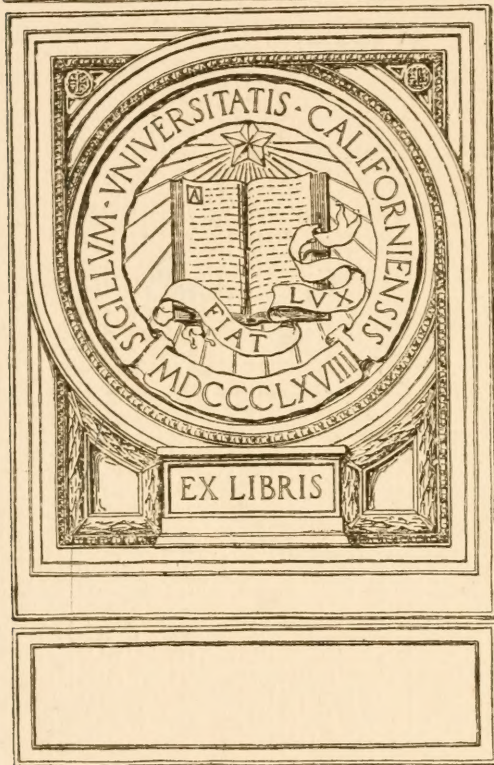






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BRITISH SERIES

VOLUME I

---

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

1763-1765









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VOLUME X

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BRITISH SERIES, VOLUME I

# THE CRITICAL PERIOD 1763-1765

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY  
CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

AND

CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER  
MIAMI UNIVERSITY

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## PREFACE

After several years of labor the manuscripts of British Illinois have been collected from over two dozen depositories, have been edited, and are now a part of the growing *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library. Only two volumes are ready for distribution at this time, but the other three or four will appear in a few months. The general introduction to the series is printed in this first volume and a reading of it will give an idea of the character of the whole series.

As in the previous volumes of the *Collections*, each of these volumes will have its own index, but the last volume will contain a general index of the whole work. In the last volume, also, will be printed the list of documents and such a bibliography as is necessary. As has been the custom, each of the volumes is divided into chapters for the purpose of breaking up that monotony so characteristic of such collections of documents as these. The usual order of arrangement is chronological except in those cases where it was impossible or when the grouping of documents illustrating the same point seemed obviously desirable. The special introduction to each volume will be a study in some phase of Illinois history that is illustrated by the series.

Every effort has been made to secure trustworthy transcripts for publication. Only in a few cases have copies been taken from printed volumes without careful collation with the original. When this former has been the case, the usual reason has been our failure to find a trace of the original.

Those who have made themselves responsible for the correctness of the copies from the larger archives are:

Kaskaskia MSS. . . . .	Office force
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American Philosophical Society . . . . .	Miss Ella Morrison
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Wisconsin Historical Society . . . . .	Dr. Louise P. Kellogg
Laval University . . . . .	Abbé A. Gosselin
Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec . . . . .	Abbé L. St. George Lindsay
Lansdowne MSS. . . . .	Hubert Hall
Dartmouth MSS. and from other	
London archives . . . . .	B. F. Stevens and Brown
Archives in Paris . . . . .	Waldo Leland

The destruction of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts in the Albany fire has been a serious loss to the series. Fortunately we were in possession of two sets of transcripts which has made it possible for us to print the most important documents. In the preparation of a previous work, Mr. Carter had made many incomplete copies and these had been supplemented by copies of others made for the Illinois State Historical Library. The former copies were made without thought of future publication, and are, therefore, not in such form as is demanded by the standard of these volumes. In the course of editorial work many other documents of the Johnson manuscripts have been noted that should be here printed, but the fire has made that impossible. Many of these manuscripts of Johnson are drafts upon which corrections had been made. We have reproduced the final form of the draft, only occasionally noting the changes.

The names of all who have assisted us in the preparation of these volumes are too numerous to mention and we take this opportunity to express our thanks to them. There are,



however, some whose assistance has been of such a character that a more definite expression of our appreciation seems to be called for. The custodians of archives and historical manuscripts have been universally generous in granting us the use of their material and have placed us under the greatest obligations. For this assistance we wish to express our appreciation in particular to the Most Honorable the Marquess of Lansdowne; the Right Honorable the Earl of Dartmouth; Dr. I. Mines Hays, librarian and secretary of the American Philosophical Society; Dr. John W. Jordan, secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian of Pennsylvania; Luther R. Kelker, custodian of public records at Harrisburg; Caroline McIlvaine, librarian of the Chicago Historical Society; Miss Lottie M. Bausman, librarian of Lancaster County Historical Society; J. Bunford Samuel, librarian of the Ridgway Library; Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the late superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society; Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick; Herbert Putnam, librarian of Library of Congress; Dr. Worthington C. Ford, secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and William C. Lane, librarian of Harvard College Library.

Our gratitude must also be expressed to the following, who have assisted us in our search for manuscripts: The Right Honorable Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Professor Charles H. Ambler, Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, Mr. W. V. Byars, Mr. James A. Holden, Abbé L. St. George Lindsay, Abbé A. Gosselin, and Mr. Earl G. Swem.

We are also under special obligations to the Morgan family, who have been of the greatest assistance in our search for letters from their ancestor. The following have been most helpful: Miss Maria P. Woodbridge, Marietta, Ohio; the late Professor M. H. Morgan, Cambridge, Massachu-

setts; Mrs. Edward S. Thatcher, Nordhoff, California; the late Colonel A. S. M. Morgan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Miss Julia M. Harding, Pittsburgh.

From Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, dominion archivist, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution, and Dr. George Parker Winship of the Carter Brown Library, we have received advice and assistance in such measure that we can never repay them. At the same time we wish to give our thanks to the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library for their uniform courtesy and generosity.

Something more than thanks is also due to the firm of B. F. Stevens and Brown of London, for their constant care and promptness in filling our numerous orders for transcripts.

To the office force of the editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections* is due in large measure any perfection these volumes may show. Miss Mary G. Doherty and Miss Lydia M. Brauer in particular have shown the greatest care in collating, proof reading, and indexing; and their enthusiasm and zeal have been such that the editors feel that the honor of accomplishing the task of editing should be in a large measure theirs.

CLARENCE W. ALVORD

URBANA, ILLINOIS

January 7, 1915

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

---

A.A.,Q.	= Archiepiscopal Archives, Quebec
A. C.	= Attested Copy
A.D.	= Autograph Document
A.D.S.	= Autograph Document Signed
A.L.S.	= Autograph Letter Signed
A.N.,C.	= Archives Nationales, Ministère des Colonies
Add. MSS.	= Additional Manuscripts
B.M.	= British Museum
B.T.P.,P.G.	= Board of Trade Papers, Plantations General
C.	= Copy
C.O.	= Colonial Office
D.H.N.Y.	= Documentary History of New York
D.S.	= Document Signed
E.	= Extract
E.S.	= Extract Signed
f.	= Folio
H.C.L.	= Harvard College Library
I.H.C.	= Illinois Historical Collections
K. MSS.	= Kaskaskia Manuscripts
L.S.	= Letter Signed
M.H.S.	= Massachusetts Historical Society
N.Y.P.L.	= New York Public Library
P.C.R.	= Pennsylvania Colonial Records
P.H.S.	= Historical Society of Pennsylvania
P.R.O.	= Public Record Office
[ ]	= With italics: editorial explanations within documents or translations
[ ]	= With roman: words supplied by editor in documents or translations; letters supplied, the omission of which in the original was indicated by a tilde.



# BRITISH ILLINOIS, 1763-1778

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION





## BRITISH ILLINOIS, 1763-1778

Little has been known until recent years of the events which took place in the territory of the present state of Illinois during the period when the British flag waved upon the banks of the Mississippi River. In the histories of the state the period is usually dismissed with a paragraph or two, and even these are misleading or incorrect. The present series of five or six volumes, which will include most of the known sources of the British occupation, will shed light on this obscure period and will make possible the correct interpretation of events.

The documents, although covering only a few years, will be found of great significance not only for the history of the state's territory and of the whole West but also for the proper interpretation of American history. The Illinois country was one of the centers of activities in the West, a veritable Mecca for fur traders and land speculators, and is therefore very representative of the region as a whole; and for this reason the policy towards the West that was formulated or pursued by the British ministry may be studied in the history of Illinois. It is this typical character of Illinois history that has made it necessary to include in the collection many documents of general character which will give a more correct understanding of particular events.

That success of the British in the French and Indian War, which placed them in undisputed possession of a vast territory in America, brought with it grave responsibilities

and created problems in colonial policy never before considered. Unfortunately the conditions in British politics were not favorable for the development of a constructive policy for this broad domain, since factional strife and the stubborn determination of George III to break the power of the old aristocracy brought into being new ministries in rapid succession, so that no time was given to any particular ministry to learn the conditions in the West and to solve the many complex problems connected with its development.

A careful examination of the following documents will prove, however, that certain very definite lines of development were planned and certain decisions looking toward a steady movement of the settlements westward were reached. In general it may be said that the successive ministries of the mother country were in favor of moderate expansion. In reality, however, there were only three definite acts taken which affected the West, although there were many plans proposed. These three were the proclamation of October 7, 1763, the running of the Indian boundary line, and the Quebec act of 1774.<sup>1</sup> The first was issued hurriedly for the purpose of quieting the Indians and prohibited "for the present" all settlement west of the mountains; but a careful analysis of the document proves that, when it was issued, it was the plan of the ministry to open up the region of the upper Ohio as soon as the Indians could be pacified.<sup>2</sup>

On account of the changes in the ministry no immediate steps were taken to complete this policy; but in 1767 this

<sup>1</sup> All these will be printed with their accompanying documents in the following volumes, and may be found by consulting the indexes in the several volumes or else the general index at the end of the last volume. For the proclamation see *post*, 1: 39.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion see Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36: 20 *et seq.*

omission was called to the attention of Lord Shelburne, at the time secretary of state for the southern department, under whom colonial affairs were conducted and he immediately sent orders to the superintendents of Indian affairs to complete the boundary line. This was finally accomplished by a succession of Indian treaties<sup>1</sup> under the administration of Lord Hillsborough.

The third act was passed by the British parliament in 1774 for the purpose of organizing the government of the province of Quebec. On account of the disturbances caused by the frontiersmen and the land speculators in the Old Northwest, and on account of the lack of any civil government of the various French communities of the region, the territory lying between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers was added to the northernmost province. It was expected that the authorization of French law throughout the territory would prevent further attempts to make settlements of English-speaking Americans north of the Ohio River, and that the latter would turn their speculative enterprises toward the Old Southwest.

Besides these definite acts concerning the West that were actually taken by the British government, there were several plans which were considered but not put into operation. After the proclamation of 1763, the board of trade, which was the principal advisory body for the colonies, drew up an elaborate and costly plan for the management of the Indian trade.<sup>2</sup> This was made operative by the two superintendents of Indian affairs, although without proper authorization. The cost entailed was so great that the plan was abandoned in 1768 and the control of the trade placed

<sup>1</sup> Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," in *American Historical Review*, 10:782; Alvord, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 165-183.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *post*, 273.

in the power of the colonies. During the years 1764-1768, however, many letters were written about the plan, and in these the course of public opinion concerning this attempt to imperialize the West may be easily followed.

Two ministerial plans for the West will be found particularly illuminating. The first is Lord Barrington's plan of May, 1766, which was ultraconservative and was drawn up for the purpose of preventing permanently all settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains and of making it possible to concentrate all the British troops in the East, where they could be maintained at a less expense. This plan was, however, not even acted upon by the ministry. It is here printed, it is believed, for the first time. Concerning the later plans of Lord Shelburne, who was in favor of the rapid expansion of the settlements westward, there will be found in the following pages many documents. In the final draft of his plan he proposed the immediate founding of three colonies along the Mississippi River from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; but political events in the mother country prevented him from putting his plan into operation, and the affairs of western America passed into the hands of the reactionary Lord Hillsborough.

Other phases of the imperial side of the government in the West will be also well illustrated. The maintenance of a British army with a commanding general in America brought about an imperialization of the military system and affected the development of the West in no uncertain manner. The many letters from General Gage to the ministry at home and to other persons will be found of particular interest to historians of the colonial era, and the changing plans for the West may be followed in the distribution of the troops in successive years.

Besides the military system there is the Indian depart-



ment, that must be reckoned a most important factor in the West. The northern superintendent naturally played the more important rôle in the Illinois country. His correspondence with his subordinates has been printed in full, when found, and in it the principal events in the Illinois may be followed. Sir William Johnson's attempts to control the Indian trade by appointing deputies and commissaries and by issuing regulations for the trade is fully illustrated. Also, his relation with the traders and land speculators will be found to be full of interest.

Although these documents of general character are most interesting, still the historians of Illinois will turn more eagerly to those documents which deal more directly with the territory which has become in the course of time our own state. These documents fall into many classes and were written by numerous men who actually lived in the territory or else had business interests there.

The first important business firm to send a representative to the Illinois country was Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan of Philadelphia, who planned to conduct on a large scale the fur trade and other business activities in the region. How large their plans were may be learned from a letter of one of the firm, in which he states that they had over three hundred boatmen engaged in carrying their goods on the Ohio River. All sides of their business activities can be studied. There have been preserved their contracts with the workmen, contracts for hauling their goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, letters to their partner or representative in Kaskaskia, and his replies, letters to Sir William Johnson, bills rendered to many people, and accounts of various kinds. This firm was not long left to monopolize this trade. Another Philadelphia firm, that of Franks and Company, sent their representative, William



Murray, to Kaskaskia, and many letters from him have been discovered and printed.

The letters from the military men stationed in this region are also very numerous. Until the latter part of 1765 the French were in control, and the commandants, De Villiers and St. Ange, made long reports of the happenings in the Illinois country. After Captain Stirling managed to occupy Fort de Chartres there was an almost continuous stream of letters passing to the East, whence many were forwarded to London. These were reports to General Gage for the most part, but among them are several letters of a more intimate and familiar character, such as that by Lieutenant Eidington to an unknown friend.

Trade and land speculation have been the twin motives that have led to the settlement of the West. The first to find their way across the mountains were the traders seeking their profit in the exchange with the Indians of goods for furs; but close on their footsteps came the land speculators, who often engrossed the most fertile valleys before the advent of the more slowly moving settlers. Great glory has been accorded in our local and general histories to the first men to find their way through the pathless wilderness or to hew out with their axes clearings for their homes; and little attention has been accorded the enterprising speculators who conceived large plans of colonization and were so frequently responsible for the sending of both the scout and settler. In the annals of the West the names of such men as Samuel Wharton, Phineas Lyman, George Morgan, William Murray, Richard Henderson, and George Washington, land speculators all, should occupy a conspicuous place. The names of the first four of these men, who did so much for the development of the West, will appear frequently in the following documents.

It is possible that the first plan for the erection of a colony in the Illinois country was conceived in the mother country, but it is certain that the first concrete plan which came near to its fulfilment was formed in Philadelphia. Very many documents concerning this enterprise have been discovered in various depositories, so that its history may be followed from its inception to the final failure.

At the same time two other companies were petitioning for colonies part of whose territory would fall within the boundaries of the present state of Illinois. The Mississippi Company is the oldest of the colonizing companies and was composed of Virginians, among whom were some of the most notable citizens of the Old Dominion, but they were never successful in obtaining much influence with members of the British ministry and seem never to have had much chance of accomplishing their purpose. The second company was represented by General Phineas Lyman of Connecticut and included in it the members of the older Hazard Company. General Lyman enjoyed the confidence of Lord Shelburne, and his plan, like that of the Philadelphians, became part of that nobleman's policy for the development of the West. Both were abandoned with the appointment of Lord Hillsborough to the office of secretary of state for the colonies, and the running of the Indian boundary line was expected to stop all colonizing enterprises in the far West for the present.

This expectation was not realized, however, for the speculators found hope in the legal opinion of Lord Camden and Lord Chancellor Yorke that the Indian tribes, being sovereign nations, could grant titles to land that British law courts would be obliged to uphold. Following the announcement of this opinion several enterprises in the West were started. The best known was that of Richard Hender-

son in Kentucky; but the Illinois country was also the scene of another land speculation. The Illinois Land Company was the work of the firm of Franks and Company of Philadelphia, and their representative in the West, William Murray, purchased two large tracts of land north and south of Kaskaskia village. In order to interest the men of Virginia in the scheme, since that colony had charter claims to the region, the Wabash Land Company was formed by Murray, and the governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, was made a charter member. Murray was an interesting correspondent and gave his partners full accounts of his operations.

Most of the series of letters so far considered were written by English-speaking men who had business interests in the Illinois country or were sent there by the government, but there will be printed many documents which will illustrate the life of the French people in the various villages along the Mississippi River. The collection of French manuscripts of these villages that have been recently found have not yielded such abundant illustration from the French sources as has been the case for the later Virginia period; but still some very important documents, and many less important, have been fortunately preserved and throw light on the intimate life of the French people under the British flag. These will be supplemented by the publication of the letters exchanged between the priests, Father Meurin and Father Gibault, with their superiors at Quebec, where the archives are rich in Illinois material. Also the documents concerning the sale of the Jesuit property should be noted in this connection.

The last volumes will be richer in material of French origin than the earlier ones. Here will be found those documents that belong to the attempt of the French people

to obtain a civil government, for which purpose they sent to General Gage two representatives whose efforts must be counted among those influences that determined the British ministry to include the Old Northwest in the province of Quebec.

Finally, there is to be mentioned the correspondence of Philippe de Rocheblave, the last acting British commandant of the Illinois. Many of his letters telling of the conditions and dangers of his position have been preserved in the public record office of London, and with numerous documents of the same period tell the story of the last days of British Illinois. Rocheblave saw clearly the conditions in the French villages which would make easy their occupation by American troops; he knew also about the advancing company of "Long Knives" under George Rogers Clark and made his preparations for defense; but the American sympathizers in Kaskaskia had performed their work of proselyting among the Illinois French too well for him to overcome it; opposition to Clark was impossible, and Rocheblave was made a prisoner at the post where his superiors had stationed him.

Thus ends the story of British Illinois. As a romance that story will be found no less interesting than that of the more familiar period of the Virginian occupation. In truth, this earlier period seems to be more varied in its character, for the story carries us from Kaskaskia to Philadelphia and New York, and thence to London, with ever-changing scene; and in our journeyings there pass before our eyes Indians, trappers, traders, land speculators, British soldiers, politicians, and courtiers in typical dress and mood. Each has his special interest in those far-away prairies of the Illinois country that lie so temptingly along the banks of the great rivers of the West, the Ohio and the Mississippi. Here

in these volumes is printed the story of how these men speculated and dreamed of what they could do with these level lands of sunshine and rain; and here, too, is the story of their failure. Their immediate purposes were not accomplished in the Illinois country by these men, but their efforts prepared the way in the wilderness and their successors have come to enjoy the fruits of their labor.



THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE  
ILLINOIS COUNTRY, 1763-1765

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION



## THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, 1763-1765

The French colony in the Illinois country had been originally established to form a connecting link between the colonies in Louisiana on the south and Canada on the north. La Salle himself had recognized the strategic value of such an establishment from both a commercial and a military viewpoint. Even before any settlements had been made on the lower Mississippi, in 1680, he and his associates had attempted the formation of a colony on the Illinois River, near the present site of Peoria.<sup>1</sup> This was a failure. The end of the century, however, saw the beginning of a more successful and permanent colony, when Catholic missionaries from Quebec established missions at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, near the home of the Illinois Indians. French hunters and fur traders soon followed, and during the first two decades of the eighteenth century a considerable number of families emigrated from Canada. The permanency of the settlement was thus assured.

In the early period of the history of the settlement it was looked upon as a part of the French province of Quebec. In 1717, however, the Illinois country, as it had come to be called, was annexed to the province of Louisiana.<sup>2</sup> The Illinois country now entered upon a period of prosperity, many new enterprises being undertaken, notably the opening of lead mines. Shortly after its annexation to Louisiana, Pierre Boishbriant was commissioned to govern the country,

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, 312.

<sup>2</sup> Archives nationales, Archives du ministère des colonies, A22:40.

and among his instructions was an order to erect a fort as protection against possible encroachments from the English and Spanish. About 1720 Fort de Chartres was completed and became thereafter the seat of government during the French régime.<sup>1</sup> In 1721 Louisiana was divided into nine districts, one of which was known as the Illinois district,<sup>2</sup> extending east and west of the Mississippi River between the lines, approximately, of the Arkansas River on the south and the fortieth parallel on the north.<sup>3</sup> This division left the French settlement at Ouiatanon to the Quebec government while Post Vincennes on the lower Wabash fell in the Louisiana jurisdiction.

In 1731 Louisiana, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Company of the Indies, became a royal province. The Illinois "district" remained in this status until the close of the Seven Years War, when that portion of the district east of the Mississippi River was ceded to England as a part of Canada.

With the exception of Detroit the Illinois country contained the most considerable French population in the Old Northwest. At the end of the French period the population was centered in a number of villages scattered along the Mississippi River from near the mouth of the Kaskaskia River northward seventy-five miles to Cahokia. The village of Kaskaskia, at the extreme south, was the largest town of the group, with eighty houses, five hundred whites, and about an equal number of Negroes. Some seventeen miles north was Prairie du Rocher with a population of one

<sup>1</sup> After 1748 the French government spent a large sum of money on the rebuilding of the fort and it was regarded as the most imposing edifice of its kind in the West. For description see *post*, v. 2, consult index.

<sup>2</sup> Regulations for the Government of the District. Archives nationales, Archives du ministère des colonies, B43:103. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 5:43; Pownall, *Administration of the Colonies*, 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

hundred French and as many slaves. A short distance northwest of Prairie du Rocher, on the bank of the Mississippi, stood Fort de Chartres, surrounded by a little village, Nouvelle Chartres, where some forty families were settled. St. Philippe, five miles north of Fort de Chartres, contained twelve or fifteen families, and forty-five miles farther north stood Cahokia with three hundred Frenchmen and eighty Negroes.<sup>1</sup>

By the treaty of Paris, ratified in February, 1763, the title to the Illinois country passed, as already suggested, to Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> Preparations were at once made for the change of sovereignty. On the fifteenth of July, 1763, Governor Dabbadie of Louisiana sent dispatches from New Orleans to the Illinois country advising Neyon de Villiers, the commandant at Fort de Chartres, of the cession of that country to Great Britain, and ordering that preparations be made for the evacuation of the post.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, by order of General Amherst, commander in chief of the British forces in America, boats were prepared at Fort Pitt for the purpose of transporting a company of four hundred men down the Ohio River to relieve the posts on the Wabash and Mississippi rivers.<sup>4</sup> Other details were at the same time being worked out for the expedition.<sup>5</sup> Detachments of British troops had taken possession of practically every other

<sup>1</sup> Pittman, *State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (Hodder ed.), 84-93. See other estimates of the population, *post*, 4, 209, 218.

<sup>2</sup> Treaty of Paris, sec. vii. Shortt and Doughty, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Journal de M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie Commissaire General de la Marine, Ordonnat<sup>r</sup> a La Louisianne, *post*, 163.

<sup>4</sup> Bouquet to Gage, May 27, 1764, *post*, 252; Bouquet to Amherst, February 12, 1763, *post*, 531; Amherst to Bouquet, May 23, 1763, *post*, 533.

<sup>5</sup> Bouquet to Amherst, March 17, 1763, *post*, 532. These preparations were being made apparently without any definite instructions from England. "I have deprived myself of the Pleasure of writing to you sooner, in expectation of being able to acquaint you with the Dispositions made for taking Possession of our Western Frontiers; but no orders are come yet from England for this Department." Bouquet to Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, May 21, 1763, *post*, 533.

post in the West as early as 1760. The occupation of forts Niagara, Venango, Sandusky, Miami, Detroit, Ouiatanon, St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, and others in the interior seemed to indicate almost complete British dominion. But the French garrison at Fort de Chartres waited almost three years for the appearance of the British officials; for soon after the announcement of the treaty of cession, the chain of Indian tribes stretching from the fringe of the eastern settlements to the Mississippi River rose in rebellion. This wholly unexpected movement had to be reckoned with before the relief of the Illinois posts could be undertaken.

No attempt is made in this survey to rewrite the history of Pontiac's conspiracy. Parkman's scholarly and graphic portrayal of the Indian revolt<sup>1</sup> makes any other treatment obviously unnecessary. A brief statement, however, of the causes and general course of the conflict is essential for an understanding of the chief topic under consideration.

Of the two chief Indian families in the north, the Iroquois had remained partially neutral during the recent war, while the Algonkin nations, living in Canada and between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, had rallied to the support of the French cause. Their position in the various stages of the conflict appears, however, to have been more or less vacillating. From 1754, the year of Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity, to 1758 they fought side by side with the French. They ravaged the frontier settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania and pushed back the frontier line almost to the eastern settlements. Then from 1758 to about 1761 the Indians were relatively quiet. With the English appearing in stronger force, with the French line of defense evidently weakening, and with the practical disappearance of the British settlers, making further raids inconvenient, the

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, *passim*.



Indians retired to their villages and awaited developments. So long as the conflict between the British and the French appeared indecisive the Indian nations formed a balance of power, as it were, between them.<sup>1</sup> During this time Great Britain and France vied with each other to conciliate the savages and to win their good will. As soon, however, as it became evident that the British forces were displacing the French at the western posts, thus assuring British dominion, the Indian suspicions were heightened and open hostility followed. The British belief that since the power of France was crushed there would be no further motive for the Indian nations to resume hostilities appears to have been based upon misinformation. By the close of the war then, although the greater portion of the French had sworn fealty to the British crown, the hoped for submission of their former Indian allies was exceedingly doubtful.

The cause of their disinclination to accept the change of sovereignty was compounded of several elements. To the Delawares and other nations in the upper Ohio Valley the permanent establishment of the British west of the Alleghenies appeared dangerous. Had they not been driven from their original homes east of the mountains by the same race? The Indians well understood that the establishment of British garrisons in their midst presaged little good for their future. This, augmented by the formal announcement of the transfer of sovereignty to Great Britain, was in reality the basis of their extreme bitterness. Any evidences of haughtiness or neglect on the part of the invaders would only increase the resentment and transform it into open hostility.

Such proofs were early available. The good will of the Indian might be won or lost through the management of

<sup>1</sup> Croghan to lords of trade, June 8, 1764, *post*, 257; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:193.

the fur trade. The control of this branch of commerce was one of the chief elements in the rivalry between France and Great Britain in Canada and the Ohio Valley prior to the French and Indian War. Under the French régime the western Indians and their trade had been managed with greater success than had the tribes living under British influence. The success of France had been due largely to her policy of centralization, combined with the genial character of the French fur trader and the influence of the missionary. The British, on the contrary, had managed their commercial relations with the Indians through the agency of the different colonies, without a semblance of union or coöperation, each colony competing for the lion's share of the trade. Despite this loose management the British traders had nevertheless made considerable headway, prior to the war, in the prosecution of the trade. In the decade before the outbreak of hostilities they had established trading posts in the Miami country and were operating as far west as the Wabash River.<sup>1</sup> Apparently they were being received with some favor by the Indians. The superior quality of the English goods, together with the sale of rum, tended to overcome to some degree the prejudices bred by the frequent examples of arrogance on the part of the trader. As time went on, however, and the British army appeared at the posts, the trade seems to have fallen into the hands of men of the coarsest stamp — men who did not hesitate to cheat and insult their Indian customers at every opportunity. Whether they were more dishonest than their French rivals may of course be fairly questioned; the fact remains that they failed to conceal their unscrupulousness behind the blandishments so commonly showered upon the Indians by the French. The British traders offered on the whole

<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 1: *passim*.

a most unfavorable example of the character of their nation.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, there remained in the western wilderness many French and renegade traders and hunters who frequently fabricated insidious stories as to British designs and unwarrantably filled the savage minds with hope of succor from the king of France.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, many of the French inhabitants had since 1763 emigrated beyond the Mississippi, because, as the Indians thought, they feared to live under English rule.<sup>3</sup> More important still was the policy of repression and of economy in expenses inaugurated by General Amherst. In a letter to Amherst in January, 1763, Colonel Bouquet, commanding on the Pennsylvania border, observed that discontent was produced among the Indians by the suppression of presents.<sup>4</sup> To this communication the commander in chief replied: "As to appropriating a particular sum to be laid out yearly to the warriors in presents, &c., that I can by no means agree to; nor can I think it necessary to give them any presents by way of *Bribes*, for if they do not behave properly they are to be punished."<sup>5</sup> In February of the same year he again wrote to Bouquet: "As you are thoroughly acquainted with my sentiments regarding the treatment of the Indians in general, you will of course order Cap. Ecuyer not to give those who are able to provide for their families any encouragement to loiter away their time in idleness about the Fort."<sup>6</sup> Com-

<sup>1</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:929, 955, 960, 964, 987; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:182; Pownall, *Administration of the Colonies*, 1:188; Kingsford, *History of Canada*, 5:121 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Johnson to Amherst, July 11, 1763, *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:532; Pownall, *Administration of the Colonies*, 1:187-190.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson to Governor Colden, December 24, 1763, Johnson MSS., 8: 60; Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:181 n. 1; Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 433.

<sup>4</sup> Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:181 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

menting on the Indian policy a few months later Colonel Bouquet suggested that "the dread of English Power is in my opinion the only motive capable of Making a Solid Impression upon their minds and they must be convinced by their own Eyes that it is not out of necessity, but out of regard for them that we offer them our alliance — and I doubt whether we Shall ever root out the French Interest in that Country till we make our appearance in it with a Force sufficient to make ourselves respectable and awe both the French & the Savage."<sup>1</sup>

Whether the Indian question would have had any other issue than open conflict had the Indian department rather than the army attempted its solution is problematical. Certainly the Indian superintendents and agents, understanding the Indian character and the various aspects of the question incomparably better than the military officials, held views in striking contrast to these officials. The correspondence of Sir William Johnson, John Stuart, and George Croghan is filled with intimations that the policy of Amherst and his subordinates was sure to lead to disaster. "I greatly fear," says Johnson, "the Indians have been in General considered as too inconsiderable for some time past, and I most heartily wish we may have no occasion to attribute any future Hostilities to such a way of thinking, which must produce neglect and disregard on our sides, and discontent and Revenge on theirs, the consequence of which will be a recommencement of Hostilities."<sup>2</sup> "If," he observed again, "we conquer their prejudices by our generosity they will lay aside their Jealousys, & we may rest in security. this is much cheaper than any other plan, & more certain of success."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bouquet to Gage, November 30, 1764, *post*, 366.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, September 25, 1763, *post*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, August 30, 1764, *post*, 307.



Although the savages were ripe for revolt and although the movement appeared almost simultaneous, it is doubtful whether the ramifications of the rebellion would have been so far reaching and proved so formidable had it not been for the unifying work of Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawa.<sup>1</sup> Pontiac was not only the principal chief of the Ottawa but also the virtual head of the Chippewa and Potawatomi. He had long exerted a despotic sway over these nations, and his powerful influence had been extended among all the western Indians. Although he shared with his fellow savages their bitter resentment against the British on account of their arrogance and alleged parsimony, he appears to have been impelled to action by patriotism and ambition as well. He wished to reëstablish completely the old régime. The return of French ascendancy would mean the restoration of the Indian's happiness. His hunting grounds would be preserved. A permanent Indian confederacy comprehending all branches of the race, with himself at its head, may well have been in his mind. At any rate Pontiac clearly understood that the Indians disunited could avail little against the advance of the British; that the latter could not be checked without aid from the Indians' former allies; and he confidently believed that, by reuniting, the French and Indians could drive the British into the sea. In order to accomplish this purpose French power in the West must be rehabilitated and the Indian nations united into one great confederacy. During the years 1761 and 1762 he developed the plot and in 1762 he dispatched his emissaries to all the Indian nations. The ramifications of the conspiracy extended to all the Algonkin tribes, to some of the nations on the lower Mississippi, and even to a portion of the Six Na-

<sup>1</sup> See note on Pontiac, *post*, 241. For discussion of Pontiac's character see Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:193, 194.

tions. The original aim was the destruction of the British garrisons on the frontier, after which the British settlements beyond the mountains were to be attacked. The assault on the outposts, beginning in May, 1763, was sudden and overwhelming; Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara alone held out, the remainder of the posts falling without serious attempts at defense.

In the meantime the British ministry was attempting to formulate some plan whereby the Indian nations might be peacefully reconciled. News of the outbreak of the war reached England in August, 1763, and the discussion of plans for checking it without resort to arms was at once entered upon. Throughout the summer and autumn of 1763 the proposed policy was under discussion, and in October there was issued as a result the royal proclamation of 1763, aimed specifically at the pacification of the Indians by reserving to them for the present all the lands west of the Alleghenies and by laying down some general regulations for the administration of the Indian trade.<sup>1</sup> Had this proclamation been issued a few months earlier and had its contents been communicated to the Indians by the officials of the Indian department this devastating war might have been averted or at least confined within narrower limits. Under the circumstances, however, peaceful pacification was impossible.

The occupation of the Illinois country was now something more than a mere formality — something more than a formal transfer of sovereignty from France to Great Britain in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Paris. Its occupation was at once involved with the crushing of the Indian confederacy and the reoccupation of the posts that had fallen into the hands of Pontiac and his confederates. It was obvious that these results must be attained before the occupation of

<sup>1</sup> *Post*, 39.

Fort de Chartres would be practicable from the east. The participation in the rebellion of the Shawnee and Delaware tribes of the upper Ohio River region precluded for a time, however, the possibility of reaching the Mississippi posts by way of the Ohio River without a much larger force than the commander in chief had in the service in the East. The colonies, moreover, were already avoiding the call for additional troops.<sup>1</sup>

General Thomas Gage, who succeeded Sir Jeffery Amherst as commander in chief of the British army in America in November, 1763, was convinced that the early occupation of the posts on the Mississippi was essential, since it would in a measure cut off the communication between the French and the Indian nations dwelling in that vicinity. The Indians, finding themselves thus inclosed, would be more easily subdued.<sup>2</sup> It was expected, therefore, that an expeditionary force would move up the Mississippi River from Mobile, which had recently been occupied as a part of Louisiana ceded to the English.<sup>3</sup> The Mississippi River had been declared open to the French and British alike by the treaty of Paris, and it was expected that the consent of the French government of Louisiana could be secured for the use of that portion of the river which remained under French control. Little opposition might be expected from the southern Indians toward whom a somewhat more liberal policy had been pursued. Presents to the value of four or five thousand pounds had been sent to Charleston in 1763 for distribution among the southern nations which would tend to counteract any possible intrigues that might be carried on by the French traders from New Orleans.<sup>4</sup> It was not

<sup>1</sup> Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, 263.

<sup>2</sup> Report from Robertson, March 8, 1764, *post*, 220.

<sup>3</sup> Bouquet to Gage, December 1, 1763, *post*, 536; Gage to Bouquet, December 22, 1763, B.M., Add. MSS., 21638.

<sup>4</sup> Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 433.



believed, moreover, that Pontiac's influence would extend so far southward.

As has already been suggested, Governor Dabbadie of Louisiana had, soon after the announcement of the treaty of peace, transmitted orders to all the French commandants in the ceded territory to evacuate the posts. A few months later Major Robert Farmar, commanding the British forces at Mobile, in British West Florida, and Lieutenant Colonel Robertson, quartermaster general for America, who had been sent to Mobile to investigate conditions in Florida and the ceded portions of Louisiana,<sup>1</sup> were negotiating with the French officials for assistance in reaching the isolated posts on the upper and lower Mississippi. The French appear to have offered every facility within their power, even agreeing to leave a portion of the armaments at the posts, although the right of the British to demand possession of the artillery was based on a disputed interpretation of the treaty,<sup>2</sup> to allow the British to outfit their expeditionary force at New Orleans,<sup>3</sup> and to coöperate in conciliating the Indians in the lower Mississippi Valley<sup>4</sup>—all these facts would seem to indicate a generous and conciliatory spirit.

Having been advised that the most convenient period of the year for a successful ascent of the river began about January 20,<sup>5</sup> it was determined to have a force in readi-

<sup>1</sup> Farmar to the secretary at war, January 24, 1764, printed in Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion*, 1: 8.

<sup>2</sup> Kerlérec to Farmar, October 2, 1763, *post*, 36; Robertson to Dabbadie, December 5, 1763, *post*, 205; Dabbadie to Robertson, December 7, 1763, *post*, 58; Dabbadie to the minister of marine and colonies, January 10, 1764, *post*, 207.

<sup>3</sup> Dabbadie's journal, *post*, 167-169; Report from Robertson, March 8, 1764, *post*, 217; Details of what happened in Louisiana at the time of the occupation of the Illinois, *post*, 226; Gage to Halifax, April 14, 1764, *post*, 240; Neyon de Villiers to Loftus, April 20, 1764, *post*, 244.

<sup>4</sup> Dabbadie's journal, *post*, 173, 175; Kerlérec to Farmar, October 2, 1763, *post*, 37; Neyon de Villiers to Dabbadie, December 1, 1763, *post*, 50; Dabbadie to minister of marine and colonies, January 15, 1764, *post*, 214; Aubry to the minister, January 15, 1764, *post*, 214; Details of what happened in Louisiana, *post*, 225.

<sup>5</sup> Report from Robertson, March 8, 1764, *post*, 217.

ness at New Orleans to take advantage of the opening of that season. Accordingly an officer of the commissary department was sent to New Orleans in advance to assemble the necessary equipment in the way of boats and provisions.<sup>1</sup> Major Arthur Loftus, with a detachment of three hundred and fifty men from the Twenty-second Regiment, which had occupied Mobile in the autumn of 1763, embarked a few weeks later for the French capital. The commander, with a number of officers and a portion of the expeditionary force, arrived at New Orleans on the twenty-second of January, 1765,<sup>2</sup> and on the following day Loftus and some of his associates were entertained at dinner by Governor Dabbadie.<sup>3</sup> On this occasion, observes Dabbadie in his journal, "I told him how much I desired that he go to this post, since it was daily of more interest to the king to evacuate it." On the seventh of February the ship conveying the remainder of the convoy dropped anchor near New Orleans, and the troops disembarked and encamped below the town.<sup>4</sup> During the next few weeks the British were busily engaged with the details of outfitting their expedition. During this time, also, the governor of the province, as he observes in his journal, employed "all the facilities which depend upon me to hasten the departure of their bateaux. I stopped all the work of the king in order to procure workmen for them." Moreover, he "warned all the commandants of the French posts located on the Mississippi of the departure of these troops, and ordered that all assistance of which they might have need be given" and that the commandants "neglect nothing to quiet the Indians." In order,

<sup>1</sup> Farmar to the secretary at war, January 24, 1764. Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion*, 1:8.

<sup>2</sup> Dabbadie's journal, *post*, 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *post*, 170. The letter of Gage to Halifax, April 14, 1764 (*post*, 240), gives the date as February 12.

furthermore, to avoid misunderstandings "which might arise on the part of the inhabitants of the river refusing to furnish the troops the provisions and supplies that they would need" he ordered a French officer to accompany them as far as Pointe Coupée.<sup>1</sup> Detailed information respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, the location and strength of the posts, and the number and disposition of the Indians was likewise outlined for the British officials.<sup>2</sup>

On February 27 the expedition, including four officers, three hundred and twenty men, thirty women, and seventeen children, departed for the Illinois country.<sup>3</sup> A detachment of sixty men was to be left at Fort Massac on the Ohio River and the remainder were to occupy Kaskaskia and Fort de Chartres.<sup>4</sup> The convoy reached Pointe Coupée on March 15 without incident except for numerous desertions.<sup>5</sup> Here the French conductor left the expedition.<sup>6</sup> Five days later the flotilla was attacked at Roche à Davion or Fort Adams, as it was later known by the British, by a band of Indians composed of Tunica, Choctaw, Ofogoula, and Avoyelles.<sup>7</sup> After a sharp fight resulting in the loss of several men in the boats composing the vanguard, Loftus ordered a retreat and the expedition was abandoned. Depleted by desertion, sickness, and death the party retraced its way over the two hundred and forty mile route to New Orleans and thence to Pensacola.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Details of what happened in Louisiana, *post*, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Remarks by Aubry [?], *post*, 1; Report from Robertson, March 8, 1764, *post*, 217.

<sup>3</sup> Dabbadie's journal, *post*, 173; Details of what happened in Louisiana, *post*, 227; Loftus to Gage, April 9, 1764, *post*, 237.

<sup>4</sup> Report from Robertson, March 8, 1764, *post*, 220.

<sup>5</sup> Details of what happened in Louisiana, *post*, 228.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *post*, 229

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *post*, 229; Loftus to Gage, April 9, 1764, *post*, 237.

<sup>8</sup> Details of what happened in Louisiana, *post*, 231; Loftus to Gage, April 9, 1764, *post*, 238. See also Johnstone to Pownall, February 19, 1765 (*post*, 437) relative to Loftus' failure to establish himself at Point Iberville in the course of his retreat.

Major Loftus placed the blame for the failure of his expedition upon Governor Dabbadie and other French officials at New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> The facts which have already been cited, however, and the evidence found in the documents included in the present volume would seem to indicate that on the whole his accusations against the governor were without foundation. There may have been some justification for the suspicion of Loftus that unofficial intrigues were at work, for the French in general were not in sympathy with the attempt as the success of the English would mean the cessation of the lucrative trade between New Orleans and the Illinois country. They were no doubt delighted at the discomfiture of the British officer. It may be observed also that the French advocacy of peace and good will at numerous Indian conferences and parleys was probably neutralized by the action of the commandants of the posts in furnishing the Indians with some arms and ammunition.<sup>2</sup> This was done ostensibly to aid them in their hunting and was probably justified by conditions, but apparently no assurance was required that these would not be turned against the British.<sup>3</sup>

The failure, however, to heed the warnings of the French officials of the bad disposition of a number of tribes in the immediate vicinity of the Mississippi, whom Pontiac had recently visited and enlisted in his cause,<sup>4</sup> must be emphasized. Loftus had been assured that unless he carried presents to the Indians he would be unable to proceed far up the river.<sup>5</sup> The policy of sending advance agents with

<sup>1</sup> Loftus to Gage, April 9, 1764, *post*, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Neyon de Villiers to Dabbadie, March 13, 1764, *post*, 224; St. Ange to Dabbadie, July 15, 1764, *post*, 290; St. Ange to Dabbadie, August 12, 1764, *post*, 293.

<sup>3</sup> St. Ange to Dabbadie, August 12, 1764, *post*, 293.

<sup>4</sup> Neyon de Villiers to Dabbadie, April 20, 1764, *post*, 242; Neyon de Villiers to Loftus, April 20, 1764, *post*, 244; Dabbadie to Farmar, May 16, 1764, *post*, 246.

<sup>5</sup> Gage to Halifax, April 14, 1764, *post*, 240.



convoys of presents for the natives was successful the following year when the Illinois posts were finally reached from the east, but no such policy was adopted at this time.<sup>1</sup> No action was taken to counteract any possible intrigues on the part of irresponsible French traders, if indeed such machinations were carried on. Dabbadie's advice was not heeded, but his prophecy was fulfilled. General Gage, in his official correspondence relative to a second expedition, implied that he did not think sufficient care had been exercised to insure success, and expressed the belief that if Loftus would make use of the "necessary precautions" he might reach the mouth of the Ohio with little interruption.<sup>2</sup>

As soon as news of the collapse of the expedition reached New York, General Gage immediately dispatched orders to Loftus to equip his regiment for another trial and to Major Farmar, the commandant at Mobile, to prepare the way by assembling the chiefs of the tribes hostile to the British and by flattering speeches and presents to gain their complete approval of the British plan to ascend the Mississippi. He was authorized, if necessary, to make use of threats and of the assistance of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, who were now ready to espouse the British cause against the northern Indians. Then Farmar was instructed to occupy the post at Natchez, which would serve as a basis for further operations and would tend to sever the former easy communication between the French and the Indian nations residing east of the Mississippi River. In order to avoid the necessity of passing the French capital at New Orleans, Gage further directed

<sup>1</sup> Gage to Halifax, April 14, 1764, *post*, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Gage to Bouquet, May 21, 1764, *post*, 248; Gage to Halifax, May 21, 1764, *post*, 248; Gage to Haldimand, May 27, 1764, *post*, 250; Gage to Halifax, July 13, 1764, *post*, 282.

the opening, if practicable, of the Iberville River to navigation.<sup>1</sup>

Surveys of the Iberville were at once begun by Captain Campbell; and in June, 1764, Lieutenant Philip Pittman visited the governor of Louisiana bearing a request from Farmar that assistance be given him in his proposed mission to the Illinois country in an endeavor to discover the disposition of the savages of the upper Mississippi Valley. Pittman's plan was to accompany one of the numerous parties of French traders to the Illinois. He arrived at New Orleans, however, too late to accomplish his project.<sup>2</sup> A second attempt was made later in the summer,<sup>3</sup> but it, too, was abandoned.

As matters stood in the spring and summer of 1764 therefore it appeared that the immediate occupation of the Illinois was impossible. In the north the Indian war was still raging, although the backbone of the conspiracy was evidently breaking. In the campaign of 1763 Colonel Henry Bouquet had raised the siege of Fort Pitt, but had been unable to carry the war to a decisive conclusion in the enemy's country. In the spring and summer of 1764 Colonel Bradstreet was advancing with a detachment along the southern shore of Lake Erie, penetrating as far west as Detroit, whence companies were sent to reoccupy the posts in the upper lake region. Bradstreet's terms, however, were so easy that the Indians were apparently not in the least awed by the proximity of his army.<sup>4</sup> This is well illustrated by the treatment accorded Captain Thomas

<sup>1</sup> Gage to Halifax, May 21, 1764, *post*, 249.

<sup>2</sup> Farmar to Dabbadie, June 12, 1764, *post*, 264; Dabbadie's journal, June 13, 1764, *post*, 189; Dabbadie to Farmar, June 22, 1764, *post*, 266; Dabbadie's journal, July 18, 1764, *post*, 193; Dabbadie to the minister, June 29, 1764, *post*, 272; Gage to Halifax, November 9, 1764, *post*, 351.

<sup>3</sup> Dabbadie's journal, August, 1764, *post*, 194.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, December 26, 1764, *post*, 389.



Morris, one of Bradstreet's officers, who had been detached from the regiment for the purpose of going to Fort de Chartres to announce the submission of the Indians in the region touched by the English forces and to administer the oath of allegiance to the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Accompanied by two French Canadians, some servants, and a number of friendly Indians, Morris advanced but a few days' march into the Miami country when he was stopped by Indians of that region, was made a prisoner, maltreated, and threatened with the stake. Pontiac himself was present on this occasion. It was during his interview with Morris that the latter was informed of the repulse of Loftus, of the journey of Pontiac's own emissaries to New Orleans to seek French support, and of the determination of the Indians to resist the British to the last. Pontiac's hope of meeting and repelling the British advance from the east had been strengthened by the news of Loftus' defeat. It gave him renewed hope that he might be able to rally again the western and northern Indians, and, with French assistance, block permanently the advance of the British. In spite of the rumor of the defeat of his allies by Bouquet and Bradstreet and the report that preparations were being made by his victorious enemy to advance against him, Pontiac determined to make a supreme effort. By a series of visits among the tribes dwelling in the Illinois country, on the Wabash, and in the Miami country, he succeeded in arousing in them the instinct of self-preservation, in firing the hearts of all the faltering Indians, and

<sup>1</sup> Gage to Halifax, October 12, 1764, *post*, 343. The original journal kept by Morris during this journey is reprinted in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1: 298-328. See also account by Henry C. Van Schaack, "Captain Thomas Morris in the Illinois Country," in *Magazine of American History*, 7: pt. 2, pp. 470-479. For other secondary accounts see Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 2: 198-208, and Kingsford, *History of Canada*, 5:8.

in winning the promise of their coöperation in his plan of defense.<sup>1</sup>

Such hopes were futile. During the same summer Bouquet had descended upon the Shawnee and Delaware Indians pursuing them as far west as the Muskingum River, where they were finally brought to terms. A series of treaties were dictated in the Ohio and lake regions, in which the Indians promised allegiance to the British crown.<sup>2</sup> Thus the eastern portion of the rebellion was completely broken, and it only remained to bring the Indians in the Illinois and Wabash regions to a realization of the ultimate hopelessness of their cause. Such a task was not, however, to be easily accomplished. Whether resort was to be had to diplomacy or force it might require months and perhaps years to attain this end. "The surest way no Doubt" declared Gage "to take Possession of the Illinois or any other Post, is to go with a Body of Troops able to force a Compliance. But we have no Number of Troops Sufficient to do this with. . . . You have seen what the Provinces will do, or rather what they will not do, when the Enemy is at their Doors. What can be expected from them, do you think, to carry on operations at Such a Distance?"<sup>3</sup>

It was determined then to attempt to negotiate directly with Pontiac and the western nations who remained loyal to his cause.<sup>4</sup> Such a plan had been suggested by Sir William Johnson sometime before. He had urged that in order to facilitate the entry of the British into the Illinois country

<sup>1</sup> De Villiers to Dabbadie, April 20, 1764, *post*, 242; De Villiers to Loftus, April 20, 1764, *post*, 244; Dabbadie to Farmar, May 16, 1764, *post*, 246; St. Ange to Dabbadie, July 15, 1764, *post*, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Bouquet to Gage, November 30, 1764, *post*, 365; Gage to Bouquet, December 7, 1764, *post*, 371.

<sup>3</sup> Gage to Bouquet, December 20, 1764, *post*, 377.

<sup>4</sup> Gage to Johnson, June 24, 1764, *post*, 269; Gage to Halifax, July 13, 1764, *post*, 283.

“it will be necessary to send a proper person to the Indians of the Mississippi to treat with them, assure them of our pacific disposition, that they shall have a fair trade, & to back the whole with a present.” The northwestern Indians, he suggested further, “would never have suffered us to take possession of Detroit but from the precaution I took in sending Mr. Croghan to prepare them for it.”<sup>1</sup>

Reference has already been made to the unavailing efforts of Lieutenant Pittman and Captain Morris, whose plans were in line with Johnson’s suggestion. In November, 1764, Major Farmar notified the secretary at war of his having “sent forward Officers to assemble the different Tribes of Indians, with proper Instructions, to gain them over by every Art and Invention to our Interest, . . .”<sup>2</sup> The first expedition, under the command of Lieutenant John Ross and accompanied by Hugh Crawford, a noted Indian trader, set out from Mobile on December 2.<sup>3</sup> Instead of following the Mississippi they worked their way northward through the great Choctaw and Chickasaw nations to the Ohio, crossing the Kentucky region, thus preceding by several years the advent of Daniel Boone and his followers into this territory. From the junction of the Tennessee and Ohio rivers Ross and his party descended to the Mississippi and proceeded thence to the Illinois villages, reaching there February 18, 1765.<sup>4</sup> These were the first Englishmen to penetrate thus far into the former French territory, with the exception of prisoners, since the treaty of cession two years before.

<sup>1</sup> Johnson to Gage, June 9, 1764, *post*, 263.

<sup>2</sup> *Post*, 364.

<sup>3</sup> Declaration of Hugh Crawford, July 22, 1765, *post*, 483; Gage to Halifax, August 10, 1765, *post*, 2:70.

<sup>4</sup> Ross to Farmar, May 25, 1765, *post*, 481; Declaration of Hugh Crawford, July 22, 1765, *post*, 483.

During these two years the Illinois country presented an anomalous situation. The French officials were governing, in the name of Louis XV, a country belonging to another king. Although the commandant, Neyon de Villiers, had been under orders since 1763 to surrender the place to representatives of its rightful owner, the prospect of such capitulation seemed more and more remote. His position was not altogether enviable. He was constantly surrounded by crowds of begging, thieving savages, and was diligently petitioned by Pontiac and his emissaries for the active support of the French against the English intruders. No evidence appears to indicate his acquiescence with any of the Indians' plans. This statement cannot be extended, however, to include the position of the French inhabitants. The commandant's neutral position was often jeopardized by the fact that a considerable portion of the French traders was secretly and sometimes openly supporting the Indian cause. Convoys of goods were constantly plying between New Orleans and Illinois, more than ever before, and a highly profitable trade was developed.<sup>1</sup> It was clear that with the appearance of the British this commercial monopoly would disappear. On June 15, 1764, De Villiers' embarrassment was relieved by his evacuation of Fort de Chartres, evidently at the request of Governor Dabbadie.<sup>2</sup> He had shortly before indignantly refused to countenance the proposals of the Indians, and had begged them to lay down their arms and make peace with the English.<sup>3</sup> A detachment of forty men was left at the post, under the command of St. Ange, who was called from Post Vincennes on the Wabash.<sup>4</sup>

St. Ange received Lieutenant Ross and his companions

<sup>1</sup> See Dabbadie's journal and correspondence with officials in Illinois, *post*, 162-205.

<sup>2</sup> Dabbadie's journal, July 2, 1764, *post*, 189.

<sup>3</sup> St. Ange to Dabbadie, July 15, 1764, *post*, 289.

<sup>4</sup> Dabbadie's journal, July 2, 1764, *post*, 189.



cordially<sup>1</sup> and did all in his power to influence the savages to treat with the British envoys.<sup>2</sup> A council with the Indians was held in April. Representatives of the Missouri and Osage nations from the west side of the Mississippi were in attendance as well as the chiefs of the Illinois tribes.<sup>3</sup> Nothing, however, was accomplished, for the Indians had nothing but expressions of hatred and defiance for the English.<sup>4</sup> The attitude of the savages became so violent that the British officer and his companions were compelled to leave the country about the middle of April, going directly to New Orleans.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime Major Farmar, in conjunction with Governor Johnstone of West Florida and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern department, was assembling another party, which was to proceed up the Mississippi River in an endeavor "to Negotiate, a Thorough Reconciliation, and Firm Peace, with the Arkansas, and the Several Tribes of Indians, at Illinois, to Prevent their Obstructing the Passage of His Majesty's Troops, under Major Farmar's Command, to take Possession of that Country; and to Induce them, and the French Inhabitants, to Contribute all in their Power to his Assistance."<sup>6</sup> Captain de la Gauterais, whose knowledge of Indian affairs was highly esteemed by Stuart, was chosen to lead the party. With him was associated deputy Indian agent Sinnott. The party set out evidently in the spring of 1765.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ross to Farmar, May 25, 1765, *post*, 482.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; Gordon to Johnson, August 10, 1765, *post*, 2:68.

<sup>3</sup> St. Ange to Dabbadie, April 7, 1765, *post*, 471; Ross to Farmar, May 25, 1765, *post*, 482.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Stuart to De la Gauterais, January 13, 1765, *post*, 405; Haldimand to Gage, February 25, 1768, *post*, 410.

<sup>7</sup> On May 13 they were within thirty leagues of Fort de Chartres. Stuart to Pownall, August 24, 1765, *post*, 2:78.

While Farmar was thus paving the way for his proposed military expedition up the Mississippi, a similar program was being enacted in the East. Throughout the winter of 1764-1765 preparations were made to send a detachment of troops down the Ohio from Fort Pitt to relieve Fort de Chartres. To blaze the way for the troops two agents were sent in advance. Sir William Johnson appointed his deputy, George Croghan, for the delicate and dangerous task of going among the Indians of the western country to assure them of the conciliatory attitude of the British, to promise them better facilities for trade than they had hitherto enjoyed, and to accompany the promise with substantial presents.<sup>1</sup> The second agent, who was to work in conjunction with Croghan, was Lieutenant Fraser, of the regular army, whose particular mission was to carry letters from General Gage to the French commandant at Fort de Chartres and a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country.<sup>2</sup> Fraser and Croghan departed from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, January 24, 1765, followed a few days later by the usual convoy of presents.<sup>3</sup> During the journey to Fort Pitt the wagons were attacked by the "Paxton boys," a band of Pennsylvania frontiersmen, who did not appreciate the significance of the movement and were incensed at the idea of giving valuable goods to the savages. A large part of the presents destined for the western Indians were destroyed, together with some valuable stores which certain Philadelphia merchants were forwarding to Fort Pitt for the purpose of open-

<sup>1</sup> Johnson to Gage, June 9, 1764, *post*, 263; Johnson to lords of trade, December 26, 1764, *post*, 394; Bouquet to Gage, January 5, 1765, *post*, 397.

<sup>2</sup> Gage to Bouquet, December 24, 1764, *post*, 387; Gage to Bouquet, December 30, 1764, *post*, 395; Gage to Johnson, February 2, 1765, *post*, 427. This distinction is not usually made. Writers have usually inferred that Fraser accompanied Croghan in an unofficial capacity. See, however, Winsor, *Mississippi Basin*, 456. Ogg in *Opening of the Mississippi*, 310, places Fraser's journey one year prior to Croghan's.

<sup>3</sup> Galloway to Franklin, January 23, 1765, *post*, 419.



ing up the western trade as soon as the pacification of the Indians was accomplished.<sup>1</sup> Croghan found it necessary, therefore, to tarry at Fort Pitt to replenish his supply of presents as well as to await the opening of spring.

Another matter, however, intervened which compelled him to postpone his departure for more than two months. A temporary defection had arisen among the Shawnee and Delaware Indians.<sup>2</sup> They had failed to fulfill some of the obligations imposed upon them by Bouquet in the previous summer, and there was some fear lest they might not permit Croghan to pass through their country. His influence was such, however, that in an assembly of the tribes at Fort Pitt he not only received their consent to a safe passage, but some of their number volunteered to accompany him.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime Lieutenant Fraser decided to proceed without waiting for the termination of Croghan's negotiations with the Indians at Fort Pitt, inasmuch as Gage had instructed him to be in the Illinois country early in April.<sup>4</sup> He therefore left Fort Pitt on March 23, accompanied by Maisenville, a Frenchman, who had taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, Andrew Montour, the noted interpreter, and a number of Shawnee and Seneca Indians.<sup>5</sup> The party reached Fort de Chartres in the latter part of April, shortly after the departure of Lieutenant Ross. Fraser found many of the Indians in destitution and some inclined toward peace. The savages as a whole, however, instigated by the traders and encouraged by secret presents, would not listen to him. He was thrown into prison and his life threatened, and was

<sup>1</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, May 24, 1765, *post*, 509.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson to lords of trade, January 16, 1765, in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:694.

<sup>3</sup> Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:13; Johnson to Burton, June 6, 1765, *post*, 518. Johnson had expected Croghan to meet Pontiac at Fort Pitt, but in this he was disappointed. Johnson to lords of trade, May 24, 1765, *post*, 501.

<sup>4</sup> Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* See Carter, *The Illinois Country*, 40, n. 51.

finally saved only by the intervention of Pontiac himself.<sup>1</sup> Knowing himself to be in a dangerous situation, unable to hear from Croghan, whom he was expecting daily, and constantly insulted and maltreated by the savages, Fraser took advantage of his discretionary orders and descended the Mississippi toward New Orleans.<sup>2</sup> Pontiac had, however, given Fraser the assurance that if the Indians on the Ohio had made a permanent peace he would do likewise.<sup>3</sup> The chief was being rapidly disillusioned by this time, despite the fact that the French traders continued to supply the Indians with arms and ammunition, and to buoy up their spirits by stories of aid from the king of France. When St. Ange continued to refuse the expected help,<sup>4</sup> when news came of the failure of his mission to the governor of Louisiana, and when he learned of the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, the ruin of the Indian cause seemed to Pontiac to be complete. Conditions were ripe, therefore, for the negotiations of Croghan.

Having adjusted affairs with the Indians at Fort Pitt, Croghan left there on May 15 with two boats and was accompanied by several white companions and a party of Shawnee Indians.<sup>5</sup> In compliance with messages from Croghan, representatives of numerous tribes along the route met him at the mouth of the Scioto and delivered up a number of French traders who were compelled to take the oath of

<sup>1</sup> Fraser to Gage, May 15, 1765, *post*, 492; Fraser to Campbell, May 20, 1765, *post*, 496; Fraser to Gage, May 26, 1765, *post*, 516; Gage to Johnson, August 12, 1765, *post*, 2:72.

<sup>2</sup> Fraser to Gage, June 7[?], 1765, *post*, 519. Reports were current in the East that Fraser and his party were killed by Indians. (Gage to Johnson, June 17, 1765, *post*, 520; Johnson to lords of trade, July, 1765, *post*, 523.) One of the party, Maisonville, remained in the Illinois. Fraser accompanied Major Farmar back to Fort de Chartres later in the year. Fraser to Gage, December 16, 1765, *post*, v. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Fraser to Campbell, May 20, 1765, *post*, 497.

<sup>4</sup> St. Ange to Dabbadie, August 12, 1764, *post*, 293.

<sup>5</sup> Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:23. A party of traders, headed by one Crawford, preceded Croghan. They were, however, cut off before reaching the Illinois country. Shuckburgh to Johnson, July 25, 1765, *post*, 2:66.

allegiance to the British crown or pass to the west side of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> The only other incident of importance on this voyage, and one which actually precipitated the negotiations, was an attack by the Kickapoo and Mascoutens Indians near the mouth of the Wabash on June 8. After the attack, in which two of Croghan's white companions and several Shawnee were killed, the assailants expressed their profound sorrow, declaring that they thought that the party was a band of Cherokee with whom they were at enmity.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless they plundered the stores and carried Croghan and the remainder of the party to Vincennes, on the Wabash.

While held at Vincennes Croghan received a letter from Sinnott, John Stuart's deputy, who, with De la Gauterais, had arrived at Fort de Chartres evidently in the latter part of May. In his communication Sinnott informed Croghan that he had held a conference with the Indians of the Illinois, and that after five days' deliberation the nations had made no answer to his peace proposals. Everything was therefore in doubt.<sup>3</sup>

Croghan was now separated temporarily from his companions and transferred to Fort Ouiatanon, some distance north of Vincennes. The political mistake of the Kickapoo in firing upon the convoy now became apparent;<sup>4</sup> they were censured on all sides for having attacked their friends, the Shawnee, since the latter might thus be turned into deadly enemies.<sup>5</sup> As has already been suggested, Pontiac's face was now turned toward peace. Croghan had, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:26, 28, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *post*, 2:40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Croghan to Murray, July 12, 1765, *post*, 2:59.

<sup>4</sup> Croghan to Murray, July 12, 1765, *post*, 2:58; Gage to Conway, September 23, 1765, *post*, 2:83.

<sup>5</sup> Croghan to Murray, July 12, 1765, *post*, 2:58; Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:40.

learned from Indian delegates whom he had sent to the Illinois that, although Sinnott had been obliged to flee after having had his goods plundered, he had secured from them a promise to allow the British to come on certain conditions.<sup>1</sup>

During the first week in July deputations from all the surrounding nations visited Croghan, assuring him of their desire for peace and of their willingness to escort him to the Illinois country where Pontiac was residing.<sup>2</sup> On July 11 Maisenville, whom Fraser had left at Fort de Chartres a few weeks before, arrived at Ouiatanon with messages from St. Ange requesting Croghan to come to the post to arrange affairs in that region.<sup>3</sup> A few days later Croghan set out for the Illinois country, attended by a large concourse of savages. He advanced but a short distance, however, when he met Pontiac himself on his way to visit the British deputy. They all returned to the fort at Ouiatanon, where, at a great council, Pontiac signified his willingness to make a lasting peace and promised to offer no further resistance to the approach of the British troops.<sup>4</sup> There was now no need to go to Fort de Chartres. Instead, Croghan turned his steps toward Detroit, where, late in the summer of 1765, another important Indian conference was held in which a general peace was made with all the western Indians.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Croghan to Murray, July 12, 1765, *post*, 2:59; Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:42.

<sup>2</sup> Croghan to Murray, July 12, 1765, *post*, 2:59; Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *post*, 2:42; Macdonald to Johnson, July 24, 1765, *post*, 2:65; Hutchins to Johnson, August 31, 1765, *post*, 2:80; Gage to Conway, September 23, 1765, *post*, 2:86.

<sup>5</sup> Croghan's journal, *post*, 2:43; Johnson to Wallace, September 18, 1765, *post*, 2:84; Gage to Conway, September 23, 1765, *post*, 2:86; Johnson to lords of trade, September 28, 1765, *post*, 2:89; Gage to Conway, November 9, 1765, *post*, 2:115. For a summary of the situation see Croghan to Franklin, December 12, 1765, *post*, 2:57.



Immediately after effecting an accommodation with Pontiac at Ouiatanon, Croghan sent an account of the success of his negotiations to Fort Pitt,<sup>1</sup> where Captain Thomas Stirling, with a detachment of about one hundred men of the Forty-second or Black Watch Regiment, had been holding himself in readiness, waiting for a favorable report before moving to the relief of Fort de Chartres. Although the Thirty-fourth Regiment under Major Farmar was supposed to be making its way up the Mississippi, General Gage would not depend upon its slow and uncertain movement.<sup>2</sup> Upon receipt of the news from Croghan, Stirling left Fort Pitt on August 24 and began the long and tedious journey down the Ohio.<sup>3</sup> Owing to the season of the year the navigation of the river was very difficult, forty-seven days being required to complete the journey;<sup>4</sup> but the voyage on the whole was without incident until a point about forty miles below the Wabash River was reached. Here Stirling's force encountered two boats loaded with goods, in charge of a French trader, and accompanied by some thirty Indians and a chief of the Shawnee, who had remained in the French interest.<sup>5</sup> On account of certain rumors that had come to him Stirling became apprehensive lest the attitude of the Indians had changed since Croghan's visit. He therefore sent Lieutenant James Rumsey with a small detachment by land from Massac to Fort de Chartres, in order to ascertain the exact situation and to apprise St. Ange of his approach.<sup>6</sup> Rumsey and his guides, however,

<sup>1</sup> Gage to Conway, September 23, 1765, *post*, 2:86; Johnson to Wallace, September 18, 1765, *post*, 2:85; Johnson to lords of trade, *post*, 2:89.

<sup>2</sup> Gage to Conway, September 23, 1765, *post*, 2:86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Eidington to —, October 17, 1765, *post*, 2:105.

<sup>4</sup> Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 2:107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

lost their way and did not reach the villages until after the arrival of the troops.<sup>1</sup> Stirling arrived on October 9, and on the following day St. Ange and the French garrison were formally relieved.<sup>2</sup> Stirling remained in command of the post until December 2, when he was superseded by Major Farmar, who, on that date, reached the goal of his efforts for the past two years.<sup>3</sup>

Farmar blamed Governor Johnstone of West Florida for the long delay in starting for the Illinois country and for the scant supply of provisions he carried. It appears that Farmar had planned to start early in the spring of 1765, and he alleged that Johnstone questioned his right to take provisions from the store and insisted upon all the officers and men taking passes from himself, and in many other ways delayed the departure of the force for many weeks.<sup>4</sup> Thus after nearly three years of fighting and negotiating, British forces were in possession of the last of the French posts in the West. During this period the time and thought of the foremost Indian and military officials had been centered upon the attainment of this object. In these three years of suspense ten different efforts and plans had been made to penetrate to these far-western posts. Now that the task was accomplished a still larger problem confronted the government — that of administration — which will be the theme of the succeeding volumes of this series.

<sup>1</sup> Stirling to Gage, October 18, 1765, *post*, 2:107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* See discussion in Carter, *The Illinois Country*, 45, n. 74 and 75.

<sup>3</sup> Farmar to Gage, December 16, 19, 1765, *post*, v. 2:131; Johnson to the lords of trade, March 22, 1766, *post*, v. 2:193; Gage to Conway, March 28, 1766, *post*, v. 2:198.

<sup>4</sup> Farmar to Gage, March 11, 1765, *post*, 466.





# DOCUMENTS

MARCH, 1763-JULY, 1765



## CHAPTER I

ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY, MARCH, 1763 -  
DECEMBER 7, 1763

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY — DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS —  
LETTERS FROM JENKINS — THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC — THE  
LORDS OF TRADE SEEK INFORMATION — PLANS FOR THE FORMATION  
OF SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI — SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON'S  
VIEWS ON THE INDIAN TRADE — CAHOKIA CHURCH PROPERTY —  
DE VILLIERS WRITES ABOUT THE INDIAN WAR.

### AUBRY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[Dartmouth MSS., 510 — C.]

The Settlements of Illinois is in the Fortieth Degree of Latitude, 500 Leagues from new Orleans by water, and 350 by Land. The 1<sup>st</sup> of Feb[rua]ry<sup>2</sup> is the latest that one should leave new Orleans, the water being then high, make the passage up the Mississippi much easier than in the summer; and the Country being then Drowned renders any attempt from the Enemy more difficult.

The Commanding Officer should take care to Encamp as much as possible on the west side the River, as 'tis natural to expect the Enemy on the other side, especially if they have any design to attackt or Ambuscade him with a large Body, the want of conveniences making it difficult for them to Cross the River.

There's not much to be feared from the Indians when you are upon

<sup>1</sup> The original author of this paper was M. Aubry, last acting governor of French Louisiana. The identification is proved by the fact that the author speaks of his building Fort Massac and of his journey with four hundred troops to Venango. The paper was evidently drawn up for the use of Major Loftus when he attempted to occupy the Illinois country in 1764, and certain remarks were added to the translation. It is the original of appendix ii of the *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764*. This appendix is a paper "written by an Officer well acquainted with the places he describes." The publisher of *Bouquet's Expedition*, however, has changed the paper somewhat and has evidently intended that the original author should remain anonymous. Robertson's description, printed later (*post*, 218), is evidently drawn from the same paper.

<sup>2</sup> Where the original writer has indicated the omission of letters by a line above an abbreviation, the omitted letters are supplied in brackets; in other cases the abbreviated word is printed in these volumes as written.

your Guard, they Generally attack on the first break of Day, or when you are Embarking.

It is necessary that the Commanding Officer should send to the Inhabitants to acquaint them with his arrival, and to desire them to send 100 of their most Allert people with a few Illinois Indians, to meet him with fresh provisions &c promising them proper payment for the same.

This being the Indians hunting Season, and those that are at War with the English being very distant from the Illinois, makes any Interruption from them less to be suspected.

The Settlements of the Loups and Chaouanons are near Pitsburg, which is near 500 Leagues from the Illinois. The Herons & Outowawis that are at Detroit, are near 250 Leagues by Land from it.

The Miamis near 200 Leagues, and the Poux, Mascoutins, and Ouitanous (on the Ouabache) are near 160 Leagues by Land.<sup>1</sup>

But as news flys swift amongst the Indians 'twould be proper to desire the Commanding Officer at Illinois to acquaint you if possible with their designs that you may take your measures accordingly.

The greatest danger will be near the Ohio, as the Chiraquis<sup>2</sup> and all the Nations that are at War with you can come down that River therefore the utmost diligence is required for fear of a Surprise.

The Ohio empties itself into the Mississippi 35 Leagues from the Illinois.

<sup>1</sup> These tribes were all united in that opposition to the advance of the British settlements, that showed itself in the war known as the Conspiracy of Pontiac.

a. The Loups is the name given by the French to the Delawares, who at this time were settled in the Ohio Valley with their center near the Muskingum River.

b. The Chaouanons are the Shawnee, formerly divided into two bands, one in South Carolina and the other in Tennessee on the Cumberland River, but at this date united on the upper waters of the Ohio River.

c. The Huron (Heron of the text) is the name of a confederacy of Indian tribes who lived formerly in what is now the province of Ontario, but had settled by this date in the vicinity of Detroit.

d. Part of the Ottawa (Outowawis of the text) had also moved from Ontario to the region between the lower Lake Michigan and Lake Erie.

e. The Miami had by this date been forced by other Indian tribes to limit their settlements to what is now northern Indiana.

f. The Potawatomi or Poux lived at this time along the southern shore of Lake Michigan and were pressing upon the Miami's hunting grounds.

g. The Mascoutens were at this time practically absorbed by the Kickapoo and were dwelling on the Fox River, Wisconsin, but their hunting grounds extended to the southward.

h. The Ouitanon or Wea were, as the above account states, on the Wabash. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> The Cherokee.



The Fort Massiac<sup>1</sup> or Assension is on the Left side the River Ohio 13 Leagues from the Mississippi, which I bult in 1757, it is also Two Leagues from the Chiraquis River.<sup>2</sup> It is a Picquetted Fort with four Bastions and eight pieces of Cannon, and Contains about 100 men, 'tis but four days passage by Land from this place to Illinois, and is very necessary to be possessed by us as it keeps up the Communication between that and Pitsburg.

The Fort of Vincennes is the last Post in the Department of Louisiana, it is situated on the Ouabache 60 Leagues above its entrance into the Ohio, and from the entrance of the Ouabache into the Ohio to the Mississippi is 60 Leagues more. It is a small Piquetted Fort, in which may be about Twenty Married Soldiers and some few Inhabitants. The Land is very fertile and produces plenty of Corn and Tobacco. It is about 155 Leagues from the Illinois by water, but one may march it in Six days by Land. The Indians that live near this place are called Peauguichia,<sup>3</sup> they are about 6 Warriors — Tho' we may not have men enough to occupy this Post at present, it is very interesting to us to do it, as the Passage to Canada lies up the Ouabache.

It is 60 Leagues from Vincennes to Ouïatanous, and 60 more up the River Ouabache to Miamis, and from thence a Carrying place

<sup>1</sup> Fort Massac has enjoyed a greater reputation in the traditions that have grown up around its abandoned earthworks than can be derived from its actual history. It was first built by M. Aubry in 1757 as he states above. The occasion for the erection of the fort was a report that the British were on the point of descending the Tennessee River for the purpose of attacking the French posts on the Mississippi. In order to be prepared for this threatened attack, which was never made, M. de Macarty, commandant in the Illinois, sent Aubry with one hundred and fifty French, one hundred savages, and three cannon to build a fort on the Ohio. Aubry set out from Fort de Chartres, May 10, 1757, and constructed a fort which he called Fort Ascension as a memorial of the day on which the first stone was laid; but in history it has become known as Fort Massac. So far as is known, the fort experienced, during its history, only one attack. This was made late in 1757 by the Cherokee who were repulsed. On December 1, 1763, De Villiers, the successor of De Macarty in the Illinois, reported to his superior that he had reduced the garrison of the fort to fifteen men and one officer, and had had all the serviceable artillery, which consisted of five cannon and smaller arms, brought to Ste. Genevieve, leaving three cannon of little service at the fort (*post*, 53). A few months later, in 1764, Fort Massac was entirely abandoned, and remained unoccupied until 1794 when for a few years there was stationed there in a newly built fort a small garrison of United States troops. De Villiers du Terrage, *Les dernières années de la Louisiane française*, 179, 190, n. 2, 205.

<sup>2</sup> The Tennessee River.

<sup>3</sup> The Piankashaw. The number of warriors (6) is evidently the result of some transcriber's mistake.

of Six Leagues to the River of Miamis, and 8 Leagues more down that River to Lake Erie. This was my Rout in 1759, when I went from Illinois to Venango with more then 400 men, and a hundred thousand weight of Flour.

All the Indians in this part of the Country are at present Our Enemys it is not possible to think of Establishing these Posts at present.

At about 35 Leagues above the entrance of the Ohio into the Mississippi and on the East side is the River Cascaquias,<sup>1</sup> and about Two Leagues up that River on the Left is the Settlement Cascaquias, the most considerable of the Illinois. This Fort has been built since I was there on the heights on the other side of the River Cascaquias.<sup>2</sup> As the River is narrow the Fort can Command the Town and protect it from the Savages. I don't know what number of Cannon there is, or what Number of men the Fort can contain.

There may be about 400 Inhabitants. The Illinois Indians called Cascaquias live about half a League from the Town; there are 100 Warriors, but they are Idle and very drunken.

Six Leagues above this Place on the side of the Mississippi is Fort Charters, it is built with Stone and can contain 300 Soldiers, There may be about 20 pieces of Cannon or more, I can't be certain as 'tis four years since I left it.<sup>3</sup> there may be about 100 Inhabitants about the Fort and the Indians which are called Metchis are about Forty Warriors.<sup>4</sup>

Between Cascaquias and Fort Charters is a small village call'd Rocky-Meadow<sup>5</sup> containing about fifty Inhabitants, but no Indians or Fort.

<sup>1</sup> Kaskaskia River.

<sup>2</sup> Aubry left the Illinois for service around Venango and Niagara in April, 1759, the year the French began building a fort (today incorrectly called Fort Gage) at Kaskaskia which is described by Captain Pittman, who saw it in 1765, as follows: "The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the other side of the river; it was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured two hundred and ninety by two hundred and fifty-one feet; it was built of very thick squared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles." Pittman, *European Settlements on the Mississippi* (Hodder ed.), 85.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete description of the fort, see *post*, 2:91.

<sup>4</sup> The Michigamea, one of the tribes of the Illinois confederacy.

<sup>5</sup> Prairie du Rocher.

Near Fort Charters is a small Village of about 20 Inhabitants but neither Indians nor Fort.<sup>1</sup>

Fifteen Leagues above Fort Charters is a Village called Casquiar,<sup>2</sup> there is a small Piqueted Fort (I don't know if there be Cannon) and about 100 Inhabitants—The Indians near this Village are Called Casquiar, and are about 60 Warriors. I imagine there may be about 300 Negroes at Illinoiis.

The Country is extreamly Fertile, Wheat and Indian Corn grow very well, and all the European Fruits Succeed to a Wonder. They make very passable Wine from the wild Grapes, and their Beer is very good, they make Indian Sugar. There is Mines of Lead, Quarrys of Stone, and plenty of Salt.

[*Endorsed:*] Discription of The Illinoiis.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS, 1763

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.16, f. 169 — C.]

Plan of Forts & Garrisons proposed for the Security of North America, and the Establishment of Commerce with the Indians. The Number of Regiments,— Their Stations & in what Manner the Garrisons necessary in each Fort, is to be Kept up, by Detachments from the Said Regiments.<sup>3</sup>

N. B. This Plan is formed upon a Supposition that the Regiments will consist of Ten Companies of Seventy Five Men to each Company, Except at Nova Scotia, where a lower Establishment is proposed and

<sup>1</sup> This is St. Philippe.

<sup>2</sup> Cahokia. The fort was described by Captain Pittman, who saw it in 1765, as follows: "What is called the fort is a small house standing in the center of the village; it differs in nothing from the other houses except in being one of the poorest; it was formerly enclosed with high pallisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed a fort at this place could be of but little use." Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> This plan for the distribution of forts is the first one proposed after it was determined by the British ministry to maintain a force of troops in the American colonies. Since the cabinet did not have sufficient knowledge of the local situation, the secretary at war sent instructions to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, at the time commander in chief of the forces in America, to send a plan of the distribution of troops, of which this is a copy. It is to be noted that this plan calls for the distribution of troops in widely scattered locations throughout the newly acquired territory. It was formed at the time when the British ministry intended to develop the West rapidly by colonization; it continued to be the plan of those who advocated the extension of the settlements westward, and was opposed by those who favored the limitation of settlement to the seaboard.

also upon a Supposition that the Independant Companies of S<sup>th</sup> Carolina are not to be reduced, but it may be easily adapted to any Alterations which shall be thought necessary in the Establishment of the Regiments etc. provided the Numbers required are kept up.

Grand Stations.	Out Posts.	Companies.
1 <sup>st</sup> Regiment Quebec.		
2 <sup>nd</sup> Regiment. Montreal.	{ Trois Riviars	1
	{ Frontenac.	1
	{ Crown Point	3.
3 <sup>rd</sup> Regiment. Niagara.	{ Fort du Quesne.	3.
	{ Oswego.	1
4 <sup>th</sup> Regiment. Detroit	{ Missillimackinac.	3
	{ Myamis	1
	{ Fort to be built at the Mouth of the Illinois River.	} 3.
5 <sup>th</sup> & 6 <sup>th</sup> Reg <sup>t</sup> of 7 Companies of 75 men each at Nova Scotia.	{ Halifax.	6
	{ Lunenburg	1
	{ Fort Cumberland <sup>1</sup>	3
	{ Annapolis Royal	2
	{ River St. John's Fort.	2.
7 <sup>th</sup> Regiment S <sup>t</sup> Carolina.	{ Fort Johnston. <sup>2</sup>	3.
	{ Keowee.	3.
	{ Augusta. <sup>3</sup>	2.
	{ Savana.	1
	{ Frederica. } in Georgia.	1
8 <sup>th</sup> Regiment Pensacola.	{ Fort Condé. <sup>4</sup>	3.
	{ St. Marks. <sup>5</sup>	2.

<sup>1</sup> Situated at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

<sup>2</sup> Situated just south of Charleston.

<sup>3</sup> Situated at present site of Augusta, Georgia.

<sup>4</sup> Situated at present site of Mobile.

<sup>5</sup> Situated in East Florida, near Apalachee Bay.

Grand Stations.		Out Posts.	Companies.
9 <sup>th</sup> Reg <sup>t</sup>	{ Fort to be built where the Iberville joins the Mississippi	{ Fort to be built at the Mouth of the Ohio River.	2.
		{ Ditto at the Mouth of the River Yasons.	1.
		{ D <sup>o</sup> where the Iberville joins the Sea.	3.
The 3 Independant Companies of South Carolina & the 2 Troops of George Horse Rangers.		{ St. Augustin	{ 3 Foot. 2. Horse.

In forming the foregoing Project for a Military Establishment in North America the View has been

1<sup>st</sup> To keep His Majesty's New Subjects in Canada & Louisiana in due Subjection.

2<sup>ndly</sup> To retain the Inhabitants of our antient Provinces in a State of Constitutional Dependance upon Great Britain.

3<sup>d</sup> To create a proper Respect for us & establish necessary Authority among the Indians.

4<sup>th</sup> To prevent any Encroachments of the French and

5<sup>thly</sup> To protect Our Own & to Annoy the Colonies and disturb the Commerce of our Enemies in a future War.

Of. *Quebec, Montreal, Trois Rivières* and *Frontenac*. The Force proposed for these Places is no more than barely sufficient to watch and controul the Canadians & their Antient Indian Allies & to secure the River St. Laurence that Great Inlet to the Heart of North America.

*Detroit, Missillimackinac, Niagara & Oswego*. These Forts should doubtless be put in a respectable Condition, as well on Account of their Commanding the Navigation of the Lakes, and the Streights, which unite them, as because they lay amongst Numerous Tribes of Indians who are constantly resorting to them for Trade & other Purposes; to which may be added that the Fort at Oswego is the only one known, on the Eastern side of Lake Ontario.



*Crown Point.* This Fort is necessary for maintaining the Communication between Great Britain and Canada by way of Lake Champlin, [*sic*] when the Ice renders that by the River St. Laurence impracticable, it may also be usefull in guarding against any Disobedience or Disaffection amongst the Inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, who already begin to entertain Some extraordinary Opinions, concerning their Relation to and Dependance on their Mother Country.

*Fort du Quesne.* As this Fort is Situated upon the Principal Passage from Canada to Louisiana on the Banks of the Ohio, & near the Confluence of several large Rivers, which take their Rise not far from the Frontiers of Virginia & Pensilvania, it may be proper to continue Some Force in it.

*Illinois Fort.* The Fort proposed to be built at the Mouth of the Illinois River, would secure the Inlet from Louisiana to the Lakes, command the Mississippi, facilitate a Commercial Correspondence with the distant Western Savages, & guard against their Incensions. The Fort at Myamis would be a convenient Post, between the Illinois Fort and Detroit the Head Quarters.

*Nova Scotia.* The Fortifications at Halifax, should, it is conceived be forthwith compleated for the Safety of the Town, the Harbour of the Naval Yard there and the Fort of Beau Sejour or Cumberland, ought to be maintained & Strengthened, as it lies on the Peninsula at the Head of the Bay of Fundi & is near the Gulf of St. Laurence, and the Island of St. John, to each of which its Garrison might have some regard; Some Naval Force too should Constantly be Stationed at this Province to keep the French Fishing Vessels in Order & prevent Smugling. And possibly it may be requisite to keep a few Troops at Canso or Louisbourg.

*South Carolina, etc.* The Motives for the Distribution of the Regiment there are that Fort Johnston commanding the Port of Charles Town may be in possession of His Majesty's Troops; that Keowee & Augusta, two Material advanced Posts towards the Creek & Cherokee Indians, may be sufficiently secured. That the Civil Power in Georgia, where it has not been long introduced may be properly supported; and that due Attention may be given to the Fortifications & Artillery at Frederica, the Harbour of St. Simons, and the Great Inland Passage between the Islands on the Coast of

Georgia & the Continent, through which, Commodities from the French Islands used to be smuggled into the Southern Colonies.

*Pensacola, Fort Conde*, etc. The Importance of Pensacola is evident from the Excellency of the Harbour, lying near the Course of the Spanish Homeward bound Commerce, and from Its Central Position with respect to Our Acquisitions on the Bay of Mexico. Circumstances which render it the fitter Situation for the Capital of a New Province. Fort Conde is likewise a Post of Consequence, as there are large Tribes of Savages in its Neighbourhood, & as it commands the River Mobile, which stretches far into their Country, upon the Branches of which lie the Forts of Tombegbi & Albana, that are proposed to be demolished.

On our Frontier, towards Louisiana, four new Forts, should it is thought, immediately be constructed, the first at the Mouth of the River Ohio, which would not only serve to guard that & the Cherokee River but also the Mississippi, and prevent all Encroachments on that side. The Second where the River Iberville joins the Mississippi. The Third at the Entrance of the said River from the Sea. These Forts in the Vicinage of New Orleans should be strong, regular & sufficiently garrisoned, as they are to preserve the Communication open between the Mississippi & the Sea, & to constitute Our Chief Security against the French in Louisiana.

The last Fort proposed to be erected is at the Mouth of the River Yasou, which runs through the country of the Chickesaws. These brave Indians may be made extremely serviceable to Us hereafter; They have a right to Our Protection as being Our Antient Allies, Steady Friends & irreconcilable Enemies to the French, who have long aimed at their Extirpation, & frequently reduced them to the last Extremities in Times of War for Want of Supplies, as the Creeks & Cherokees who lay between them & Us, were not their Friends. This Fort, besides its being a convenient Post, in other Respects, will also guard the Mississippi.

In order securely to establish Colonies & avoid Contests in reference to Territorial Limits, perhaps the best general Rule would be to erect Forts early, at the Entrance of our Dominions & Settle inward, instead of building them in the interior Parts, and Settling Outwards, as we have often done. The former affords Protection to the Settlers & effectually guards against Encroachments, the latter tempts

Neighbouring Powers to Encroach & exposes the Colonies to every kind of Insult.<sup>1</sup>

*Florida.* The Fort at St. Augustin is extremely defensible, composed of excellent Materials & ought by all Means, to be kept up, as in a future War, with Spain, it will greatly Secure the Frontier against any Hostile Attempt from the Havana; The Three Independent Companies of South Carolina & the Two Troops of Horse Rangers, now on Foot in Georgia, seem to be a very proper garrison for it. The latter are particularly necessary to scour the Peninsula in which there are still lurking some of the Yamosee Indians, Our old & inveterate Enemies.

The Spaniards had always Two or Three Troops of Horse there, for the like Purposes; From the extraordinary Manner in which the Augustine Privateers infested Our Coasts, and distressed Our Trade, in the Course of the last War, and from the Use which we may make of that Place, upon such another Occasion, in protecting Our own Commerce, and annoying that of the French. (which from the Shallowness of the Mississippi, must always be Carried on in Small Vessels) we may estimate the Value of the Harbour of St. Augustine, and conceive the Propriety & Expediency of continuing a Capital Settlement there.

As the Provinces on the Continent of North America are accidentally divided into two Departments by the Interposition of the Proprietary Governments of Pennsylvania & Maryland, it is proposed that there may be a Military Commander in Chief appointed for and residing in each Department, who may direct & controul the Commanding officers at the several Posts, and be themselves accountable to His Majesty & His Ministers, with whom alone they should correspond. Without some such Arrangement, Considering the Nature & Extent of that Country the Correspondence & Communication, between the Several Parts of this Military System, will be subject to many Interruptions and very great Difficulties.

The foregoing Sketch of a Military Establishment for America

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the earliest statements, by an official, in favor of the rapid expansion of the settlements westward, and the principle here stated is that advocated by the radical expansionists. More moderate expansionists favored a plan of gradual extension of the settlements westward, whereby the close connection with the eastern settlements should always be maintained. Conservatives opposed any settlement west of the Alleghenies.

was formed upon an Idea that France would have retained & improved the Part of Louisiana left to Her on the West side of the River Mississippi; but supposing She should cede that Country to Spain, there appears no Reason for reducing the Military Force, on that Frontier, whatever may be done in the Interior Parts; for Spain will probably form a strong Barrier of Forts on that Side, & will besides have Means to support them in Mexico & the Havanna, that France had not and consequently will be equally formidable in time of War.

[*Endorsed.*:] *Copy* Plan of Forts and Garrisons proposed for the Security of North America. Q. 59.

JENKINS<sup>1</sup> TO GLADWIN,<sup>2</sup> March 28, 1763<sup>3</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.655, f. 211 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Edward Jenkins to Major Gladwin dated Ouiatanon<sup>4</sup> 28 March 1763.

SIR

The bearer arrived from the Post last Sunday with two more Deserters and his Wife. They have not heard yet below of the Cessation of Arms, and I am acquainted by Mons<sup>r</sup> La Rond that we have Attacted (or at least blocked up some place near) the Mississippia. Indeed I dont rightly understand him; he has an Odd way

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Edward Jenkins was in charge of Fort Ouiatanon, on the Wabash, at the time of the outbreak of the conspiracy of Pontiac. Through the influence of the French he was kindly treated. After his escape he went to the Illinois country, and was the first British officer to visit the remote villages of this territory. His experiences there are told in letters printed in this volume (*post*, 19, 53, 54).

<sup>2</sup> Major Henry Gladwin was one of Amherst's favorite officers and saw much service in America during the French and Indian War. He was wounded at the time of the defeat of General Braddock. On December 25, 1757, he was promoted to a company in the Eightieth or Light Armed Foot, and was commissioned major of that regiment, June 20, 1759. He served in the campaign which ended in the capitulation of Canada. In 1762, he was appointed commander at Detroit and gallantly defended the place against Pontiac. He finally rose to the rank of major general, September 29, 1782, and died June 22, 1791. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, *passim*; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18:229, n.3; *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:961 n.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 27:634.

<sup>4</sup> Post Ouiatanon was probably founded in 1720, near the present site of Lafayette, Indiana. The fort became the center of a small village of fur traders. It was much frequented by Canadians since Ouiatanon was the last post under the jurisdiction of Canada in this direction, Vincennes to the south belonging to the province of Louisiana. Dunn, *Indiana*, 49, 55, 94.



of talking, but Capt Campbell will understand him better. M<sup>r</sup> Crawford acquainted me this morning that the Canadians that are here are Eternally telling lies to the Indians, and tells me likewise the Interpreter & one La Point<sup>1</sup> told the Indians a few days ago that we should all be Prisoners in a short time (shewing when the Corn was about a Foot high) that there was a Great Army to come from the Mississippi, and that they were to have a great number of Indians with them, therefore advised them not to help us, That they would soon take D'Troit and these small Posts and then they would take Quebeck Montreal, &c, & go into our Country. This I am informed they tell them from one end of the Year to the other with a great deal more that I cant remmember. I am convinced that while they are permitted to trade here, the Indians here will never be in our Intrest, for although our Merchants sells them a Stroud for 3 Beaver, they will rather give six to a Frenchman. It is needless enquiring into the affair as the French has so much influence over them that they will deny what they said; for the other day I had the Express before me for saying we should be all Fighting by & by; but could make nothing off it, as the Indians were affraid to own it before them, altho the Indian that heard them talk of it stood to it.

Yours &c &c

Signed EDWARD JENKINS

JENKINS TO GLADWIN, June 1, 1763<sup>2</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.658, f. 88 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Lieut: Edward Jenkins, To Major Gladwin  
Commandant of Detroit Dated Ouiatinon 1<sup>st</sup> June 1763

SIR

I have heard of your Situation which gives me great pain, indeed we are not in much better, for this morning the Indians sent for me

<sup>1</sup> If the identification is correct, this is the earliest reference to one of the first settlers of Chicago, the free Negro, Baptiste La Point du Sable. In his recent book, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (138 *et seq.*), Dr. Milo M. Quaife has collected all that is known of him. By 1780 he had settled at Peoria, and was trading in the vicinity, being at Chicago as early as 1779, his more permanent settlement being on the River Chemin, probably on the site of Michigan City, Indiana. By 1790 he was established near the mouth of the Chicago River.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:635.



to Speak to me, & Immediately bound me when I got to their Cabbin, and I soon found some of my Soldiers in the same Condition they told me Detroit, Miamis & all these posts were cut of, and that it was a folly to make any resistance therefore me to make the few Soldiers I had in the Fort Surrender, otherwise they would put us all to Death in Case one Man was kill'd. They were to have fallen upon us & kill'd us all last Night, but Mess<sup>rs</sup> Maisonville & Lorrain, gave them wampum not to kill us, & when they told the Interpreter we were all to be kill'd, and he knowing the condition of the Fort beg'd of them to make us prisoners, They have put us into the French houses & both Indians and French use us very well. All these Nations say they are very Sorry, but that they were Obligated to do it by the other Nations, the Belt did not Arrive here till last Night about eight o'Clock; M<sup>r</sup> Lorrain can inform you of all, Just now recieved the News of S<sup>t</sup> Joseph's being taken, Eleven Men kill'd and three taken prisoners with the Officer: I have nothing more to Say but that I sincerely Wish you a Speedy Succour, & that we may be able to revenge ourselves on those that deserve it, I remain with my Sincerest wishes for your Safety

Your most Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

EDWARD JENKINS

N. B. We Expect to Set off in a Day or two for the Illinois.

[*Collection endorsed:*] Declarations, Letters, Courts of Inquiries, &<sup>ca</sup> concerning the Loss of the Small Posts in the Indian Country 1763

JENKINS TO GLADWIN, July 29, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.655, f. 211 — C.]

Extracted out of a Letter from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Jenkins Commanding at Ouiatinon To Major Henry Gladwin Commandant at D'Troit, Dated Fort Ouiatinon July 29<sup>th</sup> 1763.

SIR

Two days ago the Bearer arrived from the Illenois, who assures me that the People in that part of the World are of a quiet life; I mean the French, but he says the Indians wanted the Commanding Officer to come and Attack these Posts, which he refused, The

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 27:633.

English woman that is along with him, told me that the Canadians were advising the Indians to Murther us all in these Posts, but that they would not be seen in it themselves; but I shall say no more of it as the Woman will acquaint you all she knows about it; she says she heard the bearer talk of it, indeed I would have Examined him but the Woman was afraid as she was to go farther with him, & you are in a much better Place for it than I.

Yours &c  
Signed, EDW<sup>d</sup> JENKINS.

### DISPOSITION OF TROOPS, August, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.17, f. 45—D.S.]

#### Disposition of His Majesty's Forces in North America

Where Stationed.	Regiments or Corps etc.				
St. Johns with the Isle of Buoys, Newfoundland.	{ One Company & a Half Boscawens. Half a Company of Royal Artillery.				
Placentia, Newfoundland.	{ One Company & a Half; Boscawens. Half a Company of Royal Artillery.				
Cape Breton & its Dependencies including the Island of St. John.	{ Six Companies, Boscawen's Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery 1. gunner & 4 Matroses from the Comp <sup>y</sup> in Nova Scotia.				
Nova Scotia	<table> <tr> <td data-bbox="275 1075 484 1237">{ Armigers'</td><td data-bbox="495 1075 971 1237">{ 5 Companies....Halifax &amp; depending Posts. 2. Ditto....Fort Cumberland. 1 Do.....Annapolis. 1 Do.....Fort Frederick, St. Johns.</td></tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="275 1237 484 1303">{ Roy<sup>l</sup> Artillery, 1. Comp<sup>y</sup> divided among the Several Posts &amp; giving the Five Men as above to Louisbourg.</td><td></td></tr> </table>	{ Armigers'	{ 5 Companies....Halifax & depending Posts. 2. Ditto....Fort Cumberland. 1 Do.....Annapolis. 1 Do.....Fort Frederick, St. Johns.	{ Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery, 1. Comp <sup>y</sup> divided among the Several Posts & giving the Five Men as above to Louisbourg.	
{ Armigers'	{ 5 Companies....Halifax & depending Posts. 2. Ditto....Fort Cumberland. 1 Do.....Annapolis. 1 Do.....Fort Frederick, St. Johns.				
{ Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery, 1. Comp <sup>y</sup> divided among the Several Posts & giving the Five Men as above to Louisbourg.					

<sup>1</sup> This paper unlike the former one (*ante*, 5) is a regular report of the commander in chief concerning the distribution of troops at the time the report was made.

Where Stationed.	Regiment or Corps etc.
Trois Rivières & its Dependencies	Five Compleat Companies from the Corps in Quebec Government. Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery, 1 Serg <sup>t</sup> , 2 gunners, & 4 Matrosses from the Governm <sup>t</sup> of Montreal.
Montreal & its Dependencies	Townshend's { detaching 5 Comp <sup>nies</sup> to Crown Point Abercromby's { & Ticonderoga. Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery. { detaching 1 Second Lieut, 1 Corp <sup>l</sup> , 1 Bomb <sup>er</sup> , 3 Gunners, 9 Matrosses & 1 Drummer to Fort William Augustus & the 7 Men as above to Trois Rivières. 1 Comp <sup>ny</sup>
Ticonderoga.	One Company from the Corps in Montreal. Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery, 1 Second Lieut, 1 Corp <sup>l</sup> , 1 Bom <sup>er</sup> , 2 Gunners & 7 Matrosses

N. B. Orders have been already sent for fixing the above according to the New Establishm<sup>t</sup>; & the following is the *intended* Disposition of the Rest of the Troops, which will be settled as soon as the Service will permit.

Where Stationed.	Regiment or Corps
Oswego, West & East End of Oneida Lake, Fort Stanwix, Fort Edward & Fort George.	Moncktons. Royal Artillery, 1 Company divided among the Four First Posts; & Detachm <sup>ts</sup> From the Company at Crown Point to Forts George & Edward.
Niagara, Presqu'Isle, & Fort William Augustus	Lt Gen <sup>l</sup> Tho <sup>s</sup> Murray's Roy <sup>l</sup> Artillery, One Third of the Detroit Comp <sup>ny</sup> at Niagara; 15 of Pittsburg Comp <sup>ny</sup> at Presque Isle, & the Detachm <sup>t</sup> as before ment <sup>d</sup> from Montreal at Fort William Augustus

Where Stationed.	Regiment or Corps
Detroit, Michillimakinac, & Posts above.	{ Lord John Murray's Royal Artillery, Two Thirds of a Com- pany.
Fort Pitt.	{ Six Companies of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> of Royal Americans. Royal Artillery, 1 Comp <sup>ny</sup> , giving De- tachm <sup>t</sup> as before mentioned to Presqu' Isle.
South Carolina.	{ Three Companies of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> of Royal Americans, to replace the Inde- pendent Company's, which is to be reduced.
Louisianne & its Depend- encies.	{ Gages. Cavendish's Royal Artillery, One Company.
Florida and its Depend- encies.	{ Seven Companies of Whitmore's Otways Royal Artillery, One Company.
Providence. Bahama.	{ One Company of Whitmore's to replace a Comp <sup>ny</sup> of Independ <sup>ts</sup> which are to be reduc'd.
Bermudas	{ One Company of Whitmores to replace the Comp <sup>y</sup> of Independ <sup>ts</sup> which are to be reduc'd.

J. A.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Jeffrey Amherst, later Baron Amherst, was one of the military men discovered and made by William Pitt during the Seven Years War. He was born January 29, 1717, and was the second son of Jeffrey Amherst of Riverhead, Kent. In 1731 he entered the army and was rapidly promoted. In 1758 he was sent with the rank of major general to America by William Pitt. As a reward for the capture of the strong post of Louisburg he was made commander in chief of the forces in America, which position he held until the end of the war. In 1760 he received the additional office of governor general of British North America, and the next year was made Knight of the Bath. In handling the delicate Indian situation, Amherst, who despised the natives, was not successful and aroused the enmity of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of Indians in the northern district. The outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy seemed to justify Johnson, and Amherst was recalled to England by a ministry that was opposed to William Pitt. He acted with the opposition until the formation of the Chatham ministry in 1766 and like many followers of that ministry was gradually drawn into the service of the court, from whose hands he received further honors. He died August 3, 1797. *Dictionary of National Biography; Gentleman's Magazine*, 67:800 (September, 1797).

[Endorsed:] Plan[tation]s General. Disposition of His Majesty's Forces in North America. August. 1763. R. 7. No. 11.

LORDS OF TRADE TO JOHNSON,<sup>1</sup> August 5, 1763<sup>2</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.1130, f. 215 — C.]

SIR W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON Bar<sup>t</sup> Agent for Indian Affairs in the Northern District of America.

SIR,

His Majesty having been pleased, upon Our Report to him of the Arrangements necessary to be taken in consequence of the Cessions made to His Majesty in America by the late definitive Treaty of Peace, to direct, that the Agents for Indian Affairs should correspond with Us in all matters regarding their Departments, and should transmit all such Informations as we should require from them,

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland in 1715. Under the patronage of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, he came to America in 1738 to take charge of his uncle's estates in the Mohawk Valley. Here he embarked in trade with the Indians and in speculation in land. He soon gained great influence over the Iroquois through his honesty and justice. At the time, the Indian affairs in New York were in charge of commissioners living at Albany who were themselves engaged in trade and were generally disliked by the Iroquois. During King George's War, Governor George Clinton gave to Johnson the commissioner's powers over the Indians. At the close of the war the old commission was revived. In 1755 when the British government sent General Braddock to command the military forces in America, it was determined to place the Indian affairs also under imperial control, and Johnson was appointed "sole superintendent of the affairs of the six united nations, their allies and dependents." He was also made commander of the provincial forces in the expedition against Crown Point and was successful in defeating the French, for which he was honored with a baronetcy. In 1756 his office of superintendent was extended to include the other northern Indians, and this position he held for the rest of his life. It was acknowledged by all contemporaries that Johnson was most successful in the handling of the Indian situation. On the whole his advice was favorably received by the British ministries. He tried hard to organize the department of Indian affairs on an independent basis, and make it more efficient; but jealousies in America and England defeated his purpose. He entered into many of the schemes for the colonization of the West, and occasionally used his office to foster his personal plans. He lived at Johnson Hall, in the village of Johnson, in baronial style extending boundless hospitality to both Indians and whites. He died on July 4, 1774. (*Dictionary of National Biography*; Stone, *Life of Sir William Johnson*.) A very large number of his letters are printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*. Several volumes of the Johnson manuscripts in the New York State Library were destroyed by fire, and many others damaged. Some of the Johnson manuscripts published in this volume were copied before the fire. Some are printed only in extracts because the manuscripts have been destroyed, while others have been copied or collated from documents that were saved.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:535 *et seq.*



We take this opportunity of acquainting you with His Majesty's Commands, not doubting of a regular and exact continuance, on your part, of that Correspondence with this Board, which has already produced so much usefull Information and Intelligence of the true state of Indian Affairs.

A regular and constant Correspondence upon these points, at all times usefull and important, is now become essentially necessary, from the great number of, hitherto unknown, Tribes & Nations, which are now under His Majesty's immediate protection, and the necessity there is, of speedily falling upon some method of regulating the Indian Commerce and policy, upon some more general and better established System than has hitherto taken place.<sup>1</sup>

It is with a view to this Object, that We have proposed to His Majesty, that a Proclamation<sup>2</sup> should be issued declaratory of His Majesty's final determination to permit no Grants of Lands, nor any Settlement to be made within certain fixed Bounds under pretence of purchase or any pretext whatever, leaving all the Territory within these Bounds free for the hunting grounds of the Indian Nations and for the free Trade of all His Subjects.

In what manner this free Trade is to be regulated, and by what general plan the Interests and Politics of the Indians are to be form'd and directed, will in a great measure depend upon such Opinions and proposals as We shall receive from you and his Majesty's Agent for the Southern District, upon this subject; and therefore we desire you will apply your utmost thought and attention to this important Object; and that you will as soon as possible transmit to us a very full and particular Report of the present actual State of Indian Affairs within your department, describing with as much accuracy as possible the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, their different Interests, Claims and Dispositions, & stating the true Causes of their present apparent discontents, with your Opinion by what means those Causes may be removed and the publick tranquility restored and what will in your Judgment be a proper Plan for the future Management and direction of these important Interests to the Satisfaction of the

<sup>1</sup> For other documents on the organization of the Indian trade, see *post*, 273, 400, and index.

<sup>2</sup> This proclamation was published October 7, 1763. See Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36: 20 *et seq.*

Indians, the benefit of free Trade, and the Security and Interests of His Majesty's Dominions. We are, &c

ORWELL.

SHELBURNE

BAMBER GASCOYNE ED. ELIOT

GEO: RICE

WHITEHALL Aug<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1763

CERTIFICATE OF JENKINS, August 15, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 11: 155 — D.S.]

FT. CHARTRES 15 Aug. 1763.

I do hereby certify that Monsr. Constant Vien served as Interpreter at Ouiatanon from the 12th of Jan 1762 to the 30th of May 1763, being five hundred and thirteen Days at one Dollar per Day which amounts to four thousand one hundred & four shillings New York Currency which Mr. Winston<sup>2</sup> has paid by order of me.

EDWARD JENKINS,

Lt. 1st B. R. A-R.

ARTICLES OF THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY, 1763<sup>3</sup>

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., 97—C.]

Original Articles of Agreement of the Mississippi Company<sup>4</sup>

We whose names are under written do agree to form a body of Adventurers by the name of the Mississippi Company, with a view to explore and settle some Tracts of Land upon the Mississippi and its waters; and the better to succeed in this design have determined on the following rules and regulations.

First, it is proposed that the Company shall consist of fifty members and no more who are to contribute equally towards the expence of sending an Agent to England to obtain from the Crown a Grant of Lands on the Mississippi aforesaid and its waters to the amount and upon the Terms hereafter mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> The original, from which this transcript was made by Mr. Carter, was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Winston played an important part in the Illinois during the revolutionary era. See Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I. H. C., 2), introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Published in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, 17:439.

<sup>4</sup> For other papers of the Mississippi Company see *post*, 23 and general index.

1<sup>st</sup> Every single adventurer to have fifty thousand Acres of Land for a share

2<sup>dy</sup> The Lands to lye on the Mississippi and its Waters

3<sup>dy</sup> The settlement to be protected from the insults of the savages by the Assistance of his Majesties forces disposed of in such manner as the ministry shall think proper.<sup>1</sup>

4<sup>th</sup>y The Lands to be obtained, if possible clear of all composition money expences and quit rents for the space of twelve Years or longer upon condition that we settle the same in that time if not interrupted by the savages.

That the subscribers begin to solicit the Grant without further delay before the Number to be admitted is made up; and the Adventurers who join to be liable for an equal share of all Expences incurr'd.

That the Lands obtained by such Grant be not held in jointenancy but that every adventurer hold his respective share to himself & his Heirs in fee simple, any thing in the said grant to the contrary notwithstanding.

That a general meeting of the company be annually held on the [blank in MS.] day of [blank in MS.] at [blank in MS.] and to consist of a majority of the members residing in Virginia and Maryland who shall have power and authority to determine by a majority of the members so met, all matters relative to the purposes for which the company is instituted, and to make such rules & regulations as they shall from time to time think expedient and for the Interest of the Com[m]on cause, Provided that if any member of the Company residing in Great Britain or any other part of the world shall at any general meeting of the Company happen to be present, it shall be lawful for such member to vote (at such meeting).

Whereas it will be highly necessary to preserve order and decency at the general Meeting of the said Company: It is agreed that the Majority of the Company shall choose a President, who is to preside for that meeting only and to have the casting vote in case of a division; and the president so chosen shall collect the votes of the members present whose orders and resolutions shall be entered in a Book to

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noticed that this company of Virginians expected that the British troops would be used by the ministry to assist in the expansion of the settlements westward. Compare the above with statement on *ante*, 9.

be kept for that purpose, and shall be absolutely conclusive on the s<sup>d</sup> Company.

That it shall be in the power of the said Company from time to time at a General meeting as aforesaid to direct and appoint any Sum and Sums of Money that they shall judge necessary, for the purpose for which this Company is instituted to be paid into the hands of a Treasurer for the time being by every particular member which Sum and Sums of Money the subscribers do bind themselves their Heirs Executors and Administrators to pay into the hands of such Treasurer at the times to be appointed for the payment of the same Provided that if any Member shall neglect or refuse to pay into the hands of the said Treasurer upon demand or shall fail to pay down to him at the next general meeting of Company the full Sum with legal Interest thereon from the time of the demand so made, the said delinquent shall forfeit all right title and interest in the said Company and be no longer deemed a Member thereof.

The said Company at the first general meeting to be had, shall appoint a Treasurer out of their Number who shall immediately on his Appointment and before he is admitted to Act in that office, enter into Bond with two or more good and sufficient Securities to the said Company by the name of the Mississippi Company for the just and faithfull performance of his Office of Treasurer, and shall also make Oath that he will execute the same with justice and punctuality; which said Treasurer shall also act to the said company as Clerk or Secretary and shall in the capacity of Clerk and Treasurer one Year and from thence to the next meeting of the Company and no longer; and shall be allowed by the said Company for his Services five p[er] Centum for all monies that shall past [*sic*] through his hands.

A Committee of Ten members to be chosen by the Company, five of which shall be a sufficient Number to Do Business who shall meet twice a Year (to wit) on the [*blank in MS.*] day of [*blank in MS.*] and on the [*blank in MS.*] day of [*blank in MS.*] or oftener as the exigencies of the Company shall require, upon Notice of such extraordinary meeting being published in the Virginia & Maryland Gazette by one or more of the Members of the Committee and it shall be lawful for any member of the said Company that shall happen to be present at such Committees tho' not nominated as one of the Committee to vote at such meeting: Provided nevertheless that the



Treasurer for the time being shall have no right to vote at the meeting of such Committee.

Such Committee shall have power to put in execution such plans as shall be laid down by a general meeting of the Company and apply the monies raised by the Company for the effecting such plans.

The Treasurer and Secretary of the Company aforesaid shall act as Clerk or Secretary to the Committee and shall enter all the orders of the said Committee in a Book to be kept for that purpose.

That no member shall have a right to dispose of his share without first acquainting the Company at a general meeting and giving the Company the preference of purchasing.

If any of the members of the said Company shall hereafter sell and dispose of his whole share to divers persons he shall loose his right of voting in the said Company and it shall be in the power of the said Company to choose which of the said purchasers they shall most approve to be a member of the said Company; no more than one vote being to be allowed for one share: but if any member shall dispose of only part of his share he shall not loose his right of voting at any meeting of the said Company; any thing to the contrary of this & the foregoing clause or seeming to the contrary notwithstanding.

It shall not be lawful for any member of the said Company purchasing the share or shares of any other member or members thereof to have more than one vote. In Testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 3<sup>d</sup> day of June One thousand Seven hundred and sixty three.

*[on a slip of paper attached]*

A List of the Mississippi Company

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Presly Thornton

Benedict Calvert

Colonel George Washington

Thomas Ludwell Lee

Richard Henry Lee

Francis Lightfoot Lee

Henry Fitzhugh

Adam Stephens

William Fitzhugh

William Brockenborough



John Baylor  
Bernard Moore  
M<sup>r</sup> Richard Parker  
William Lee  
John Turberville  
Samuel Washington  
John Aug<sup>t</sup> Washington  
William Flood  
Thomas Simpson  
Robert Woodrop  
Anthony Stewart  
Doct: Arthur Lee M. D. F. R. S.  
The Rev<sup>d</sup> Henry Addison A.M.  
M<sup>r</sup> Cuthbert Bullitt  
William Brent  
William Fitzhugh  
William Fitzhugh Jun<sup>r</sup>  
John Alexander  
Francis Thornton  
Ralph Wormeley  
Mann Page  
Warner Lewis  
John Armistead  
William Booth  
Henry Rozer  
Edmund Jenings  
Thomas Cum[m]ling  
Stephen Sayre

Test, WILLIAM LEE S. M: C<sup>o</sup>

[*Collection endorsed:*] Mississippi Co<sup>e</sup> papers, sent to the Right  
Hon<sup>bl</sup> Earl of Chatham On Saturday the 2<sup>d</sup> April 1774

THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY, September 9, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., Chatham MSS., 97, f. 3 — C.]

At a meeting of the Mississippi Company at Belleview Sep<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>, 1763.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*, pp. 165  
*et seq.*

Present,

Thomas Ludwell Lee	Presly Thornton
George Washington	James Douglas
Francis Lightfoot Lee	William Fitzhugh, Sen <sup>r</sup>
Thomas Bullitt	Henry Fitzhugh
Richard Henry Lee	Francis Thornton
Anthony Stewart	George Simpson
William Lee	William Booth
John Aug <sup>t</sup> Washington	William Brent
Charles Diggs	Robert Brent

A Memorial to his Majesty being read some amendments made thereto, the same was agreed to and is as followeth

#### TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The Humble Memorial of Inhabitants of Great Britain Virginia, Maryland &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY

THE MEMORIALISTS considering it the duty of all good subjects to improve to the utmost of their power the blessings of peace and reflecting how this improvement may best be obtained by the exertions of their abilities and the applications of their fortunes; have proposed with the approbation and under the protection of your Majesty to settle as speedily & effectually as possible, some part of that vast Country on the Mississippi and its waters; now unquestionably your Majesty's territory by the late treaty of Peace.

The increase of the People, the extension of Trade and the enlargement of the revenue are with certainty to be expected, where the fertility of the Soil, and mildness of the Climate invite emigrants (provided they can obtain Lands on easy terms) to settle and cultivate those commodities most wanted by Great Britain and which will bear the charges of a tedious navigation, by the high prices usually given for them — such as Hemp, Flax, Silk, Wine, Potash, Cochineal, Indigo, Iron &c, by which means the Mother Country will be supplied with many necessary materials, that are now purchased of foreigners at a very great expense — Especially naval stores so essential to the

very being of a commercial state, that it must be under great restraints, in all Transactions with those powers by whom they are furnished. Whilst the inhabitants of the infant settlement, finding their labour most profitably bestowed upon Agriculture will not think of interfering with the Mother Country in Manufactures but afford a never failing demand for them.

To effect these good purposes the memorialists have formed themselves into a Company by the name of the Mississippi Company, that by a Union of their Councils and fortunes that may in the most prudent and proper manner explore & as quickly as possible settle that part of the Country hereafter mentioned, if your Majesty shall be graciously pleased to indulge them with these conditions.

1<sup>st</sup> That Your Majesty grant unto your memorialists, being fifty in number by the name of the Mississippi Company two million five hundred thousand acres of Land on the Mississippi, & its waters, to be laid off within the following bounds beginning upon the East side of the River Mississippi one hundred and twenty miles above, or to the Northward of the confluence of the River OHIO therewith. Thence by a Line to strike the River Wabash or St. Jerom eighty Miles above its junction with the River OHIO. Thence Southerly crossing the River OHIO one hundred and twenty Miles above the union of OHIO with Wabash. and abutting on the main branch of the River Cherokee or Tenesse one hundred and fifty miles above the junction of Cherokee River with OHIO and proceeding thence West-erly in a line to strike the River Mississippi ninety Miles below the union of Ohio with that River; thence upon the said River to the begining.

2<sup>dly</sup> That your Memorialists shall have liberty of holding their Lands twelve or any other larger number of Years that your Majesty shall approve (after a survey thereof shall have been made & returned) clear of all composition money quitrents or Taxes. And that your memorialists within twelve Years shall be obliged to seat the said lands with two hundred Families, at the least, if not interrupted by the Savages, or any foreign enemy, and to return the survey thereof to such office as your Majesty shall be pleased to direct otherwise to forfeit the Grant, so to be made by your Majesty, and the said lands liable to the entries of any other Adventurers.

The Memorialists humbly hope that Your Majesty may be gra-

ciously moved to grant these favorable terms in consideration of the heavy charges and great expences they must necessarily incur, in the exploring, surveying and settling this distant Country and the great risk they will run of loosing their property, from their contiguity to the French, & their Proximity to the Indian Nations. And because it hath been found by experience, that large Tracts of Land taken up by companies may be retailed by them to Individuals, much cheaper than they can obtain them immediately from the Crown — occasioned by the charges arising from the solicitation of patents, making surveys and other contingent expences. Besides the difficulty the Poorer sort are under from their Ignorance of the proper methods to be taken in soliciting patents as well as their inability to advance ready money for such purposes. Whereas from Companies they have only to receive their Conveyances, without any previous expence, and credit given them to make their Payments, when by their industry they become enabled to do so.

And though attempts to settle in this way, have sometimes miscarried, in the hands of Gentlemen possessed of affluent fortunes because of that indolence & inattention frequently attending Persons in such Circumstances especially when not excited by the near prospect of immediate & considerable Profit. The greater part of the present adventurers being of good families & considerable influence in the Countries where they live, though possessed of but moderate fortunes, are induced from the goodness of the soil and Climate of the Country upon the Mississippi to believe that by a proper application of their money and industry, they will require as well a present advantage as a provision for their prosperity; which being joined by the pleasing prospect of public utility; all their affairs will be conducted with that spirited assiduity, which in matters of danger & Difficulty, can only insure success. The truth of this is evident from a determined resolution in several of the Members to be themselves among the first settlers.

The Memorialists must humbly submit it to Your Majesties great Wisdom whether the remote situation of this Country from the Colonies already settled, may not render it expedient to protect the Infant Settlement from the insults of the Savages. Which protection might effectually be obtained, if your Majesty were graciously pleased to order a small Fort to be garrisoned at the confluence of Cherokee



River with OHIO; as it would interpose between the first Settlers, & the CHICAZAW and CHATTAES Indians the only powerful Nations in that quarter. Which is probable, [*sic*] might by a small garrison, be influenced to continue in their ancient amity with British Subjects. Especially the former of these Nations, whose faith and friendship have ever remained firm and unaltered. At the same time a Garrison placed at the junction of OHIO with Mississippi might contribute powerfully to check the French settlers on the West side of the latter River, if they should be disposed to encroach on the Dominions of your Majesty, in that part where they appear to have been inclinable to take footing on account of its communication with the North-western lakes; & the conveniences wherewith in time of War they can harass and disturb your Majesties Colonies already settled.

It is humbly conceived from the mild and friendly disposition of the Southern Indians that the Settlement of the Country proposed, may be obtained more safely & speedily by begining such Settlem<sup>t</sup> in their Neighborhood than further North, where the fierce and warlike Irocois, with their six nations ever accustomed to War and shedding of blood, would certainly obstruct, if not absolutely prevent the Settlement for many Years to come, while the southern Settlem<sup>ts</sup> begun in safety and advancing in security, will soon become much too powerful to be prevented in their progress, by the enmity of the Northern or any other Indians. At the same time that by conducting a trade useful to the Indians on the borders of Mississippi they will effectually prevent the success of that cruel policy, which has ever directed the French even in time of Peace, to prevail with the Indians their Neighbours to lay waste the frontiers of your Majesties Colonies thereby to prevent their increase.

In consideration of the reasons here afforded, the Memorialists most humbly submit this their Memorial to your Majesty's Wisdom.

RESOLVED that W<sup>m</sup> Lee Esq<sup>r</sup> be appointed Treasurer to the Company and that he give Bond with Security, in the Penalty of One thousand pounds current Money to the Company for the just and faithfull performance of his Office of Treasurer.

RESOLVED that the annual general meeting of the Company shall be held at Stafford Court House in VIRGINIA on the first day of October if the same should not happen on Sunday; if it should then the meeting to be on the day following.



RESOLVED that the following members to wit, The Honble Presly Thornton, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Henry Fitzhugh, John Augustine Washington, William Booth, William Brokenbrough, Richard Parker Esquires & Doctor William Flood be appointed a Committee of the Company who are to meet at Westmoreland Court house in Virginia twice a year (that is to say) on the 10th day of May and the 10th day of Nov<sup>r</sup>, if not Sunday if it sho<sup>d</sup> happen to be on Sunday, then the meeting to be on the next day & likewise they are to meet as much oftener as the Affairs of the Company require; and the said Committee to have such Powers as they, by the general Articles of Agreement, are vested with.

RESOLVED that the said Committee do with all possible diligence transmit the memorial after the same shall be fairly transcribed, to Tho<sup>s</sup> Comming Esq<sup>r</sup> of London to be by him laid before the King; that they invite Mr. Cumming to be one of the Company, and desire him to procure Subscribers to the Scheme, not exceeding nine of such influence and fortune as may be likely to promote its success; That the Committee request Mr. Comming, that if he sho<sup>d</sup> not choose to be one of the Company or to solicit their Grant, to put all their Affairs into the Hands of such an Agent or Solicitor as in his opinion may be most likely by his Interest and Diligence to Succeed; That Mr. Cumming on finding the Ministry disposed to Comply with the Company's memorial give the most early intelligence thereof to the Committee, in order that a meeting of the Company may be had to raise such a Sum of Money as may be sufficient to obtain Letters Patent from the Crown, that in the meantime he proceed as far as the nature of the thing will admit in issuing out the said Letters Patent; That he inform the Committee, the expence that will accrue on the said Issuing of such Letters Patent.

RESOLVED that the Sum of One hundred and twenty-two Pounds Sterling be forthwith paid by the Company in the hands of the Treasurer to be by him disposed of according to the direction of the Committee. Each member being allowed to pay his proportion in so much Current Money of VIRGINIA as will amount to his Sterling proportion.

RESOLVED that the Committee inform M<sup>r</sup> Cumming that if he chooses to undertake the Solicitation of their Affairs they present

him with an hundred Guineas as an earnest of their present and future good Will.

RESOLVED that altho' the original Articles of Agreement, do declare that a general Meeting of the Company shall be had at one particular time and place annually; yet if it shall happen that the Circumstances of Affairs render it necessary that a general Meeting should be more frequently held, the Committee shall have power to summon the said general meeting (by advertising it twice in the VIRGINIA and MARYLAND Gazettes as often as shall be requisete, and a Majority of such general Meeting so mett shall have full and ample Power to determine all matters relative to the Company and their determinations to be binding on the whole Company and that it shall be a never failing Rule of the Company, whenever a contrariety of opinion shall arise concerning the Sum of Money to be raised and different Sums shall be proposed, that the least Sum mentioned shall first be put to the question, and rise from thence to the next greatest Sum, until the highest Sum proposed has been put, & that which has the largest Number of Votes shall be the Sum to be raised on the Company.

RESOLVED that if the Company shall be so fortunate as to succeed in their Solicitations, and a Grant be obtained for the Lands they request, that in that Case when it shall be determined by a general meeting that a division of the Lands shall be made, such division shall for the sake of fairness and impartiality, be effected in the following manner; The whole Quantity of Land shall be divided into as many equal Lots or Parcels, as there shall be Members or shares in the Company, and the Lots so divided shall be Numbered, and as many correspondent Numbers being prepared, each member or a Substitute by him appointed (provided he make such appointment in Twelve Months after the Division shall be agreed on, and Notice thereof conveyed to him, by the Treasurer for the time being, but if he fail to make such Appointment then the Majority of the general meeting shall appoint a Person to Act for such Absentee) shall draw from among such corresponding numbers, and whatever number is drawn by each shall take such lot of Land, the number of which agrees with the numbers drawn.

[*Endorsed:*] Mississippi Co's papers sent to the Right Honorable William Earl of Chatham on Saturday the 2<sup>d</sup> April 1774.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, September 25, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.17, f. 93 — A.L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL Sept<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1763.

MY LORDS

Since I had the honour of writeing to your Lordships the first of July last, I met the Indians at the German Flatts, as I mentioned in my letter, I should then shortly do.

At that conference all the Nations attended except the *Senecas* who together with some *Ottawas* and others took *Prisque-Ile La Boeuf* and *Venango* about that time, the rest of the Indians renewed the Covenant, and expressed themselves in the most friendly manner, and as a proof of their inclination for peace, Agreed to send the Chief Men of Each Nation Deputys to bring the *Senecas* to reason, which was done accordingly, and about the beginning of this Month the Five Nations arrived here to the Amount of 320 in order to acquaint me with the result of their negotiations, in which they informed me that they had had Success, haveing brought to friendship and peace the two first Seneca Castles, as a proof of which they were accompanied by 6 Seneca Indians. At the same time 270 Indians of Several Tribes liveing along the Banks of the *Susquahana* and its Branches arrived here, to renew the Covenant Chain, and acquaint me, that all the Indians inhabiting that quarter, so far down as *Owege* were our Friends, & determined to remain so.

Deputys from *Coghnawagey in Canada*<sup>2</sup> were also present at the Meeting, and expressed themselves in a most friendly manner towards the English in a spirited speech to the rest, and after intimateing to me their desire of being concerned in punishing our Enemies, I gave them the War Hatchet according to Custom, which they received with great pleasure, and I do assure your Lordships that I have great reason to expect the Indians in Canada who consist of eight Confederate Nations will give us good proofs of their inclinations toward Us, ever since we received them into our Alliance on the reduction of Canada and from the private conferences ettc which I have had with the rest, I flatter myself that not only the Majority of the Five Nations, but many others will be readily induced to act offensively

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:559 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> A settlement of Christian Iroquois at Sault St. Louis on the St. Lawrence River.

against our Enemies, provided they meet with proper encouragement, and a due regard be had to their respective Services, which I am well convinced will be far from being inconsiderable, if they engage heartily in the cause, of which I can have no doubt from the many particular offers which have been made me, which I shall accept of, so soon as I am properly authorised so to do, as a few Indians will do more mischief and create more uneasiness amongst our Enemies than many Hundred of our own people can ever do, but I greatly fear that Indians have been in General considered as too inconsiderable for some time past, and I most heartily wish we may have no occasion to attribute any future Hostilities to such a way of thinking, which must produce neglect and disregard on our sides, and discontent and Revenge on theirs, the consequence of which will be a recommencement of Hostilities.<sup>1</sup> I have always offered my sentiments with a freedom and candour becoming a faithfull servant of the Crown, and as such I flatter myself, they will always meet w<sup>th</sup> your Lordships indulgence. At the expence of my Health, Ease and neglect of my private fortune I have dureing 25 Years Experience acquired some knowledge of the power and abilities of the Indians, and the principles on which they Act; and I have the satisfaction of finding that my sentiments have generally mett with a favourable reception from your Lordships.

This great encouragement emboldens me to offer some farther remarks, without which I could not acquit myself in my own opinion as a faithfull servant to His Majesty, and a very oblidgeed Friend to your Lordships, whose Office entitles you to my sentiments, and whose experience enables you to make such an use thereof as your wisdom shall suggest.

If we had no occasion for Frontier Posts, back Settlements and an Indian trade, we might rest tolerably secure in our present possessions, without being at any expence in cultivateing the friendship and affection of the Indians; but as these things are Essential to the prosperity of the Provinces, and the encrease of his Majesty's Revenue we must I humbly apprehend endeavour to possess them [by] such means, as shall be most conducive to the Welfare of the one, and the

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to the attitude of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, commander in chief, to whose underestimation of the Indians Johnson attributed the outbreak of the Indian war.



extension of the other. Now as the Indians who possess these Countries, are by Numbers considerable, by inclination Warlike, and by disposition covetuous, (which last has been encreased from the Customs in which the French have bred them) I find on all hands that they will never be content, without possessing the Frontiers, unless we settle Limits with them and make it worth their while, and without which, should they make Peace toMorrow, they would break the same the first oportunity. Your Lordships well know that the Several Out-Posts, must consist of but few Men and that they are environed with Numbers of Savages at too great a distance to receive succours from Us, as also the great Expence and difficultys attending their being supplied with provisions amunition and other necessaries, and which cannot even be effected if the Indians are our Enemies, but by keeping a verry large Regular Force at a Monstrous Expence to the Nation, and that without being necessitated to have recourse to their antient weapons, the Indians will never fail of supplys from the French, who will thereby, be enabled to engross a great part of the furr Trade, as there are so many fine Communications to the Mississipi, the distance of which will never be regarded by Indians. These Indians conscious of their own Strength and Scituation, will, unless kept in the best temper by Us, be easily persuaded to commit depredation on the Traders whose goods are a temptation to the Savages, thus once embarked they will not stop 'till they have spread Havock over all our frontiers, an Instance of which is now before your Lordships in their haveing taken and destroyed no less than Eight Forts, murdered great part of the Garrisons, killed great Numbers of his Majestys Subjects on the Frontiers, and destroyed their Settlements, and that in about the Compass of a Month. Many people in America, have been too apt to dispise the Indians strength, till fatal necessity has convinced them of their Abilities, thus by entertaining a contempt for them meerly because they are not civilized, and that they have never experienced what a few Indians (engaged in what they look upon their own Cause) are able to accomplish; they neglect the necessary precautions to be taken against the most contemptable People.

The Indians I do assure your Lordships are no wise inferior to us in sagacity and stratagem, Qualities most essentially necessary in this Country, their Ideas of Courage are different from ours, and they



are only deficient in that Courage which the nature and scituation of their Country renders less necessary amongst them, as they attack by surprise, and on failure of success (of which they never neglect taking advantage) are able to repeat their attacks, at the next advantageous place they meet with, killing many of our People in each Encounter, with a verry small loss on their Side, this, the most partial Accounts which are generally made of our Actions with them will sufficiently evince. Dureing the times in which the French possessed Garrisons in their several Countrys, many of their Traders were plundered and killed, but the Expence which the French were at to conciliate the affections of the Savages, alone prevented any Overt Act. I know, that many mistakes arise here from erroneous accounts formerly made of Indians, they have been represented as calling themselves Subjects, altho the verry word would have startled them had it been ever pronounced by any Interpreter, they desire to be considered as Allies and Friends, and such we may make them at a reasonable expence, and thereby occupy our out Posts, and carry on a Trade in Safety, until a few Years we shall become so formidable throughout the country, as to be able to protect Ourselves, and abate of that Charge; but until such Measures be adopted, I am well convinced, there can be no Reliance on a peace with them, and that as Interest is the Grand tye which will bind them to Us, so their desire of Plunder, will induce them to Commit hostilities whenever we neglect them.

My Lords I consider it as a Duty indispensable on me to make you this faithfull Representation of Indian Affairs, which I could represent still clearer, but that in so doing I should much exceed the bounds of a letter, what I have humbly offered at this time, as well as in my former letters, will I hope be considered by Your Lordships as the faithfull report of a Servant of the Crown who has the honour of his Majesty, and the Welfare of America, strongly at heart, and that as from the Nature of my Department I have no right to conceal my Sentiments on this Subject, your Lordships will therefore pardon the plainness and freedom with which they are offered. There are still some Nations who are averse to hostilities, and the behaviour of the *Sakis*, and of the Ottowaes of *Arbre Croche* near Michilimacinac, who 'tho in the midst of our Enemies not only rescued and protected several of Our Officers, with their Garrisons, but brought them down

under a large escort, together with a considerable quantity of Traders goods to Montreal, will, undoubtedly appear praiseworthy to your Lordships, and entitle them to our thanks and a public reward, these People, with others are to come down the Country in the spring and I am of opinion a good use may be made of them against our Enemies in order to bring them to punishment if properly encouraged. Notwithstanding the present pacific disposition of the Five Nations, the Indians in Canada, and many others, yet they are much discontented, particularly the former on Acc<sup>ts</sup> of Land disputes and Encroachments, wherein I am sorry to say the Mohawks have chiefly suffered by the unconscionable grant called *Kayadarosseras* alias Queensborough of above half a Million of Acres, which I several times laid before your Lordships the Claim of the Corporation of Albany on their Dwelling place at Fort Hunter, and also, that of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Livingston and others on their planting grounds at Conajohare or the upper Mohawk Castle, in none of which cases the Common Law can give them redress, these and many other Affairs, have occasioned the Five Nations to express themselves desierous of sending Deputys to lay their Complaints before his Majesty. I shall in my next give your Lordships a more full Acc<sup>ts</sup> of the particulars of their respective Complaints, and in the meantime I must beg leave to request the Honour of your Lordships Sentiments and Instructions on any Occurring Subjects for my better Government, that my measures may be entirely correspondent with your Lordships Intentions, which has always been the sole aim of my proceedings.

I am with the most profound Respect, My Lords, Your Lordships Most Obedient, and most Humble Servant.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

P.S. This Moment I have received an Express, informing me that an Officer and 24 Men who were escorting severall Waggons and Ox Teams over the carrying place at Niagra, had been attacked and intirely defeated, together with two Companys of Coll: Willmot's Regiment who marched to sustain them, Our loss on this Occasion consists of Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Campbel, Frazier and Rosco of the Regulars, Capt Johnson and Lieu<sup>t</sup> Deayton of the Provincials and 60 privates killed, with about Eight or Nine Wounded; the Enemy who are supposed to be Senecas of *Chenussio*, scalped all the Dead, took all their Cloaths,

Arms and Amunition, and threw several of their Bodies down a Precipice. I am greatly apprehensive for the fate of the Detroit, they being in much want I fear of that Garrison, and as all of our Cattle ettc w<sup>h</sup> were at Niagra are either killed or taken, it will be impossible to get any necessarys transported over the Carrying place for the remainder of this season. I shall immediately send Belts thro all the Friendly Nations, and use every effectual measure for preventing the Destruction of our Settlements from the Enemy Indians, who are but too much encouraged from their repeated Successes.

W. J.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF TRADE. &<sup>ca</sup>

[Endorsed:] *Plantat<sup>ns</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Letter from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson Superintendant for the affairs of the Indians in the Northern district, dated Sept<sup>r</sup> 25, 1763, containing an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the present state of Indian Affairs.

Reced. Nov<sup>r</sup> 9 }  
Read Nov<sup>r</sup> 21 } 1763. R. 16.

KERLÉREC TO FARMAR, October 2, 1763

[Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:54]<sup>1</sup>

SIR

I Received the Letter that you did me the Honour to write from Pensacola the 21st of last month, and it was delivered to me by John Lind Esq<sup>r</sup> Captain in His Britanick Majesty's Army who Arrived here the 30th of September at 11 o'Clock in the morning.

I see (Sir) by the said Letter, that the King of Great Britain has Commanded and Committed to you, and in His Name to take possession of that part of Louisiana Ceded to him by His Most Christian Majesty, my Master according to the preliminaries of Peace signed at Fontain-Bleau the 3d of November between their respective Ministers charged with full power from their Majesty's and the Seventh Article of the Definitive Treaty, likewise Signed the Tenth of February last.

You add (Sir) that it is in consequence of your Orders that you have sent to Mobile the said John Lind Esq<sup>r</sup> Captain for to Regulate and Concert in the most Effectual manner, all these affairs, and

<sup>1</sup> This is from a contemporary English copy.

Relieve His Most Christian Majesty's Troops from the Posts and Fort actually in their possession, on the Left side of the River Mississippi, Ceded to the King of Great Britain, and that this Officer is Conveyor of the order from the Court of France for that purpose, which he punctually delivered to me. This is (Sir) the substance of the Letter which you did me the Honour to write, to which I answer, In informing you that I am on the point of my departure for Europe, and that I have remitted your Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie whom the King my master has named to succeed me to the Government of this Colony, and who of Consequence has the same power as me, for to deliver up to you those parts Ceded by the said article of the Definitive Treaty.

In consequence of which I have already sent provision Orders to M<sup>r</sup> Develle in Kings Lieut at Fort Conde and Mobile; but I shall now dispatch to him a more definitive One that you may not be retarded in any Shape whatever in taking possession of what you Claim and M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie my Successor in the Administration of the Governor, with whom I have punctually consulted all these operations, will proceed accordingly, & according to the Rule, for to Cede to you the said Fort Conde at Mobile, together with the Country Adjacent, and the Forts Situated upon those parts Ceded, and mentioned in the said Article of the Definitive Treaty. He writes to you (Sir) and enters with you into the particulars, which seems to me no less interesting for the Government of Great Britain, as well as that of the King of France, and for the Tranquility of the respective Subjects.

I ought likewise to inform you (Sir) as a Governor who has Governed the Colony during Eleven years, that it is very essential that you give ear on your side to all the different dispositions, or orders that he will propose to you, as the Question is, to procure to you both a quiet and a Peacefull Government, so I am persuaded that when you have seriously reflected upon the divers means which he has to propose to you, you will agree that nothing is more suitable.

Capt. John Lind seemed to me greatly surprised that we had already sent away the greatest part of the Artillery from Fort Conde at Mobile, such (Sir) was our orders, and it is our business to obey them, besides we have occasion for them in the different parts which now remains to us of this Colony.



With respect to Arms and Warlike Stores, we have always been very badly provided, and we have now expended almost all our Powder, and we flatter ourselves that you will be so good as to spare us some in case of any emergency.

According to what Capt. John Lind (whom you have sent to me) has given me to understand, that you are desirous of knowing the most convenient time of your departure from this City, to take possession of Illinois.

In answer to which (Sir) you may take your Departure before the 15<sup>th</sup> January next, and as your Route cannot be less than two months and a half, you will arrive by the waters being then high at Illinois about the begining of April, this is (Sir) the only time to go from hence, and if you should be disposed to go sooner, it will be of no consequence with respect to the distance between this and Illinois it is 450 Leagues; you may likewise on your Route establish a Post at Natcheres observing at the same time to send work men to build Barrack, those which are now there being so old, that we was obliged to Evacuate, and abandon them, they not being fit to be repaired.

It is then very essential that you Concert by times, and even now of the Departure of the Garrison of Illinois with M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie my Successor, that no obstakle may arrise that may hinder their departure the 1<sup>st</sup> of January next he writes how far it is necessary that you should arrive at Mobille the same time that he does, I tell you at the same time, that it is of the utmost consequence for the reciprocal tranquility of the Subjects of the two Monarchs which are under our Subjection that the two Chiefs, English and French arrive at the same time, the Nations may perceive of themselves, all the union, and good understanding that for the present Unites us, and be assured that what I now tell you is from a principle to keep up a good understanding so much to be desired, this is (Sir) my advice, notwithstanding you are the master to do as you think proper, It is my Duty to comply with the orders, of Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Duc de Choissuel, and to enter with you into the most minute explanation, in Speaking to you thus, I believe you would not do a miss in putting some little confidence in a Governor who has Governed this Colony eleven years; Mons<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie imagines he will be at Mobille the 25<sup>th</sup> of this month, therefore you will see there is no time to be lost reckon-



ing the time that your Officer will take to reach you. Mons<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie has sent you an explicit copy of a Counsel to be held with the Savages which I am convinced you will approve of, and which I look upon as undispensible.

The orders for the Evacuation, and the Accession of the English of the Posts of Illinois, Tombekbe, Alibamoux and Natcheres has been already sent to the different Officers Commanding there, which orders are Original, and conformable to the meaning and Tenor of the sixth Article of the Preliminaries, and the seventh of the definitive Treaty.

I have remitted to Capt. John Lind a State of the Garrisons which Occupy the different Posts above mentioned;<sup>1</sup> but I ought to inform you that for want of Troops, which we have been in great want of all this War, the said Garrisons have not been provided for as they ought to have been. The post of Illinoies, ought at least to have Three Hundred men Compleat, for to furnish the Post of Vincene and that of Massac, and if you think proper at present to Establish a Post at Natchers, you ought to leave a Garrison of 50 men with Two Officers.

With Respect to the two Posts of Tombekbey and Alibamoux, the first requires, 50 men, & the last ought to have rather more; when you shall be at Mobbille, and when you see the Nations face to face, which are to be assembled against the First of next month; you will consult with M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie, and take the Justest Measures for Establish<sup>e</sup> yourselves in both these Posts, with all the precautions Requisite, which may procure to your Garrison, that quietness, and Tranquility, which in reality is so much to be desired.

On my side (Sir) since the King my Master has informed me of his intentions, I have not ceased to send my best words to all the Nations, for to persuade them of the necessity of the regulations made, and agreed upon, between Our Sovereigns: and I flatter myself that you find them as well disposed as you could wish for: There only now remains (Sir) for me to inform you, that it will be necessary to give the most punctual orders to your Troops not to make them Drunk, at least to give them as little Liquor as possible.

I think (Sir) this is all the insight that you desired of me, There remains nothing now but to Complement you on your arrival at Pensacola, and to wish you most perfect health.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the document printed *ante*, 1.

I am sorry that M<sup>r</sup> Lind has found me (that is to say) out of sortes, and all my Effects pack'd up, as I expect every day to go to France, I should have Received him as I ought, but M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie my Successor, supplied my place with pleasure.

I have the Honour to be with the Sentiments of the most particular and most distinguished Veneration Sir Your most humble and most obed<sup>t</sup> humble Servant

KERLERCE

NEW ORLEANS 2<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1763.

[Endorsed:] No 18.—Mons<sup>r</sup> Kerlerce's Letter—to Maj<sup>r</sup> Farmar dated—2<sup>d</sup> October 1763.—in Maj<sup>r</sup> Farmar's letter of—24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1764.

PROCLAMATION OF OCTOBER 7, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 119]

BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February last; and being desirous that all Our loving Subjects, as well of our Kingdom as of our Colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation, We have thought fit, with the Advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving Subjects, that we have, with the Advice of our Said Privy Council, granted our Letters Patent, under our Great seal of Great Britain, to erect, within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this proclamation see Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36: 20 *et seq.*

First — The Government of Quebec bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John, to the South end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said Line, crossing the River St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence, and the Lake Champlain, in 45. Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St<sup>t</sup> Lawrence by the West End of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the afore-said River of St<sup>t</sup> John.

Secondly — The Government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward by a Line drawn from that part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St Mary's River, and by the course of the said River to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Sea Coast.

Thirdly — The Government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast, from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said Lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward by a Line drawn due East from that part of the River Mississippi which lies in 31 Degrees North Latitude, to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

Fourthly — The Government of Grenada, comprehending the Island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominico, St<sup>t</sup> Vincent's and Tobago.

And to the end that the open and free Fishery of our Subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador, and the adjacent Islands, We have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that Coast, from the River St<sup>t</sup> John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madeleine, and all other smaller Islands lying upon the said Coast, under the care and Inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council, thought fit to annex the Islands of St John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser Islands adjacent thereto, to our Government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the Lands lying between the Rivers Alatomaha and St Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling our said new Governments, that our loving subjects should be informed of our Paternal care, for the security of the Liberties and Properties of those who are and who shall become Inhabitants thereof, We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this Our Proclamation, that We have, in the Letters Patent under our Great Seal of Great Britain, by which the said Governments are constituted, given express Power and Direction to our Governors of our Said Colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the Advice and Consent of the Members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said Governments respectively, in such Manner and Form as is used and directed in those Colonies and Provinces in America which are under our immediate Government; and We have also given Power to the said Governors, with the consent of our Said Councils, and the Representatives of the People so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances for the Public Peace, Welfare, and good Government of our said Colonies, and of the People and Inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, and under such Regulations and Restrictions as are used in other Colonies; and in the mean Time, and until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all Persons Inhabiting in or resorting to our Said Colonies may confide in our Royal Protection for the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Laws of our Realm of England; for which Purpose We have given Power under our Great Seal to the Governors of our said Colonies respectively to erect and constitute, with the Advice of our said Councils respectively, Courts of Judicature and public Justice within our Said Colonies for hearing and determining all Causes, as well Criminal as Civil, according to Law and Equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England, with Liberty to all



Persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the Sentences of such Courts, in all Civil Cases, to appeal, under the usual Limitations and Restrictions, to Us in our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give unto the Governors and Councils of our said Three new Colonies, upon the Continent full Power and Authority to settle and agree with the Inhabitants of our said new Colonies or with any other Persons who shall resort thereto, for such Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, as are now or hereafter shall be in our Power to dispose of; and them to grant to any such Person or Persons upon such Terms, and under such moderate Quit-Rents, Services and Acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in our other Colonies, and under such other Conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the Advantage of the Grantees, and the Improvement and settlement of our said Colonies.

And Whereas, We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and impower our Governors of our said Three new Colonies, and all other our Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant without Fee or Reward, to such reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, Subject, at the Expiration of Ten Years, to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer . . .	5,000 Acres.
To every Captain . . . . .	3,000 Acres.
To every Subaltern or Staff Officer . . . . .	2,000 Acres.
To every Non-Commission Officer . . . . .	200 Acres.
To every Private Man . . . . .	50 Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same



conditions, to such reduced Officers of our Navy of like Rank as served on board our Ships of War in North America at the times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our Interest, and the Security of our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds. We do therefore, with the Advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments as described in their Commissions; as also that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of our other Colonies or Plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West and North West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three new Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West as aforesaid;

And We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of our Displeasure, all our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without our especial leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And, We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon

any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other Lands which, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; In order, therefore, to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our Justice and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of our Privy Council strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our Colonies where, We have thought proper to allow Settlement; but that, if at any Time any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, the same shall be purchased only for Us, in our Name, at some public Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of our Colony respectively within which they shall lie; and in case they shall lie within the limits of any Proprietary Government, they shall be purchased only for the Use and in the name of such Proprietaries, conformable to such Directions and Instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that Purpose; and we do, by the Advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin, that the Trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our Subjects whatever, provided that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a Licence for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of Our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside, and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit, by ourselves or by our Commissaries to be appointed for this Purpose, to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade:

And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our Colonies respectively, as well those under Our immediate Government as those under the Government and Direction of Proprietaries, to grant such Licences without Fee or Reward, taking especial Care to insert therein a Condition,

that such Licence shall be void, and the Security forfeited in case the Person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such Regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all Officers whatever, as well Military as those Employed in the Management and Direction of Indian Affairs, within the Territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all Persons whatever, who standing charged with Treason, Misprisions of Treason, Murders, or other Felonies or Misdemeanors, shall fly from Justice and take Refuge in the said Territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the Colony where the Crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their Trial for the same.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 7<sup>th</sup> Day of October 1763. in the Third Year of our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING

PROTEST AGAINST THE SALE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE MISSION BY  
THE CAHOKIANS, October 31, 1763<sup>1</sup>  
[Seminary of Quebec, Carton des Missions — C.]

A MONSIEUR BOBE Desclausaux écrivain de la marine faisant fonction d'ordonnateur<sup>2</sup> et de juge aux pays des Illinois.

Nous avons l'honneur de vous représenter Monsieur que Monsieur l'abbé forget vicaire général du diocèse de Québec et curé de notre

[Translation]

To M. BOBE DESCLAUSEAUX, scrivener of the marine performing the duties of *ordonnateur*<sup>2</sup> and judge in the Illinois country.

We have the honor to represent to you, sir, that Abbé Forget, vicar general of the diocese of Quebec and pastor of our parish, is

<sup>1</sup> For other letters concerning the sale of the property of this mission, see *post*, 48, and later volumes; and also Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I. H. C., 2), 497 *et seq.*, where the later consequences of this sale by the Abbé Forget may be followed.

<sup>2</sup> This title is incorrect, as the officer performing the function indicated was a subdelegate of the *ordonnateur* of Louisiana, not the *ordonnateur*. The full name of the officer was Jean Arnold Valentine Bobe Desclauseaux. Very little more is known of him, since the Kaskaskia manuscripts of this date are very fragmentary. He must have left the Illinois shortly after the above date, for Joseph Lefebvre was performing the duties of chief civil magistrate, when the British took possession.

paroisse se disposant à passer en France et en conséquence vouloir vendre les biens de la communauté de la mission étrangère<sup>1</sup> dont les concessions ont été accordé par Sa Majesté aux prédécesseurs de mon d. Sieur abbé forget pour de servirre notre paroisse nommé la Ste famille l'hérédité de ses prédécesseurs ayant été considerable l'on mis a meme de rencherir sur eux en se batissant un presbiter spacieux sur le terrain à eux accordé nous vous représentons donc Monsieur que le dit Sieur abbé ayant nommé par interim pour son successeur le rev. pere Luc recollet et en consequence exige de nous de rebatir sur une autre terrain un presbiter nouveau voulant vendre les terrains accordé cy devant par Sa Majesté cette conduite Monsieur ne peu etre que prejudiciable a la communauté des missions etranger, a la respectable memoire de ces predecesseurs et aux droits de notre communaute nos instances ne scauroient etre trop suivis pour soutenir les droits de la mission et nous manquerions a la respectueuse reconnoissance que nous luy devons pour nous avoir fourni des pasteurs et que nous esperons la continuation par l'article de traité de paix que

[*Translation*]

preparing to go to France and consequently wishes to sell the property of the society of the Missions Étrangères,<sup>1</sup> the concession of which was granted by his majesty to the predecessors of Abbé Forget in order that they might serve our parish which is named the Holy Family. Since the inheritance of his predecessors was considerable they undertook to improve it by building a spacious rectory on the land granted to them. We represent to you now, sir, that the said abbé has named for the interim as his successor the Rev. Father Luc, a Recollect, and in consequence demands that we build on another piece of land another rectory, since he wishes to sell the lands granted heretofore by his majesty. This conduct, sir, can be only prejudicial to the society of the Missions Étrangères, to the honorable memory of his predecessors, and to the rights of our community. Our entreaties cannot be too persistent in order to maintain the rights of the mission, [else] we should be lacking in the respectful gratitude which we owe it for having furnished us with pastors and we hope for the con-

<sup>1</sup> The Missions Étrangères of Quebec was founded by the secular clergy to promote the missions among the Indians. In March, 1699, a mission was established by them at Cahokia, and later a seigniory was granted them there.



la religion romaine sera tolleré dans ce pays seroit-il possible Monsieur que ses biens fussent vendûs à l'encen de Superieur des missions par une personne qui ici a rien mis du sien,<sup>1</sup> nous vous demandons Monsieur que le rev. pere Luc jouisse des biens et droit de la mission jusqu'a ce qu'il en soit ordonné autrement par le r<sup>d</sup> pere superieur de cette mission nous esperons que vous voudrez bien nous accorder la meme grace pour ce qui regarde le moulin à l'eau n'étant construit que par le fruit de nos travaux nous le reclamons aussi a la mission a qui nous aurons l'honneur de présenter nos humbles supplication pour optenire des missionnaire.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect. Monsieur, vos tres humble et tres respectueux serviteurs

[No signatures]

AUX CAOKIAS, ce 31 8<sup>bre</sup> 1763.

[Endorsed:] Protestation des habitants de Kaokio contre le vente des biens de la mission.

[Translation]

tinuation [of this favor] from the article of the treaty of peace which states that the Roman religion shall be tolerated in this country. Would it be possible, sir, that the goods should be sold at the auction of a superior of the mission by a person who has brought no property of his own here.<sup>1</sup> We demand from you, sir, that the Rev. Father Luc enjoy the property and rights of the mission until it is ordered otherwise by the reverend father superior of this mission. We hope that you will be willing to grant us the same favor in regard to the water-mill since it was constructed by the fruit of our labor. We ask it also of the mission, to which we shall have the honor to present our humble prayer, that they obtain for us missionaries.

We have the honor to be with profound respect, sir, your very humble and very respectful servants.

[No signatures]

CAHOKIA, October 31, 1763

[Endorsed:] Protest of the inhabitants of Cahokia against the sale of the property of the mission.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this passage is very obscure.



MEMORANDUM OF THE SALE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE MISSIONS  
ÉTRANGÈRES, n. d.<sup>1</sup>

[A.A.Q., Mission des Illinois, f. 12 — Original]

Mémoire instructif des biens dependants de la mission de la Ste famille des Kaokias.

Mr Forget avant de repasser en France en 1763 a vendu sans aucun droit et sans y être autorisé tous les biens meubles et immeubles à l'exception d'un petit fief de quatre lieues en superficie dont il ne paroist point d'acte de vente.

Il a vendu au Sr J. B. la grange, marchand, une maison en pierre et autres batiemens, plus un terrain distribue en cour, jardin, verger contenant environ 350 pieds de large sur 900 pieds de profondeur, le tout situlé à la Ste famille des Kaokias, plus un moulin à eux à farine, et un moulin à planche avec tous ses mouvemens et utencilles situés sur la petite rivière des Kaokias et ce pour la somme de 12500<sup>11</sup> par acte du 5 gbre 1763 devant Bussière nre aux Illinois.

Et par un autre acte du même jour devant le même notaire il a

[Translation]

List of property belonging to the mission of the Holy Family of Cahokia.

M. Forget, when he went to France in 1763, sold without any right and without any authority all the property, movable and immovable with the exception of a little fief of four leagues in area, for which there does not seem to be any act of sale.

He sold to M. J. B. Lagrange, merchant, a stone house and other buildings; and likewise a plantation divided into court, garden, and orchard measuring about three hundred and fifty feet in length and nine hundred feet in depth, all being situated in the parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia; and likewise a water mill for grinding corn and a plank mill with all its machinery and utensils situated on the little Cahokia River. He sold these for the sum of 12,500 *livres* by act of November 5, 1763, made before Labuxiere, notary at the Illinois.

And by another act of the same day, before the same notary,

<sup>1</sup>The date is evidently sometime before 1769.

vendu au Sr Lagrange<sup>1</sup> et a Pierre Etienne marafret laissart<sup>2</sup> 12 esclaves noirs pour la somme de 20000<sup>11</sup> lesquelles sommes devoient suivant la teneur des deux actes estre payées en differens termes à l'ordre de Mr le Supérieur du Séminaire des missions étrangères de Paris, lequel Séminaire n'a aucun droit aux biens de cette mission, aussi Mr Forget n'avoit-il aucune procuration de la part de ce Séminaire.

Je ne sçai si les 2 acheteurs ont payé le prix des ventes qui ont été faites. Le terme du dernier payement doit échoir dans l'année 1769. Mr le Supérieur des missions étrangères de paris m'a écrit l'année dernière qu'on ne leur avoit pas encore fait toucher un sol sur ces ventes.

[*Translation*]

he sold to M. Lagrange<sup>1</sup> and to Pierre Etienne Marafret Laissard<sup>2</sup> twelve black slaves for the sum of 20,000 *livres*, which sums ought, according to the tenure of the two acts, to be paid at different times on the order of the superior of the Missions Étrangères of Paris, which seminary has no right to the property of this mission. Also M. Forget did not have any power of attorney from this seminary.

I do not know if the two purchasers have paid the price of the sales which have been made. The term of the last payment ought to expire in the year 1769. The superior of the Missions Étrangères of Paris wrote me last year that they had not yet seen a *sou* of the sale price.

DE VILLIERS TO DABBADIE, December 1, 1763

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A43:353 — L.S.]

ILLINOIS AU FORT DE CHARTRES ce 1<sup>er</sup> x<sup>bre</sup> 1763

MONSIEUR

J'ai reçu vos Depêches en datte du 5<sup>e</sup> aoust par le S. de Berqueville venu des arkanças par terre arrivés icy Le 25 8<sup>bre</sup>.

[*Translation*]

ILLINOIS, FORT DE CHARTRES, December 1, 1763

SIR:

I have your dispatches dated August 5 sent by M. Berqueville who came from the Arkansas by land, and arrived here October 25.

<sup>1</sup> Lagrange was a citizen of Kaskaskia at this time and was appointed by Captain Stirling a judge. *Post*, 2:121.

<sup>2</sup> He was a resident of Nouvelle Chartres in the Illinois and a royal officer. *Post*, 129.

Je sens parfaitement, Monsieur, que si le general amherst avoit pris le party de me faire Sçavoir La Cessasion d'hostillittés et Succésivement la Ratification des traittés Chacune dans Leurs temps, j'aurois Disposée les Nations En Conséquence Convincu que Je Suis qu'un homme Representant en dignitté Est Incapable d'abuser du Droit des gens, j'aurois dije fais passer des Colliers dans tout le Continent Et j'ose me flatter d'apres la Confiance que les hommes Rouges ont En moy, que j'aurois pus faire Echouér La Conspiration. mais Lignorance dans Laquelle J'estois ne ma pas permis d'y pourvoir Et J'ai tout Lieu de Craindre que les Choses portées au point ou Elles Sont Il ne soit difficil de les apaiser.

Jai Eu l'honneur de vous rendre Compte par mes Dernieres dépêches en datte du 10. 8<sup>bre</sup> que j'avois mis en Execution Les ordres que vous maviez adressez En faisant passer des Colliers paroles Et Calumets dans toutes les parties du Continent.

Le S<sup>r</sup> Debeaujeu qui s'estoit chargés de Faire passer les paroles Calumets Et Colliers dans toutes les Nations du Nord, a pris le party d'hiverner a 60. Lieües dans La Rivierre des Ilinois avec une partie

[*Translation*]

I feel confident, sir, that if General Amherst had sent me word of the cessation of hostilities and the ratification of the treaty, each in its time, I should have prevailed upon the natives as a consequence of that knowledge, for I am convinced that a man who has the dignity of a representative is incapable of breaking the law of nations. I have already sent belts throughout all the continent, and I dare flatter myself, knowing the confidence that the red men have in me, that I could have stopped the conspiracy; but the ignorance, in which I was, has not permitted me to provide for it; and I have reason to fear that since affairs have been carried so far it will be difficult for me to quiet them.

I have had the honor of informing you by my last dispatches, dated October 10, that I had executed the orders which you sent me in regard to sending belts, talks, and calumets to all parts of the continent.

M. Debeaujeu, who was instructed to carry the talks, calumets, and belts to all the nations of the North, wintered sixty leagues distant on the Illinois River with a party of Potawatomi, and has sent the

des poutiououatamis, Et a fait passer Les paroles plus loing; ces Derniers auxquels Il La Communiqué m'ont fait Réponce que les Chefs Et vieillards avoient toujours Ecoutez ma parole mais qu'ils ne Repondoient pas de leurs guerriers, que Daillieur sestoit le maitre de la vie qui les Excittois a La guerre, Il Est Bon de vous observer, Monsieur, qu'un Esprit prophétique C'est introduit Chez Les abénakis un homme de Cette Nation n'a pas Eu de peine a convaincre tous les Siens et Successivement tous les hommes rouges, que Dieu lui estoit aparu Et lui avoit dit<sup>1</sup> " Je suis le maitre de la vie c'est moy qui ai fais tous les hommes, par conséquent je dois véiéller a leur Conservation, C'est pourquoy, je vous avertis que si vous souffrée Langlais Chez vous vous Estes morts, Les maladies, La picotte, Et Leur poison vous Detruiront totalement, Il faut me prier Et ne Rien Faire qui n'aie Raport a moy je vous Soutiendrai, mais Il faut abandonner vos nattes Et vos manitous, la pluralitté des femmes Et contre ma loix."

Cette pretundue apparition a Fait un Effet que jaurois peine a vous Expliquer, je Suis parfaitement convaincû de Celui qu'il a Fait

[Translation]

talks farther on. These last to whom he has talked have answered me that the chiefs and the old men have always listened to my talk, but that they did not answer for their warriors, and that besides it was the Master of Life who was exciting them to war. It is well to observe to you, sir, that a prophetic spirit has been introduced among the Abnaki. A man of that nation has had no difficulty in convincing all his own people, and in turn all the red men, that God had appeared to him and said:<sup>1</sup> "I am the Master of Life. It is I who have made all men; consequently I ought to watch over their preservation. That is why I inform you that if you suffer the English among you, you are dead men. Sickness, smallpox, and their poison will destroy you entirely. It is necessary to pray to me and to do nothing that is contrary to my wishes. I will sustain you; but you must abandon your altar mats and your manitoes. Plurality of wives is contrary to my law."

This pretended apparition has had an effect that I should have difficulty in explaining to you. I am perfectly convinced of the effect

<sup>1</sup> This story is given at much greater length in the *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763* (Burton ed.), 20 et seq.



sur les poutéououatamis qui ont Rejetté les Nattes et Manitoux, qu'ils ne vivent plus qu'avec une femme, font Leurs prieres soir Et matin Et desire tous D'estre Baptisé.

L'on m'assure que dans toutes les Nations des Lacs Ils en agissent de meme. Le 24. 8<sup>bre</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> ange me marquois quil avoient fait assembler les péanguichias auxquels Il avoit fait Expliquer La parole que j'adrésois a toutes les Nations de la Belle Rivierre, qu'ils avoient acceptés les Calumets de paix et qu'il Suffisoit que je Les en assure pour qu'ils Restes tranquils.

par les mêmes Couriers, Le S<sup>r</sup> dequindre que j'avois Expédié pour le Detroit Et ouÿatamons et auquel j'avois Donné ordre de Remettre Collier Et Calumet de paix aux Nations qui ce trouv[er]ais sur son passage, me marque que Les Kikapous mascoutins grands Et petits oïyas avoient acceptés ma parole et qu'ils promettoient de Rester tranquils.

Le 27. du même mois Est arrivés icy le Nommé charlot sauvages françisé porteur de Lettre Et de Colier de la part du Chef Pondiak, J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser particulièrement La Copie de Sa Lettre Et déposition de Ce Collier, La Reponce que j'i ai faite En

[*Translation*]

that it has had upon the Potawatomi who have thrown away their altar mats and manitoes, live no longer with more than one wife, offer up prayers evening and morning, and wish to be baptized.

I am assured that throughout all the nations of the lakes they are acting the same way. On October 24 M. de St. Ange informed me that he had called together the Piankashaw to whom he had explained the talk that I addressed to all the nations of the Ohio, and that they had accepted the calumet of peace, and that it would be sufficient that I give them assurance of it in order that they remain quiet.

By the same courier M. Deguindre, whom I had sent to Detroit and Ouiatanon and had ordered to give the belt and calumet of peace to the nations whom he found on his journey, tells me that the Kickapoo, Mascoutens, great and little Wea have accepted my talk and promise to remain at peace.

The twenty-seventh of the same month there arrived here a certain Charlot, a French savage, bearer of a letter and belt from Chief Pontiac. I have the honor of sending you, in particular, a copy of his



presance de M<sup>rs</sup> Bobé Laissart jinkince<sup>1</sup> off<sup>er</sup> anglais prisonier Et de tous M<sup>rs</sup> Les officiers, aussy bien que celle de trois autres Couriers qui mont Eté Expédiés du fort duquesne.

J'ai rapellé le S<sup>r</sup> Toulon des péorias<sup>2</sup> ainsy que sa garnison, j'ai reduit celle du Fort massiac a quinze hommes et un officier, jen ai Fait transporter toutes Lartillerie qui Est En Etat de servir, a S<sup>te</sup> genevieve, elle Consiste en 5. pièces de Canon dont une de trois Et quatre de deux Boulets vingt quattre Et 19 grenades Il En Est Resté trois pour Lesquels j'ai Donnés des ordres de Casser les Tourillons au moment de L'évacuation.

Nous avons l'honneur de vous Rendre Comptes En Commun sur les Differents objets de notre administration et particulièrement Sur Les demandes que vous nous avéz faites, qui y Sont Relatives aussy bien que d'un projet que nous vous proposons Et que je pense estre le Seul et dont L'exécution me paroist la Seule propre a ne pas indisposer de Nouveaux nos trop Embitieux Et trop puissant voisins,

[*Translation*]

letter and the interpretation of the belt, and the answer that I have made to it in the presence of MM. Bobé, Laissard, and Jenkins, an English officer<sup>1</sup> who is a prisoner, and of all the officers and of three other couriers, who have been sent to me from Fort Duquesne.

I recalled from the Peoria M. Toulon and his garrison.<sup>2</sup> The garrison at Fort Massac I have reduced to fifteen men and an officer, and have brought from it to Ste. Genevieve all the artillery that is serviceable. There are five pieces of cannon, one of which is of three inches [?], four of two inches, twenty-four cannon balls, and nineteen grenades. There remain there three which I have ordered to be dismounted at the time of evacuation.

I have the honor of rendering an account to you of the different subjects of my administration and in particular of answering the demands relating thereto which you have made upon me; and I propose a project to you which I think is the only one whose execution appears to me fitted not to arouse again our too bitter and too powerful neighbors. I think, sir, that you are rendering me only justice

<sup>1</sup> Taken prisoner at Ouiatanon at the outbreak of the Pontiac conspiracy. See *ante*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> From this and other passages of similar character it is evident that the French maintained a garrison at Peoria, at least during the war.

je pense, Monsieur, que vous me Rendez assez de justice pour croire que malgré Lenvie que j'ai D'aller Revoir mes Dieux pénates ce desir Serois pour Rien si je Croiois qu'il put Estre Contraire au Bien du Service, moins pour Faire mon apologie que Celle du poste, j'aurai l'honneur de vous observer, que le Commandant d'icy a toujours Eté Regardé de toutes les Nations Comme un pere Secourable Et Notament depuis trois ans ou j'ose me flatter avoir reussi a les Con-  
tanter, Estant privé d'allieur de toute Espèce de secour depuis L'evacuation du Canada. je Serais a même de prouver qu'au moins quatorze mils hommes ce Sont Resenti de la modicitté de Ceux que j'ai Eté a mêmes de Leur Donner, La Démarche qu'ils viennent de Faire, Leurs a utes toutes Esperance d'en Recevoir de La part des anglais n'ayant pas Suivi La même politique que plusieurs ont Eu pendant La guere Notament les Chaououanons qui ne frappaient pas sur Les traitteurs; Ils en avoient dans Leurs Villages Et Estoient Journallement en guerre Contre les anglais, aujourdhuy Ils ne font aucune Distinction Et Les trois que j'ai Eu L'honneur de vous adresser ne Doivent la vie qu'aux Soins que Les français ont pris de Leur Sauver Je pen-

[*Translation*]

in believing that in spite of the desire I have to see my penates, and this desire I count as nothing if I believed that it would be contrary to the good of the service; but less for the purpose of making my apologies than those of the post, I have the honor to call to your attention that the commander of this place has always been regarded by all the nations as a helpful father, particularly during the last three years when I dare flatter myself I succeeded in contenting them, although I was deprived of all assistance after the evacuation of Canada. I could prove that at least fourteen thousand people have been offended by the smallness of that succor which I have been able to give them. The conduct which they have just shown has taken from them all hopes of receiving any succor from the English, since they have not followed the same policy that several nations have during the war, notably the Shawnee who did not strike at their traders. They had some of them in their villages, and were daily at war with the English. Today they do not make any distinction, and the three men that I have the honor of sending to you owe their lives only to the care which the French have taken to save them. I think then, sir, that [care should

serois Donc, Monsieur, que pour Evitter tous Reproches de la part du gouvernement anglais Et Convincre les Sauvages (qui s'applaudissent de me voir Encore icy, d'après Les preparattifs quils ont vû faire au Fort duquesne) Ils ne manque pas dans toutes leur harrangue de me Repetter "prend Courage mon pere, n'abandonne pas tes Enfants; Les anglais ne viendront jamais icy tant qu'il y aura un homme rouge." Convincu comme je le suis du peu de Fond que Lon peut faire sur des hommes sans Loix et que Leur Levée de bouclier n'aportera aucun Changement aux arrangemens Entre les deux Couronnes qu'il Serois Nécessaire dévacuer ce poste, c'est le Seul moyens de faire Cesser Leur Entreprise. et si Monsieur, vous approuvié Cette Evacuation, je pourois le faire dans les premiers jours de mars de lannée prochaine qui Est le meilleur temps Et le plus propres attendu que Le fleuve Et dans Sa plus belle Navigation par La hauteur des Eaux, et Ce avec toutes les troupes Il faudroit pour cela que je Reçu vos ordres en fevrier Et je pourois remettre au S<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> ange le Comand<sup>t</sup> de ce fort avec 40. hommes Et des Instructions Relatives a Celles que vous m'avez addressés, je Crois aussy que c'est le seul moyens d'evitter

[*Translation*]

be taken] to avoid all reproach from the English government, and to convince the savages (who rejoice in seeing me still here after having seen the preparations that were being made at Fort Duquesne). They do not fail in all their harangues to repeat to me: "Take courage, my father, do not abandon your children. The English will never come here as long as there shall be a red man." Convinced as I am of the little trust one can place in lawless men, and that the raising of war will bring no change in the arrangements entered into between the two crowns, [I believe] that it will be necessary to evacuate this post since that is the only means of making them stop their enterprise; and if, sir, you approve this evacuation, I could do it in the first days of March of next year, which is the best time and the most fitting seeing that the river is, on account of the height of the water, the best for navigation; all the troops could be removed. For this it is necessary that I should receive your orders in February, and I could intrust this fort to M. de St. Ange, commandant, with forty men, and give him instructions relative to those things about which you have informed me. I believe that this is the only means of

au roy des Dépenses Immenses Et auxquelles Serai je peutestre Forcée de Souscrire attendu le Nombre qui ne manquera pas de massaler ce printemps, et que la nécessité pourroient mettre dans le Cas de Franchir Les Bornes du Respect qu'ils ont toujours Eu pour la Nation française s'il me trouvent h'ors d'Etat de Les Secourir, ce n'est pas, Monsieur, que je Sois dans le Cas de Doubter de leur attachement pour moy personnellement.

M<sup>r</sup> Labbé Forget, au Départ duquel j'ai Crue Devoir ne point mettre D'empêchement Sur les Justes Craintes qu'il a d'un Nouveau gouvernement ainsy que Le S<sup>r</sup> de girardot Seront a même de suplérer au Déffaut de ce que je pourrois obmettre Et que mon amour propre ne me permet pas De vous Dire. Le premier Est un homme d'Esprit Et que Neuf ans de permanence dans Cette partie peut mettre a même de vous Eclaircir Sur biens des fais, Le Second y Est Né Et a Assisté a tous les Conseils qui Sont tenu Chez moy.

Comme je Suis dans le Cas d'attendre des N<sup>lles</sup> d'un moment a Lautre, j'aurai l'honneur de vous en instruire par une voiture qui Doit Dessendre sous Dix jours.

Plusieurs habitants m'ont Demandé aussy cette permission de

[*Translation*]

avoiding for the king great expenses which I shall perhaps be forced to make, seeing the number who never fail to assail me in the spring, and whom necessity may put in the position of breaking the bonds of respect which they have always had for the French nation, if they find me unable to succor them; this does not mean, sir, that I have come to doubt their attachment to me personally.

Abbé Forget, to whose departure I believed I ought not to make any hindrance on account of the just fears that he had of the new government, and M. de Girardot will be able to supply any lack of information which I may have omitted, and which my pride does not permit me to tell you. The first is a man of spirit, whose nine years residence in this territory has put him in a position to explain to you many things; the second was born here and was present at all the councils that have been held at my house.

As I am expecting to hear news at any moment, I shall have the honor of telling it to you by a boat which is due to descend in ten days.

Several inhabitants have also demanded permission to descend,



Dessendre, autant pour aller Chercher Leurs Besoins que pour Voir a prendre des arangem<sup>t</sup> pour leur transmigration.

Jai permis a un Nombre infini de jeune gens de le faire et de Chasser en dessendant.

Je Suis avec Respect Monsieur Votre tres humble Et tres Obéis-  
sant serviteur

NEYON DE VILLIERS

Pardonnés Monsieur Le Defaut de papier menpeche de faire de  
copir cet Letre[?]

[Translation]

both to obtain necessities and to make arrangements for their emigra-  
tion.

I have given permission to a large number of young men to do this  
and to hunt while descending.

I am, with respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient  
servant,

NEYON DE VILLIERS

Pardon, sir, the lack of paper hinders me from having this letter  
[?] copied.

DABBADIE<sup>1</sup> TO ROBERTSON, December 7, 1763

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A43: 245-247 — A.C.]

Copie d'une Lettre ecrite par M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie Directeur général,  
Command<sup>t</sup> pour sa M<sup>te</sup> T. C. á la Louísienne, à M. Robertson Colonel  
y Commandant les Troupes de sa M<sup>te</sup> B<sup>que</sup>

[Translation]

Copy of a letter written by M. Dabbadie, director general, com-  
mandant for his very Christian majesty in Louisiana, to M. Robert-  
son, colonel commanding the troops of his Britannic majesty there.

<sup>1</sup> Sieur Dabbadie was a man of long experience in the civil service of France, with some knowledge of America which he obtained while acting in Canada as *commissaire*. In 1761 he was appointed *commissaire général et ordonnateur* of Louisiana but never exercised his authority because he was taken prisoner by the British. At the close of the war he was sent to Louisiana to replace Kerlérec as governor and to take charge of the cession of eastern Louisiana to the British. It was not until later that he received knowledge of the cession of the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain. Before the completion of his work Dabbadie died, February 4, 1765, universally regretted, and was succeeded by Aubry. Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane française*, ch. viii. See his journal, *post*, 162.



À LA MOBILE, le 7. x<sup>bre</sup> 1763.

MONSIEUR,

Suivant l'Article 7 du "Traité de Paix, le Roi très Chrétien cède à Sa Majesté Britannique la Riviere et le Port de la Mobile et tout ce qu'il possède ou a dû posséder du côté gauche du Fleuve Mississippi à l'exception de la ville de la Nouvelle Orléans, et de l'Isle dans laquelle elle est située."

Je ne crois pas que les expressions de cet article puisse être prises dans un autre sens que celui qui peut avoir rapport à la cession des Terres, Etablissements, d'Ouvrages de Fortifications, Maisons et Magazins, qui sont les seules et réelles possessions; car il est vraisemblable que si on eût eu en vue les effets et munitions qui pouvoient s'y trouver appartenant à Sa M. T. C., ils auroient été designés dans cet article par quelques expressions générales ou particulières. Je ne puis regarder la clause de l'article 20 du Traité de Paix qui stipule que sa M. C. aura la faculté de faire transporter tous les effets qui peuvent lui appartenir, soit artillerie ou autre, que comme une prevoyance des difficultés qui pouvoient survenir à ce sujet, et je ne puis interpréter

[*Translation*]

MOBILE, December 7, 1763

SIR:

According to article seven of the "treaty of peace, the very Christian king cedes to his Britannic majesty the river and port of Mobile and all that he possesses or ought to possess on the left bank of the river Mississippi with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the island on which it is situated."

I do not believe the expressions of this article can be taken in any other sense than referring to the cession of the territory, establishments, work of fortifications, houses, and storehouses which are the only real possessions; for it is probable that if one had had in view property and ammunition belonging to his very Christian majesty which might be there, these would have been designated in this article by some expressions, general or particular. I can only regard the clause of article twenty of the treaty of peace, which stipulates that his Christian majesty shall have the power to have transported all the property that may belong to him, either artillery or other, as a premonition of the difficulties which might occur in this matter; and

le silence de l'article 7. sur les même objets comme un consentement réel de leur Cession; j'en suis d'autant plus persuadé que mes instructions m'autorisent à faire enlever des Possessions cedeés à Sa Majesté Britannique tout ce qui appartient à Sa M. T. C.— C'est en conséquence que M. de Kerlérec et moi avons donné des ordres dès la cessation des hostilités. pour faire revenir dans les magasins de la Nouvelle Orléans. l'artillerie et les principales Munition de la Mobile et des autres Etablissemens de la Rive gauche du Fleuve Mississippi, Sans lesquelles ce Poste principal et ceux de la rive droite Se trouveroient démunis.

Cependant pour vous faire connoître, Monsieur, le désir sincère que j'ai de concourir à tout ce qui peut contribuer à la facilité de vos Etablissemens, j'ai laissé dans le Poste de Tombekbé l'artillerie et les Munitions qui s'y sont trouvées; il en sera de même de celui des Alibamous dès qu'il sera possible d'en faire l'évacuation; la situation de ces Postes au centre des Nations Sauvages exigeroient ces arrangemens pour votre sureté et votre tranquillité.<sup>1</sup>

[*Translation*]

I cannot interpret the silence of article seven on the same subject as a real consent to their cession. I am so much the more persuaded because my instructions authorize me to have brought away from the possessions ceded to his Britannic majesty all that belong to his very Christian majesty. Consequently, M. Kerlérec and I gave orders at the time of cessation of hostilities to have returned to the magazine of New Orleans the artillery and principal military stores from Mobile and from the other establishments on the right bank of the river Mississippi. Without these this principal post and those of the right bank would be unfortified.

However, in order to let you know, sir, the sincere desire which I feel of consenting to all that can contribute to the ease of your establishment, I have left in the post of Tombigbee the artillery and ammunition which are there. There will be likewise some at the post of the Alibamu as soon as it will be possible to evacuate it. The situation of these posts in the center of the savage nations demanded these arrangements for your safety and tranquillity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The preceding paragraphs are taken from the copy in P.R.O., C.O., 323.17, f. 605.

vous avés pourvû par le secours de vos vaisseaux à l'artillerie que j'ai fait enlever de la Mobile; je pense que le nombre de Canons que vous y avés actuellement peut vous donner la Facilité de pourvoir de même à ceux qui vous sont nécessaires pour le Poste des Natchez et ceux dépendans des ilinois où 24 Pièces de Canon de petit calibre et quelques Pierriers peuvent suffire pour votre sureté dans les premiers instans de votre Etablissement, et vous etes à même de remplacer dans peu de tems à la Mobile les Canons que vous en aurés enlevé.

Mais si les circonstances relativement aux Sauvages actuellement en armes exigeoient à votre arrivée aux ilinois un plus grand nombre de Canons que celui que vous y pouvés porter, je donnerai ordre aux commandans de ces Postes pour sa M<sup>te</sup> T. C. de vous laisser six Pièces de Canon au Fort de Chartres, deux au Fort Vincennes et deux au Fort Massiac; sur l'engagement que vous prenés de les faire remplacer à la Nouvelle Orléans si l'artillerie ne doit pas etre comprise dans la cession de ces mêmes Postes; et par les inventaires que je vous remettrai je constaterai non seulement l'artillerie mais même toutes les munitions de guerre qui y existoient lors de la cession qui en a été faite

[*Translation*]

You have provided by the assistance of your vessels for the artillery which I have had removed from Mobile; I think that the number of cannon which you now have there will make it possible for you to provide likewise for those which are necessary for the post at Natchez and those dependent on the Illinois where twenty-four of small caliber and some swivel-guns will be sufficient for your safety at the beginning of your establishment there; and you can replace in a short time at Mobile the cannon which you will take from there.

But if the circumstances, connected with the savages now in arms, demand on your arrival at Illinois a greater number of cannon than that which you can carry there, I will give orders to the commandants of these posts for his very Christian majesty to leave you six pieces of cannon at Fort de Chartres, two at Fort Vincennes, and two at Fort Massac; with the understanding that you undertake to have these replaced at New Orleans if the artillery should not be included in the cession of these posts; and by the inventories which I will send you I shall make declaration not only of the artillery but also of the munitions of war which were there at the time of the cession that was

le dix fevrier dernier. je joins ici celui de la Mobile; et je ne peux vous donner exactement ceux des autres Postes qu'après qu'ils me seront parvenus.

voila, Monsieur, tout ce que je peux Faire, sans gêner les opérations du service dont je suis chargé, pour vous convaincre de l'envie que j'ai de repondre à vos vûes, conformes aux miennes, de maintenir l'union si necessaire à l'avantage des deux nations.

j'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> &c

Signé DABBADIE.

Pour Copie DABBADIE

[Endorsed:] 7 x<sup>bre</sup> 1763

[*Translation*]

made the tenth of February last. I join herewith the inventory of Mobile; and I can give you an exact account of the other posts only after the inventory shall have reached me.

That is, sir, all that I can do, without inconveniencing the service with which I am intrusted, to convince you of the desire I have of complying with your views, similar to mine, for maintaining a union that is so necessary to the advantage of the two nations.

I have the honor to be etc.

signed DABBADIE

True copy DABBADIE

[Endorsed:] December 7, 1763

## CHAPTER II

### BANISHMENT OF THE JESUITS

THE DECREE AGAINST THE JESUITS — THE HISTORY OF THE BANISHMENT — THE SERVICES OF THE JESUITS — THEIR DEVOTION TO DUTY — THE AUCTION OF THEIR PROPERTY AT KASKASKIA — JEAN BTE. BAUVAIS MAKES A PURCHASE.

BANISHMENT OF THE JESUITS, July 9, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[Carayon, *Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane*, 1 et seq.]

Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane.<sup>2</sup>

Vous m'écrivez, Monsieur, que vous avez été surpris d'apprendre qu'il était arrivé à Paris, des Jésuites bannis de la Louisiane par un

[*Translation*<sup>3</sup>]

Banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana<sup>2</sup>

You write me, sir, that you were surprised to learn of the arrival at Paris of the Jesuits banished from Louisiana by a decree pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Printed also in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 70:212 et seq. Dr. Thwaites suggests that the document was written by Father P. Watrin. *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> During the middle of the eighteenth century the opposition to the Jesuits, which had been suppressed up to this time, broke out in many countries and resulted in the expulsion of the order from Portugal in 1759, and later in France and Spain, and its final abolition by the pope in 1773. The immediate occasion of this drastic action in France was a lawsuit growing out of an unsuccessful financial speculation on the part of Father Lavalette, Jesuit superior in Martinique. The debt thus incurred was repudiated by Lorenzo Ricci, the general of the society. During the course of the suit the constitutions of the Jesuits were made public and aroused so much indignation that, before the government took its final action in expelling the order, several of the *parlements* confiscated its property and reduced the members to a condition of secular clerks. The news of these acts reached New Orleans in 1762 but no proceedings were begun against the Jesuits until after the treaty of peace and the arrival of M. Dabbadie the following year. The Jesuits were then cited before the superior council and condemned. Lavissee and Rambaud, *Histoire generale du quatre siècle à nos jours*, 7:823; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art., "Jesuits." For further information on sale of Jesuit property at Kaskaskia see *post*, 125, 129, 132.

<sup>3</sup> The translation is taken from Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, with some changes by the editors.



arrêt porté contre eux dans cette colonie. Vous voudriez savoir les motifs de cet arrêt et tout ce qui a suivi son exécution. Je suis au fait de l'affaire qui vous intéresse et même de tout ce qui peut y avoir quelque rapport. J'ai demeuré près de trente ans à la Louisiane, et je n'en suis parti qu'au commencement de cette année. Je suis persuadé que votre curiosité n'a point d'autres motifs que votre amour pour la religion et la vérité. Dans le récit que je vais vous faire, je serais attentif à ne rien dire qui s'écarte tant soit peu de ces deux règles.

Au mois de juin 1763 les Jésuites de la Nouvelle-Orléans, capitale de la Louisiane, étaient encore entre la crainte et l'espérance au sujet de leur sort à venir. Dès l'année précédente ils avaient vu leurs ennemis répandre avec un air de triomphe des copies manuscrites de l'arrêt donné par le Parlement de Paris, le 6 août 1761. Mais des personnes respectables les avaient rassurés. Ils attendaient beaucoup de l'avis donné en leur faveur, et surtout de la prière adressée au Roi par les évêques de France. Ils surent enfin à quoi ils devaient s'en tenir à l'arrivée du vaisseau qui, avec la nouvelle de la paix, portait des ordres pour leur destruction.

[*Translation*]

against them in that colony. You wish to know of the reasons for this decree, and what followed its execution. I am familiar with the affair that interests you and likewise with all that can in any way relate thereto. I lived for almost thirty years in Louisiana and departed thence only at the beginning of this year. I am persuaded that your curiosity has no other motives than your love for religion and for truth. In the recital which I am about to give you I shall be careful to say nothing which will depart in the least from these two rules.

In the month of June, 1763, the Jesuits of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, were still between hope and fear as to their future fate. As early as the preceding year they had seen their enemies distribute with a triumphant air manuscript copies of the decree passed by the *parlement* of Paris, August 6, 1761. But people worthy of respect had calmed their fears. They were expecting a great deal from the opinion given in their favor, and above all from the petition addressed to the king by the bishops of France. They finally learned what they were to expect at the arrival of the ship which brought, with the news of peace, orders for their destruction.

Sur le vaisseau était venu M. d'Albadie, commissaire général de la marine, et ordonnateur à la Louisiane, et avec lui M. de la Frenière, procureur général du conseil supérieur de cette colonie; tous deux nouvellement pourvus de leur charge. M. le commissaire ne tarda pas à déclarer au supérieur des Jésuites ce qui se préparait contre eux. Je crois, lui dit-il, que M. le procureur général est chargé de quelque ordre qui vous regarde. A qui aurait pu l'entendre c'était en dire assez, mais les Jésuites trop rassurés voulurent bien croire que malgré l'exemple de tant de Parlements de France, on ne ferait rien contre eux à la Louisiane; et, dans un moment si critique, ils ne prirent pas la moindre précaution pour mettre leur biens à l'abri.

On commença à procéder. Il fut ordonné que l'Institut des Jésuites serait apporté au conseil pour être examiné. C'était une grande entreprise pour ce tribunal. Il aurait fallu au moins que tous les juges qui le composaient eussent étudié la théologie, le droit civil, et le droit ecclésiastique. Mais surtout il aurait fallu qu'ils entendissent la langue dans laquelle l'institut est composé. Or, ce ne sont point ces genres de science qu'on exige dans les juges des colonies.

[Translation]

There came upon the ship M. Dabbadie, commissary general and *ordonnateur* of Louisiana, and with him M. de la Frenière, procurator general of the superior council of this colony — both newly appointed to their positions. The commissary did not delay to notify the superior of the Jesuits what was brewing against them. "I believe," he said to him, "that the procurator general is charged with some order that concerns you." This was a sufficient warning, for anyone who could understand him; but the Jesuits, too confident, were disposed to believe that in spite of the example of so many *parlements* of France nothing would be done against them in Louisiana; and at a moment so critical they did not take the slightest precaution about protecting their property.

Proceedings were begun. It was decreed that the constitution of the Jesuits should be brought to the council to be examined. It was a great undertaking for this tribunal. All the judges who composed it ought at least to have studied theology and civil and ecclesiastical law. But above all they ought to understand the language in which the constitution is written. Now this is not the kind of

Pour les nommer, on ne va pas chercher les élèves des universités, mais on prend parmi les habitants ceux qui montrent quelques capacités dans les affaires. Ainsi, on trouve dans ces conseils d'anciens gardesmagasin, des médecins, des officiers de troupes. Les plus instruits sont ordinairement les élèves des bureaux de la marine; ce sont eux que jusqu'ici on a le plus souvent choisis, au moins à la Louisiane, pour les faire présidents des conseils: dignité attachée à la charge d'intendant ou de commissaire ordonnateur.

Voilà ce qui donne droit de dire que c'était pour le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans une grande entreprise de vouloir prononcer sur l'Institut des Jésuites.

A la vérité, il est juste de supposer que M. de la Frenière, instruit dès sa jeunesse dans la langue latine, avait encore étudié le droit civil pendant le long séjour qu'il avait fait en France; mais sa capacité ne pouvait pas se communiquer aux juges qui devaient prononcer sur son réquisitoire; on pouvait leur reprocher, du moins au très-grand nombre d'entre eux, qu'ils ignoraient le langage de l'écrit dont ils allaient juger. C'était là un grand défaut de compétence:

[*Translation*]

knowledge that is required from judges of colonies. In selecting them, search is not made for scholars of universities, but those among the inhabitants who show some capacity for business are chosen. Accordingly, one finds in these councils former *gards-magasin*, physicians, and officers of troops. Those who are best educated are usually the pupils of the naval bureaus; it is they who, up to the present, have been most often chosen, at least in Louisiana, as presidents of the councils, an honor attached to the office of *intendant* or *commissaire-ordonnateur*.

For these reasons we are justified in saying that it was a great undertaking for the council of New Orleans to pronounce upon the constitution of the Jesuits.

In truth, it is reasonable to suppose that M. de la Frenière, instructed from his youth in the Latin language, had also studied civil law during the long sojourn that he had made in France; but his knowledge could not be communicated to the judges who were to pronounce their decision upon his charge; the majority of them, at least, could be reproached for their ignorance of the document which they were about

il y en avait encore un autre plus grand, je veux dire le défaut de pouvoir et de juridiction. La matière sur laquelle ces juges voulaient prononcer était une matière spirituelle s'il en fut jamais: or, ils n'étaient tous que juges laïques. Et après le jugement porté par le concile de Trente sur l'Institut des Jésuites, s'il restait à faire un nouvel examen, à qui cet examen pouvait-il appartenir, qu'à l'Église universelle?

Nulle de ces considérations n'arrêta le conseil de la Louisiane, un puissant motif encouragea les juges à entamer l'affaire; il était arrivé plusieurs volumes de réquisitoires et de comptes-rendus sur le même sujet en différents parlements de France avec les arrêts prononcés en conséquence.

A ces Messieurs, c'en fut assez pour se croire bien instruits, on ne pouvait s'égarer en suivant de tels guides. Le réquisitoire fut prononcé par M. le procureur général; l'arrêt qu'on va rapporter fera connaître ce qui avait été requis: on vint aux opinions; on n'est pas assuré si les voix des conseillers ordinaires furent entièrement unanimes; mais il est certain que hors de ce nombre, il y en eut une favorable

[Translation]

to judge. In that there was a great lack of competency; there was another still greater — I mean to say, the lack of authority and jurisdiction. The matter upon which these judges undertook to pronounce was a spiritual matter, if ever there was one. Now, they all were only lay judges, and after the opinion declared by the Council of Trent regarding the constitution of the Jesuits if a new examination were to be made, to whom could such inquiry pertain except to the church universal?

None of these considerations deterred the council of Louisiana. One powerful motive encouraged the judges to enter upon the affair; there had arrived several volumes of charges and accounts upon the same subject, with the decrees pronounced in several *parlements* of France in consequence thereof.

To these gentlemen, it was enough to believe themselves well informed; one could not go astray while following such guides. The charge was pronounced by the procurator general. The decree which we are about to report will show what was charged; but when one looks at the judgments, he is not informed whether the voice of the



aux Jésuites, ce fut celle de M. de Châtillon, lieutenant-colonel du régiment d'Angoumois. En cette qualité il avait droit d'assister et d'opiner au conseil. Ce respectable vieillard ne craignit point de se déclarer pour ceux auxquels il restait alors si peu de protection.

L'arrêt fut porté le 9 juillet, il fut dit que l'Institut des Jésuites était attentatoire à l'autorité royale, aux droits des évêques, à la tranquillité et à la sûreté publique, et que les voeux, émis suivant cet institut, étaient nuls.<sup>1</sup> Défense faite aux ci-devant soi-disant Jésuites, de prendre désormais ce nom, ni de porter leur habit ordinaire; ordre à eux donné de prendre celui des ecclésiastiques séculiers. A l'exception de leur livres et de quelques hardes qu'on leur laissait, tous leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, devaient être saisis et vendus à l'encan. Ordonne que les ornements de chapelle et les vases sacrés de la Nouvelle-Orléans seraient remis aux RR. PP. Capucins; que les ornements et vases sacrés de la chapelle des Jésuites demeurant aux pays des Illinois, seraient remis au procureur de Roi, de ce pays, et

[*Translation*]

councilors in ordinary was entirely unanimous. It is certain, however, that outside of them there was one vote favorable to the Jesuits; it was M. de Châtillon, lieutenant colonel of the Regiment Angoumois. In this capacity he had the right to be present at, and vote in, the council. This worthy old man did not fear to declare himself for those to whom so little protection remained.

The decree was declared on the ninth of July. It was said that the constitution of the Jesuits was hostile to the royal authority, the rights of the bishops, and the public peace and safety; and that the vows uttered according to this constitution were null.<sup>1</sup> It was prohibited to these Jesuits, hitherto thus styled, to take that name hereafter, or to wear their customary garb, orders being given them to assume that of secular ecclesiastics. Excepting some books and some wearing apparel which was allowed to them, all their property, real and personal, was to be seized and sold at auction. It was ordained that the chapel ornaments and sacred vessels of New Orleans should be delivered up to the reverend Capuchin fathers; that the chapel ornaments and sacred vessels of the Jesuits living in the

<sup>1</sup> This passage has been changed and printed by Villiers du Terrage (*Louisiane française*, 162) as a copy of the original decree.



qu'ensuite les chapelles seraient rasées, et qu'enfin les sus-dits soi-disant seraient embarqués pour retourner en France sur les premiers vaisseaux prêts à partir; défense cependant à eux de demeurer ensemble. Une somme de six cents livres fixée pour payer le passage de chacun d'eux et une autre de 1,500 fr. pour leur subsistance et entretien pendant six mois. Après ce terme, il leur était enjoint de se présenter à M. le duc de Choiseul, secrétaire d'Etat au département de la marine, pour lui demander des pensions qui seraient assignées sur le produit de la vente de leurs biens.

J'ai marqué ci-dessus les motifs généraux de la condamnation des Jésuites de la Louisiane, motifs copiés sur les arrêts des Parlements de France; mais dans celui que le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans donnait, il voulut mettre quelque chose de particulier et de neuf, il dit que les Jésuites établis dans la colonie, *n'avaient eu aucun soin de leurs missions; qu'ils n'avaient pensé qu'à faire valoir leur habitations, et qu'ils étaient usurpateurs du vicariat général de la Nouvelle-Orléans.*

S'il ne s'agissait que de leur intérêt propre, les Jésuites de la

[Translation]

country of the Illinois should be delivered up to the royal procurator for that country, and that the chapels should then be demolished; and that finally the aforesaid Jesuits so called should return to France, embarking upon the first ships ready to depart — prohibiting them, meanwhile, from living in the same house. A sum of six hundred *livres* was assigned to pay each one's passage, and another of fifteen hundred *francs* for their sustenance and support for six months. They were enjoined to present themselves, after that term, to the Duc de Choiseul, secretary of state in the department of the marine, to ask him for the pensions which would be assigned from the proceeds of the sale of their property.

I have mentioned above the general motives for the condemnation of the Jesuits of Louisiana, motives copied from the decrees of the *parlements* of France; but, in that which the council of New Orleans issued, it undertook to insert something special and new. It stated that the Jesuits established in the colony *had not taken any care of their missions; that they had thought only of making their estates valuable; and that they were usurpers of the vicariate-general of New Orleans.*

If their own interests alone had been at stake, the Jesuits of

Louisiane, après la perte de leurs biens pourraient encore souffrir en silence l'atteinte donnée par cet arrêt à leur réputation. Mais il y a des temps où le silence est un aveu, et il n'est pas permis d'avouer le mal imputé, quand il doit en résulter un scandale. Or, quel scandale que des missionnaires envoyés en Amérique pour l'instruction des Français et des sauvages; des missionnaires y subsistant des bienfaits du Roi et que la voix de leur conscience forcerait à convenir, au moins tacitement, *qu'ils n'ont eu aucun soin de leurs missions; qu'ils n'ont eu soin que de leurs habitations, et de plus qu'ils sont usurpateurs du vicariat général d'un évêché?* Mais non, la conscience n'obligera point les Jésuites de la Louisiane à convenir de ce qu'on leur impute! elle les oblige au contraire à parler, et dans ce qu'ils ont à dire pour leur justification, ils ne craignent point d'être démentis; au moins ne craignent-ils point qu'on leur oppose rien de vrai, ni de solide.

Il n'est guère aujourd'hui de provinces en France où l'on ne voie quelque personne de considération qui ait vécu à la Louisiane: de ces personnes il n'y en a aucune qui n'y ait connu des Jésuites; la plupart même ont pu les examiner d'assez près. Or, les Jésuites attendant

[Translation]

Louisiana, after the loss of their property, could still have borne in silence the attack upon their reputation made by this decree. But there are times when silence is an admission, and it is not permitted to admit the wrong imputed when a scandal would result therefrom. Now, what a scandal, if missionaries sent to America for the instruction of the French and the savages, missionaries subsisting there upon the benefactions of the king — if such men should be forced by the voice of conscience to acknowledge, at least tacitly, *that they took no care of their missions; that they gave their attention only to their estates; and, besides, that they were usurpers of the vicariate-general of a bishopric!* But no, conscience will not oblige the Jesuits of Louisiana to acknowledge what is imputed to them! It obliges them, on the contrary, to speak, and, in what they have to say for their justification, they do not fear to be convicted of falsehood; at least, they do not fear that anything true or substantial will be opposed to them.

There is today hardly any province in France where there is not some prominent person who has lived in Louisiana; of these persons, there is not one who has not known Jesuits there, and most of them

avec confiance les témoignages qu'on peut rendre, à leur égard, sur les articles dont il s'agit icy; il y a plus: ils osent citer, pour témoins de leur conduite, trois gouverneurs de la Louisiane et un vicaire-général de l'évêché de Québec, pour cette même colonie. Tous étaient encore vivants au moins de juin de cette année 1764: on n'a pas mendié leurs suffrages; on n'a pas même prévenu ces messieurs sur ce qu'on va citer de leur part.

Le premier témoin sera donc M. de Bienville, aujourd'hui capitaine des vaisseaux du Roi, depuis vingt-deux ans retiré à Paris; on doit le regarder comme le fondateur de la colonie de la Louisiane, c'est lui qui en 1698 accompagna M. d'Iberville, son frère, lorsque cet illustre officier de la marine découvrit l'entrée du Mississipi, que le sieur de la Salle, ce fameux aventurier, avait manquée. M. de Bienville fut laissé alors sur les bords de ce fleuve pour y commencer un établissement; c'est lui qui pendant 44 ans a gouverné cette colonie, à quelques intervalles près; c'est lui qui l'a mise à peu près en l'état où elle se trouve aujourd'hui, en bâtissant la Nouvelle-Orléans et le fort de la Mobile, et en formant les autres postes qu'on voit à la Louisiane.

[*Translation*]

have even been able to scrutinize these Jesuits very closely. Now, the Jesuits await with confidence the testimony that can be rendered concerning them upon the points in question here; still more, they dare to cite, as witnesses of their conduct, three governors of Louisiana, and a vicar-general of the bishopric of Quebec for this same colony. All were still living in this month of June of this year, 1764; no one has begged for their commendation, no one has even informed these gentlemen concerning what they were going to be quoted.

The first witness will be, then, M. de Bienville, now captain of the royal ships, who twenty-two years ago retired to Paris. He must be regarded as the founder of the colony of Louisiana; it was he who in 1698 accompanied his brother, M. d'Iberville, when that illustrious naval officer discovered the mouth of the Mississippi which Sieur de la Salle, that famous adventurer, had missed. M. de Bienville was then left upon the shores of this river to begin a settlement there; it was he who governed this colony for forty-four years, with the exception of a few intervals; it was he who put it nearly in the condition in which it is today by building New Orleans and the fort of Mobile

Durant un si long gouvernement, il a toujours été très-attentif à tout ce qui se passait dans les différentes parties de cette vaste province; il connaissait le mérite de tous ceux qui y étaient employés: or, personne en ce pays ne peut avoir oublié la bienveillance très-particulière dont il honorait les Jésuites de cette colonie: en eût-il usé ainsi envers des missionnaires qui, manquant de soin à l'égard de leur mission, auraient manqué au plus essentiel de leurs devoirs?

Le deuxième témoin sera M. le marquis de Vaudreuil, dernier gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France; il succéda à M. de Bienville au gouvernement de la Louisiane; les Jésuites trouvèrent encore en lui un protecteur et même un ami très-déclaré; il serait difficile de rien ajouter aux marques de bonté qu'il leur donna constamment; mais qu'est-ce qui pouvait les leur attirer? c'était sans doute l'idée qu'ils donnaient de leur fidélité à leurs principaux devoirs. Non, la probité de M. de Vaudreuil ne lui aurait pas permis de traiter si honorablement des missionnaires qui, négligeant le soin de leurs emplois, n'eussent mérité de sa part que des reproches et de la froideur.

[*Translation*]

and by forming the other posts that are seen in Louisiana. During so long a government, he was always very attentive to all that was taking place in the various parts of this vast province; he knew the worth of all those who were employed there. Now, no one in this country can have forgotten the very special kindness with which he honored the Jesuits of this colony. Would he have acted thus toward missionaries who, failing in the care of their mission, had failed in the most essential of their duties?

The second witness will be the Marquis de Vaudreuil, late governor of Nouvelle France; he succeeded M. de Bienville in the government of Louisiana. The Jesuits found in him also a protector, and even an openly declared friend; it would be difficult to add anything to the tokens of kindness which he constantly conferred upon them. But what was it that could win for them such kindness? It was, without doubt, the impression which they made upon him by their fidelity to their principal duties. No, the integrity of M. de Vaudreuil would not have permitted him to treat so honorably missionaries who, neglecting the duties of their occupation, would have deserved from him only reproaches and coldness.



Un troisième témoin pour les Jésuites de la Louisiane c'est M. de Kerlevec, capitaine de vaisseau et dernier gouverneur de cette colonie; une seule preuve suffit pour montrer ce qu'il pensait d'eux: c'est une lettre qu'il leur écrivit un peu avant leur destruction; il leur rappelait ces paroles de Notre-Seigneur à ses disciples: *Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines, et persecuti vos fuerint, et dixerint, omne malum adversum vos mentientes, propter me: gaudete et exultate!* Est-il croyable que M. de Kerlevec eût voulu appliquer ce texte à des missionnaires qui n'eussent pris aucun soin de leurs missions?

Enfin un quatrième témoin sera M. l'abbé de L'Isle-Dieu. Depuis plus de 30 ans il est à Paris, vicaire général de l'évêché de Québec, et chargé particulièrement des affaires de ce diocèse, qui regardent la Louisiane; or, c'est encore cet abbé qui a montré ce qu'il pensait des Jésuites de la Louisiane quand il leur écrivit après l'arrêt du 6 août 1762: qu'ils *périssaient, avec les regrets du corps épiscopal et de tous les gens de bien*. Ecrivant ainsi, il est probable qu'il ne les regardait pas comme des gens qui avaient manqué de soin pour leurs missions.

Mais, dira-t-on, les Jésuites de la Louisiane ne peuvent-ils donc se

[Translation]

A third witness for the Jesuits of Louisiana is M. de Kerlérec, naval captain and last governor of this colony. A single proof suffices to show what he thought of them. It is a letter which he wrote to them a little before their ruin. He recalled to them these words of our Lord to his disciples: "Blessed will you be when men shall hate you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake; rejoice and exult." Is it credible that M. de Kerlérec would have chosen to apply this text to missionaries who did not give any care to their missions?

Finally a fourth witness will be Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. For more than thirty years he has been in Paris, vicar general of the bishopric of Quebec, and especially charged with the affairs of that diocese which concerns Louisiana. Now it is also this abbé who has shown what he thought of the Jesuits of Louisiana when he wrote to them after the decree of the sixth of August, 1762, that they were *passing away with the regrets of the episcopal body and of all good people*. In writing thus, it is probable that he did not regard them as people who had failed to care for their missions.



défendre que par le témoignage d'autrui? Ne devraient-ils pas faire parler pour eux les exercices qu'ils ont pratiqués dans leurs missions, les opérations et les fruits de leur zèle? Toute personne estimable doit être louée surtout devant ses juges, par ses bonnes actions: *Laudent eam in portis opera ejus*. Les Jésuites ne craindront point de se soumettre à ce qu'on leur demande ici; et, pour marquer ce qu'ils faisaient dans leur missions, je vais les séparer en deux parties. La première contient les missions du pays des Illinois qui sont les plus anciennes, la seconde comprendra la mission de la Nouvelle-Orléans avec celle des Chactas et des Alibamons. Au pays nommé des Illinois, les Jésuites avaient quatre missions établies, la première était celle où l'on instruisait les sauvages nommés Cascakias; et voici les exercices qui s'y pratiquaient. Au soleil levant, on sonnait la prière et la messe; les sauvages récitait le prière en leur langue et, durant la messe, ils chantaient sur le ton du chant romain des hymnes et des cantiques traduits aussi dans leur langue avec les prières convenables; à la fin de la messe, le missionnaire faisait le catéchisme aux enfants. Retourné dans sa maison il était occupé à instruire les

[Translation]

"But," some one will say, "cannot the Jesuits of Louisiana defend themselves, then, except through the testimony of others? Ought they not to let the work that they have done in their missions, the operations and the fruits of their zeal speak for them? Every estimable person ought to be praised, above all before his judges, by his good actions: 'Her works will praise her in the gates.' " The Jesuits will not fear to accede to what is here asked from them; and to show what they have accomplished in their missions, I am going to separate these under two headings. The first includes the missions of the Illinois country, which are the older; the second comprises the mission of New Orleans, with that of the Choctaw and the Alibamu. In the country named the Illinois the Jesuits had four permanent missions. The first was that one where the savages called Kaskaskia were instructed; and these are the exercises that were carried on there: at sunrise the bell rang for prayer and mass; the savages said prayers in their own language, and during mass they chanted, to the air of the Roman chant, hymns and psalms, also translated into their language, with the suitable prayers; at the end of mass, the missionary cate-

adultes néophytes et catéchumènes, pour les préparer au baptême ou à la pénitence, à la communion ou au mariage; dès qu'il était libre, il parcourait le village pour exciter les fidèles à la ferveur, et exhorter les infidèles à embrasser le Christianisme; il fallait bien le reste de la journée pour réciter l'office divin, étudier la langue des sauvages et préparer les instructions pour les dimanches et les fêtes; pour tant d'exercices si variés et si continuels, il fallait assurément du soin et beaucoup de soin. Au moins les sauvages croyaient bien que les Jésuites prenaient soin d'eux; quant à la première nouvelle de l'arrêt porté contre leurs missionnaires, ils voulurent aller trouver l'officier qui commandait dans ce pays pour le prier qu'il leur laissât au moins le P. Meurin qui était chargé de leur mission; et quelle autre idée pouvaient-ils avoir des Jésuites? un seul d'entre eux pouvait les représenter comme des hommes totalement dévoués à l'instruction des sauvages: c'était le P. de Guyenne, mort en 1752 [1762]. Après avoir vécu 36 ans dans les missions de la Louisiane, il avait parcouru celle des Alibamons, des Arkansas, des Miamis. Il avait été curé de fort

[*Translation*]

chized the children. Having returned to his house, he was occupied in instructing the adult neophytes and catechumens, to prepare them for baptism or for penance, for communion or for marriage. As soon as he was free, he went through the village to arouse the believers to fervor, and to exhort unbelievers to embrace Christianity. The rest of the day was needed for reciting the divine office, studying the language of the savages, and preparing the instructions for Sundays and feast days. For so many exercises, so varied and so continual, there was surely needed care, and a great deal of care. The savages, at least, certainly believe that the Jesuits took care of them; at the first news of the decree declared against their missionaries, they wished to go to find the officer who commanded in that country, to beg him at least to leave them Father Meurin, who was charged with their mission. And what other idea could they have of the Jesuits? A single one of the latter could represent them all as men entirely devoted to the instruction of the savages. Such was Father de Guyenne, who died in 1752 [1762]. Having spent thirty-six years in the missions of Louisiana he had traversed those of the Alibamu, the Quapaw, and the Miami. He had been pastor of Fort de Chartres, and had every-

de Chartres, et partout il avait été respecté comme un homme d'une vertu rare, d'une prudence singulière, et d'un attachement inviolable aux devoirs de missionnaire. Depuis l'an 1736, il s'était dévoué à la mission des Illinois. Appelé à des emplois plus honorables et plus commodes, il était resté avec ses sauvages; et par sa constance il avait conservé la religion fort ébranlée dans cette nation; il y avait même beaucoup ranimé la ferveur par son application infatigable à tous les exercices. Enfin quatre ans avant sa mort, affligé d'une demi-paralysie qui le rendait incapable de mouvement et ressentant une grande faiblesse de poitrine, maladie ancienne qui lui laissait à peine la force de se faire entendre, il ne laissait pas de recevoir à toute heure ses chers néophytes qui, de la distance d'une grande lieue, venaient se faire instruire. Il les catéchisait, il les exhortait, il entendait leurs confessions; il les préparait à la communion, et, en qualité de supérieur de la maison, il usait de son pouvoir pour les soulager dans leur misère. Un homme si fidèle à son ministère jusqu'au dernier jour de sa vie ne fait-il pas présumer que parmi les Jésuites établis aux Illinois il restait du zèle et du soin à l'égard des missions?

[*Translation*]

where been respected as a man of rare virtue, of singular discretion, and of an inviolable attachment to the duties of a missionary. Since the year 1736 he had devoted himself to the Illinois mission. Called to more honorable and easier positions, he had remained with his savages, and by his constancy he had preserved religion, which had become much unsettled in that nation. He had even greatly revived their fervor by his untiring application to all the exercises. Finally, four years before his death, afflicted by a partial paralysis which rendered him incapable of movement, and feeling a great weakness in his chest — an old trouble, which left him hardly enough strength to make himself heard — he did not cease receiving at all times his dear neophytes, who came from a long league's distance to be instructed. He catechized them, he exhorted them, and heard their confessions, he prepared them for communion, and in the capacity of superior of the house he used his power to relieve their poverty. Does not a man so faithful to his ministry up to the last day of his life make it presumable that, among the Jesuits established amid the Illinois, there remained some zeal and care in regard to their missions?

A cinq quarts de lieue du village des sauvages Illinois était un village français nommé aussi les Cascakias: depuis 44 ans il y a dans ce village une paroisse qui toujours a été gouvernée par les Jésuites. Or, on ose répéter ici, de ceux qui ont été chargés de cet emploi, ce qu'on a dit plus haut de leurs confrères en général; qu'il n'est guère de provinces en France où il n'y ait encore des témoins de l'exactitude de ces curés à leurs fonctions, c'est-à-dire, à la visite des malades et au soulagement des pauvres; des témoins de leur assiduité au tribunal de la pénitence et à l'instruction presque journalière des enfants; à celle-ci il fallait encore ajouter l'instruction des nègres et des sauvages, esclaves des Français, pour les disposer au baptême et à la réception des autres sacrements. De plus, tous les soirs, il se faisait à l'église une prière publique avec la lecture d'un livre de piété; enfin les dimanches et les fêtes on faisait deux catéchismes l'un pour les enfants français, et l'autre pour les esclaves noirs et sauvages, sans compter la messe solennelle et les vêpres qu'on chantait exactement avec le salut. Mais voici quelque chose de plus que du soin: depuis l'année 1753, il y a

[*Translation*]

At one and one-fourth leagues from the village of the Illinois savages there was a French village also named Kaskaskia. For forty years there had been in this village a parish which has always been governed by the Jesuits. Now, we dare to repeat here, regarding those who were charged with this employ, what has been said above of their associates in general — that there is hardly any province in France where there are not still witnesses of the carefulness of these pastors in discharging their duties, that is, in visiting the sick and in relieving the poor. These too are witnesses of their constant attendance at the tribunal of penance, and at the almost daily instruction of the children, to which must be still added the instruction of the Negroes and the savages, slaves of the French, to prepare them for baptism and for the reception of the other sacraments. Besides, every evening a public prayer was said in the church, and some pious book was read. Finally on Sundays and feast days two instructions in the catechism were given, one for the French children, and the other for the black slaves and the savages — without counting the solemn mass, and the vespers that were sung punctually with benediction. But here is something which is more than care. Since the



au village français des Cascakias une église paroissiale nouvellement bâtie: cette église a 104 pieds de longueur et 44 de largeur; or, jamais elle n'aurait pu être achevée, si la dépense de la bâtisse n'eût été tirée des revenus de la fabrique et des contributions des paroissiens. Trois Jésuites successivement curés de cette paroisse, le P. Tartarin, le P. Watrin, et le P. Aubert y ont employé la plus grande partie de ce qu'ils tiraient de leur casuel et des honoraires de leurs messes. Quand les curés ont tellement à coeur la construction et l'ornement de leur église, il est probable que d'ailleurs ils ne manquent pas à leurs autres devoirs.

Mais voici encore une nouvelle preuve des soins que les Jésuites ont pris de cette paroisse: depuis quinze ans, à une lieue de l'ancien village, à l'autre bord du Mississipi, il s'est établi un village nouveau sous le nom de Sainte-Geneviève. Alors le curé des Cascakias s'est trouvé obligé d'y aller administrer les sacrements, du moins aux malades, et quand les nouveaux habitants ont vu leurs maisons multipliées, ils ont demandé d'y bâtir une église, ce qui leur étant accordé, les voyages du missionnaire sont encore devenus plus fréquents, parce qu'il a cru

[*Translation*]

year 1753 there has been in the French village of Kaskaskia a newly built parish church; this church is one hundred and four feet long and forty-four wide. Now it never could have been finished if the expense of the building had not been drawn from the revenues of the vestry and from the contributions of the parishioners. Three Jesuits, successively pastors of this parish, Father Tartarin, Father Watrin, and Father Aubert, have employed for this purpose the greater part of what they obtained from their stole fees and the offerings for their masses. When the pastors have the construction and the ornamentation of their church so much at heart it is also probable that they do not fail in their other duties.

But here is yet another proof of the care that the Jesuits have taken of this parish. Fifteen years ago at a league from the old village on the other bank of the Mississippi, there was established a new village under the name of Ste. Genevieve. Then the pastor of Kaskaskia found himself obliged to go there to administer the sacraments at least to the sick; and, when the new inhabitants saw their houses multiplying, they asked to have a church built there. This being granted them, the journeys of the missionary became still more



qu'il devait alors se prêter encore davantage à la bonne volonté de ses nouveaux paroissiens, et à leurs besoins. Cependant pour aller à cette nouvelle église, il fallait traverser le Mississipi, qui, dans cet endroit, à un quart de lieue et demie de largeur: il fallait quelquefois se confier à un esclave qui seul conduisait le canot; il fallait enfin s'exposer au danger de périr, si au milieu du fleuve on eût été surpris par quelque orage violente. Nul de tous ces inconvénients n'a jamais empêché le curé de Cascakias de se rendre à Sainte-Geneviève quand la charité l'y appelait, et toujours il a été chargé de ce soin jusqu'à ce qu'on ait trouvé le moyen de placer à Sainte-Geneviève un curé particulier; ce qui n'est arrivé que depuis peu d'années, lorsque les habitants du lieu ont bâti un presbytère. Ces deux villages, celui des Cascakias et celui de Sainte-Geneviève faisaient le deuxième et le troisième établissements des Jésuites aux pays des Illinois; il n'est pas besoin de faire remarquer que pour remplir seulement une partie des exercices qui viennent d'être indiqués, il fallait des soins, du courage et de la constance.

A quatre-vingts lieues des Illinois était le poste nommé de Vin-

[*Translation*]

frequent, because he thought that he ought then to yield himself still more to the good will of his new parishioners and to their needs. However, in order to go to this new church he must cross the Mississippi which, in this place, is three-eighths of a league wide. He sometimes had to trust himself to a slave who alone guided the canoe; it was necessary, in short, to expose himself to the danger of perishing if in the middle of the river they should have been overtaken by a violent storm. None of all these inconveniences ever prevented the pastor of Kaskaskia from going to Ste. Genevieve when charity called him thither, and he was always charged with this care until means were found to place at Ste. Genevieve a special pastor which occurred only a few years ago when the inhabitants of the place built a rectory. These two villages, that of Kaskaskia and that of Ste. Genevieve, made the second and the third establishment of the Jesuits in the Illinois country. There is no need to call attention to the fact that to accomplish only a part of the work, which has just been indicated, care, courage, and constancy were necessary.

At eighty leagues from the Illinois was the post called Vincennes

cennes ou de Saint-Ange, du nom des officiers qui y ont commandé. Ce poste est sur la rivière de Ouabache, qui, environ soixante-dix lieues plus bas, se décharge, avec l'Ohio qu'il a joint, dans le Mississipi; il y avait en dernier lieu dans ce village au moins soixante maisons de Français, sans compter les sauvages Miamis qui étaient tout proche. C'était encore là une matière suffisante de soin et d'occupation à laquelle les Jésuites ne se sont point refusés; c'est ce que l'on doit juger si l'on considère que ce poste se peuplait tous les jours; que la plupart de ses nouveaux habitants, voyageurs depuis longtemps, étaient peu habitués aux devoirs de chrétien, et que pour établir parmi eux quelque forme de vie, il fallait beaucoup d'instructions et d'exhortations particulières et publiques. Or, la preuve que les Jésuites s'acquittaient de leur devoir à cet égard, ce sont les plaintes que les paroissiens faisaient d'eux; car ils prétendaient que leurs curés allaient au delà du devoir, et qu'ils prenaient trop de soin. C'est justement le contraire de ce qu'a dit le conseil de la Louisiane. Mais que faisaient les Jésuites aux Alibamons et aux Chactas? Aux Alibamons, les Français étaient établis près des sauvages; le missionnaire faisait auprès

[*Translation*]

or St. Ange from the names of the officers who commanded there. This post is upon the river Wabash which, about seventy leagues lower down, together with the Ohio which it has joined, discharges its waters into the Mississippi. There were in this village at least sixty houses of French people without counting the Miami savages who were quite near. There too was sufficient cause for care and occupation — which the Jesuits did not refuse — a conclusion which must be reached if one considers that this post was every day increasing in population; that the greater part of its new inhabitants, having long been *voyageurs*, were little accustomed to the duties of Christians; and that, to establish among them some manner of living, many instructions and exhortations, private and public, were necessary. Now, the proof that the Jesuits acquitted themselves of their duty in this respect is proved by the complaints that the parishioners made against them; for these people claimed that their pastors went beyond their duty, and assumed too much care. This is precisely the opposite of what the council of Louisiana stated. But what did the Jesuits do for the Alibamu and the Choctaw? For the Alibamu: the French

d'eux le devoir de curé; en cette qualité le P. Leroi les avait engagés à ne plus traiter d'eaux-de-vie aux sauvages; la promesse en avait été faite publiquement: il est vrai qu'une résolution si utile et si nécessaire pour la religion, pour l'intérêt même temporel des sauvages et des Français, n'a pas duré longtemps, l'ancienne coutume a été bientôt rétablie: l'espérance d'un gain sordide a prévalu sur la plus juste raison. Mais les personnes sages n'ont point oublié le service que le missionnaire avait rendu.

Et que faisait-il pour les sauvages? Il demeurait avec eux, toujours prêt à leur enseigner la doctrine chrétienne dès qu'il plaisait à Dieu d'ouvrir leur coeur; en attendant il les entretenait dans l'alliance et l'amitié des Français; et il y réussissait d'autant mieux que ces peuples voyaient bien, par sa conduite, qu'il n'était point au milieu d'eux pour faire une fortune. Ce désintéressement établissait son crédit; et par là il devenait utile, on ose le dire, même nécessaire à la colonie.

C'est dans la nation des Chactas surtout que les missionnaires ont rendu ce service essentiel: ceux qui connaissent la Louisiane

[*Translation*]

were established near the savages; the missionary discharged the duties of pastor toward them. In this capacity Father Le Roy had pledged them not to trade any more brandy to the savages, that promise being made by them publicly. It is true that that resolve, so useful and so necessary to religion and even to the temporal interests of the savages and of the French, did not last long, the old custom being soon re-established; the hope of sordid gain prevailed over the most righteous arguments. But sensible people have not forgotten the service that the missionary had rendered.

And what did he do for the savages? He lived with them, always ready to teach them the Christian doctrine as soon as it pleased God to open their hearts; meanwhile, he kept them in alliance and friendship with the French, and he succeeded in this all the better because these people saw clearly by his conduct that he was not in their midst to make a fortune. This disinterestedness established his credit, and through that he became useful — we dare to say, even necessary — to the colony.

It was especially in the Choctaw nation that the missionaries rendered this essential service. Those who know Louisiana know of

savent de quel importance il était de maintenir cette nation dans notre alliance. Éloignée de nos intérêts et soulevée contre nous, elle pouvait un jour détruire la colonie en saccageant la Nouvelle-Orléans, ville qui est sans défense. C'était pour empêcher de tels coups, que les missionnaires supportaient l'ennui de vivre avec les Chactas, peuple si barbare; il leur faisait sentir combien l'amitié des Français leur était avantageuse, et de quel prix devaient être dans leur estime les présents qu'on leur apportait régulièrement toutes les années. Si ces présents venaient à manquer comme il est arrivé durant la guerre, c'était au missionnaire à entretenir leur bonne volonté en leur promettant des dédommagements. Quels services ne rendaient pas encore les Jésuites lorsque chaque année ils allaient avec MM. les Gouverneurs au fort de la Mobile où les Chactas s'assemblaient pour la distribution des présents? Pour la faire utilement et judicieusement, il fallait que le Gouverneur connût au moins les principaux sujets de la nation, et parmi eux les plus affectionnés et les plus importants. Or qui pouvait donner ces notions, sinon le missionnaire qui vivait avec eux; qui entretenait des liaisons avec les plus affidés, et

[*Translation*]

what importance it was to maintain this nation in an alliance with us. If alienated from our interests and incited against us, they could some day destroy the colony by sacking New Orleans, a city which is without defense. It was to prevent such acts that the missionaries endured the burden of living with the Choctaw, so barbarous a people, and made them feel how advantageous to them was the friendship of the French, and of what value in their estimation ought to be the presents brought to them regularly every year. If these presents were to fail, as happened during the war, it was for the missionary to keep up their good will by promising to indemnify them. What services did the Jesuits not render also when every year they went with the governors to the fort at Mobile, where the Choctaw assembled for the distribution of presents? To do that usefully and judiciously, it was necessary for the governor to know at least the principal individuals of the nation, and among them the most friendly and the most important. Now who could give them these ideas, if not the missionary who lived with them, who kept in touch with the most trusty, and who, to learn what was going on in the thirty villages of



qui pour savoir ce qui se passait dans les trente villages des Chactas, les parcourait régulièrement. Encore s'il n'avait fallu que parcourir les villages! Mais soit en les parcourant, soit en demeurant dans sa cabane, durant combien d'années le missionnaire n'a-t-il pas été exposé à la mort, lorsque les Chactas divisés entre eux, les uns tenant pour, les autres contre les Français, se tuaient les uns les autres! Combien alors le missionnaire ne devait-il pas craindre pour sa vie de la part de ceux qui voudraient venger sur un Français la mort de leurs compatriotes tués par les partisans des Français? Voilà à quel prix un missionnaire rendait alors service à la colonie. Voilà ce qu'a fait pendant vingt ans le P. Baudoin qui, devenu supérieur à la Nouvelle-Orléans, a été condamné en tête de ceux à qui l'arrêt de condamnation reproche de n'avoir eu aucun soin de leur mission.

Cependant il est difficile de croire qu'il n'y ait pas eu quelques motifs apparents de faire ce reproche.

En voici peut-être l'occasion: En 1763, il n'y avait plus de missionnaires aux Arkansas où les Jésuites étaient obligés d'en donner un par leur fondation. Depuis plusieurs années le P. Carette avait quitté

[*Translation*]

the Choctaw, visited them regularly? Yet if it had only been necessary to visit the villages! But, either in going through them, or in remaining in his cabin, during how many years was not the missionary exposed to death when the Choctaw, divided among themselves — some being in favor of, others against, the French — were killing one another! How much did the missionary then not have to fear for his life from those who would have willingly avenged upon a Frenchman the deaths of their compatriots, killed by the partisans of the French? That was the price at which the missionary then rendered services to the colony. That is what was done for twenty years by Father Baudoin who, having become superior at New Orleans, was condemned at the head of those whom the decree of condemnation reproaches with not having taken any care of their missions.

However, it is hard to believe that there were not some apparent motives for thus reproaching them.

This, perhaps, was the occasion for it: in 1763, there were no more missionaries at the Arkansas, where the Jesuits had been obliged by the terms of their foundation, to furnish one. Several years before,



ce poste; ses confrères avaient jugé qu'il aurait dû le quitter plus tôt; malgré le peu d'espérance qu'il y avait d'amener les sauvages du lieu au christianisme; le Père étudia longtemps leur langue, il travailla à corriger les mœurs des Français sans tirer presque aucun fruit de son travail; il suivait cependant les uns et les autres dans leurs divers établissements occasionnés par les débordements du Mississipi, proche duquel le poste est situé. Malgré tant de dégoûts, le missionnaire ne se rebutait point de voir ses efforts rendus inutiles par la conduite de ceux qui devaient les soutenir, il prit patience jusqu'à l'accident qu'on va décrire. Dans le fort des Arkansas, il ne se trouvait plus de chapelle, plus d'appartement où l'on pût dire la messe, excepté la salle où le commandant prenait ses repas, lieu peu décent, non-seulement parce que c'était une salle à manger, mais par la mauvaise conduite et la licence des discours de ceux qui y fréquentaient; tout ce qui était dans le fort entraît là, jusqu'aux volailles: une poule volant sur l'autel renversa le calice qui y était demeuré après la fin de la messe: les spectateurs n'en furent pas émus; un de ceux qui devaient

[*Translation*]

Father Carette had left this post; his brethren had decided that he ought to have left it sooner. In spite of the little hope that there was of leading the savages of the place to Christianity, the father studied their language a long time, and labored to correct the morals of the French, but reaped hardly any fruit from his toil. He nevertheless followed both the French and the savages in their various changes of location, occasioned by the overflowing of the Mississippi near which the post is situated. Notwithstanding so many annoyances, the missionary was not discouraged at seeing his efforts rendered useless by the conduct of those who ought to have sustained them. He continued in patience, until the event which we are about to describe. In the fort of the Arkansas there was no longer any chapel, no longer any room wherein one could say mass, except the room where the commandant took his meals. This was not a very suitable place, not only because it was a dining room, but on account of the bad conduct and freedom of language of those who frequented it; everything that was in the fort entered there, even to the fowls. A chicken, flying over the altar, overturned the chalice, which had been left there at the end of mass. The spectators were not affected by this; one

le plus s'y intéresser s'écria: *Ah! voilà la boutique du bon Dieu à bas.* A des sentiments aussi peu religieux, répondait une vie aussi peu chrétienne. Le P. Carette jugea enfin qu'il fallait se retirer, au moins jusqu'à ce que l'on vit une chapelle bâtie dans le fort et qu'on fût disposé à y respecter la religion: de plus, il était nécessaire ailleurs pour des emplois dont on espérait de meilleurs succès.

Puisque nous avons marqué les occupations des Jésuites dans les différents postes de la Louisiane, il est juste de parler aussi de ce qu'ils faisaient à la Nouvelle-Orléans. En cette ville, il y a un hôpital royal établi pour les troupes, le titre d'aumônier de cet hôpital fut donné au P. d'Outreleau en 1737, et toujours depuis, il a été continué aux Jésuites de la Nouvelle-Orléans; c'était un emploi suffisant pour occuper un missionnaire. Dans la même ville est un monastère de religieuses Ursulines: par leurs fondations elles sont chargées de l'éducation de trente orphelines entretenues aux dépens du Roi, et il y en avait toujours plusieurs de surnuméraires; on sait que par leur institut, les Ursulines doivent encors instruire dans leurs écoles des

[Translation]

of those who ought to have been most concerned about it, exclaimed: *Ah! behold the shop of the good God thrown down!* To these sentiments, so little religious, corresponded a life as little Christian. Father Carette at last concluded that he must withdraw, at least until he should see a chapel built in the fort, and until they were disposed to respect religion there; besides, he was necessary elsewhere for work from which better success was expected.

Since we have called attention to the occupations of the Jesuits at the different posts of Louisiana, it is right to speak also of what they did at New Orleans. In that city there is a royal hospital, established for the troops. The title of chaplain of this hospital was given to Father d'Outreleau in 1737, and it has ever since been continued to the Jesuits of New Orleans; it was an office sufficient to occupy one missionary. In the same city is a monastery of Ursuline nuns. By their endowments they are charged with the education of thirty orphan girls maintained at the expense of the king, and there were always many inmates besides. It is known that the Ursulines are bound by their constitution to instruct also in their school girls from outside, and in their house they received many young ladies as

filles de dehors, et dans leur maison elles recevaient plusieurs demoiselles pensionnaires. Or le supérieur des Jésuites, depuis trente ans, l'était aussi de cette maison, et ne pouvant seul suffire pour y rendre tous les services nécessaires, il faillait qu'il se fît aider par quelqu'un de ses confrères.

Enfin les Jésuites avaient sur leurs habitations cent vingt ou cent trente esclaves; le soin de les instruire et de les gouverner ne devait-il pas donner assez d'occupation à quelques-uns de ces missionnaires? quatorze familles suffisent pour l'érection d'une paroisse.

Que si l'on demande à présent quel fruit les Jésuites de la Louisiane ont recueilli dans leurs missions, on pourrait répondre que les missionnaires doivent leur travail, et que c'est Dieu qui donne les fruits quand il lui plaît; que les missions les plus laborieuses ont paru souvent les plus ingrates; ainsi dans le Canada, les missionnaires qui se sont dévoués à l'instruction des Outouas, des Poutouatamis, des Sauteurs, des Outagamis ou Renards, et des Miamis, n'y ont produit presque aucun fruit sensible; et cependant, ils n'en ont pas été moins révéérés comme des ouvriers vraiment apostoliques; tel était l'opinion que feu

[*Translation*]

boarders. Now the superior of the Jesuits had been for thirty years superior also of this house, and not being able alone to render all the services needed there, it was necessary that he should be assisted by one of his brethren.

Finally the Jesuits had upon their estates a hundred and twenty or a hundred and thirty slaves. Ought not the care of instructing and governing these give some of these missionaries enough to do? Fourteen families suffice for the formation of a parish.

But if it be now asked what fruit the Jesuits of Louisiana have gathered from their missions, we might answer that the missionaries owe their labor, and that it is God who gives the fruit when it pleases him. Moreover, the most laborious missions have often appeared the most sterile; thus in Canada the missionaries who devoted themselves to the instruction of the Ottawa, the Potawatomi, the Chippewa, the Outagami or Foxes, and the Miami produced scarcely any perceptible fruit there. And yet, they have not been less revered as truly apostolic laborers. Such was the opinion that the late Mgr. de Pontbriand, bishop of Quebec, had of one of these missionaries, Father Chardon,

M<sup>gr</sup> de Ponbriand, évêque de Québec, avait de l'un de ces missionnaires, le P. Chardon, durant un très-grand nombre d'années qu'il avait passées à la baie avec les Outagamis et d'autres sauvages. Ce Père n'avait vu aucun succès apparent de son travail; retiré à Québec, dans son extrême vieillesse, le prélat daigna l'honorer de sa visite lorsqu'il fut près de mourir, et lui demanda sa bénédiction. L'humble missionnaire se jeta aux pieds de son évêque pour lui demander la sienne, et l'ayant obtenue, il fut obligé de consentir à ce que M<sup>gr</sup> de Ponbriand exigeait de lui.

Pendant les missionnaires de la Louisiane n'ont pas absolument travaillé sans fruits; dans les missions, les fruits les plus précieux sont les vertus qu'on y pratique; la principale sans doute est la charité, surtout quand elle atteint le degré éminent; quand elle engage un ministre de Jésus-Christ à donner sa vie pour ses frères; or, c'est à quoi sont parvenus plusieurs Jésuites morts à la Louisiane, dans l'exercice actuel de leur ministère.

Ainsi, en 1729, le P. du Poisson, établi chez les Arcansas, se trouvant au fort des Natchez le jour même qu'ils avaient pris pour égorger

[*Translation*]

during a very great number of years that he spent at the bay with the Foxes and other savages. This father did not see any apparent result from his work; having retired to Quebec in his extreme old age the prelate deigned to honor him with a visit when he was almost dying and asked him for his benediction. The humble missionary threw himself at the feet of his bishop to ask him for his, and having obtained it, he was obliged to consent to what M<sup>gr</sup>. de Pontbriand asked from him.

However, the missionaries of Louisiana have not labored absolutely without result. In the missions the most precious fruits are the virtues that are practiced there. The principal one of these doubtless is charity, especially when it attains that eminent degree at which it pledges a minister of Jesus Christ to give his life for his brethren; now, this is to what several Jesuits, who died in Louisiana, have come in the actual exercise of their ministry.

Thus, in 1729, Father du Poisson, established among the Quapaw, being present at the fort of the Natchez on the very day which they had chosen for slaughtering the French, was included in the general



les Français, il fut enveloppé dans le massacre général. On peut bien comparer cette conspiration aux Vêpres siciliennes; les Français établis dans ce poste traitaient avec la dernière insolence cette nation des Natchez, la plus utile à la colonie et la plus dévouée. Elle voulut se venger: le P. du Poisson avait été prié de rester un jour pour quelque fonction du ministère qui se présentait, en l'absence du curé; il y consentit et fut la victime de son dévouement et de sa charité.

Un mois après, les Yasous, autre nation sauvage, étant entrés dans la même conspiration, tuèrent aussi les Français habitués auprès d'eux; le P. Souël, leur missionnaire, ne fut pas épargné; il était si aimé du nègre qui le servait, que ce fidèle esclave se fit tuer en voulant défendre ou venger son maître. Vers le même temps, le P. d'Outreleau descendait avec plusieurs voyageurs du pays des Illinois, pour les affaires de la mission; il s'arrêta sur les bords du Mississipi pour y dire la messe; une troupe de ces mêmes Yasous, qui avaient tué le P. Souël, arriva au même lieu avec d'autres sauvages leurs alliés, ils observèrent le temps où les Français et le Père surtout, étaient occupés du saint sacrifice; ils firent une décharge de leurs fusils

[*Translation*]

massacre. This conspiracy may well be compared to the Sicilian Vespers. The French established at that post treated with the utmost insolence this nation of the Natchez, the most useful and the most devoted to the colony; and they undertook to avenge themselves. Father du Poisson had been requested to remain one day for some ministerial function which presented itself in the absence of the pastor; he consented to do it, and was the victim of his devotion and his charity.

One month afterward, the Yazoo, another savage nation, having entered into the same conspiracy, also slew the French who lived near them. Father Souël, their missionary, was not spared. He was so beloved by the Negro who served him that this faithful slave was killed in trying to defend or avenge his master. About the same time, Father d'Outreleau was descending with several *voyageurs* from the Illinois country in the interest of the mission, and halted upon the banks of the Mississippi to say mass. A band of the same Yazoo who had killed Father Souël arrived at the same place with other savages, their allies. They watched the time when the French, and



qui tua quelques Français et en blessa d'autres. Le P. d'Outreleau reçut un coup au bras et plusieurs grains de gros plomb dans la bouche; on regarda comme un effet bien singulier de la protection de Dieu qu'il ne fût que légèrement blessé; ce coup ne l'étonna point; sa fermeté rassura ses compagnons de voyage, ils échappèrent aux sauvages et se rendirent à la Nouvelle-Orléans. Bientôt après il fut question de venger sur les barbares la mort des Français, surtout de ceux qui avaient péri aux Natchez; on y envoya une armée, le P. d'Outreleau en fut l'aumônier, et il s'y montra toujours avec la même résolution.

En 1736, le P. Senat, missionnaire aux Illinois, fut nommé pour accompagner M. d'Artaguiette, qui conduisait contre les Chacachas un parti de Français. L'entreprise fut malheureuse: les Français étaient sur le point d'être enveloppés par les sauvages, lorsqu'on avertit le missionnaire qu'il avait encore le temps de se retirer; on lui offrit un cheval, il le refusa; il se souvenait du motif de son voyage, et du besoin que les Français captifs auraient bientôt de son secours;

[*Translation*]

especially the father, were occupied with the holy sacrifice, and they fired a volley from their guns, which killed some Frenchmen and wounded others. Father d'Outreleau received a wound in the arm and several grains of coarse shot in his mouth; it was regarded as a very remarkable effect of God's protection that he was only slightly wounded. This disaster did not dismay him; his firmness reassured his fellow-travelers, and they escaped the savages and proceeded to New Orleans. Soon afterward it was a question of avenging upon the barbarians the deaths of the French, especially of all those who had perished among the Natchez. An army was sent thither, of which Father d'Outreleau was the chaplain, and in that employ he always conducted himself in the same resolute manner.

In 1736, Father Sénat, missionary to the Illinois, was appointed to accompany M. d'Artaguiette, who conducted a party of French against the Chickasaw. The enterprise was unfortunate. The French were upon the point of being surrounded by the savages when the missionary was warned that he still had time to escape. He was offered a horse, but refused it, remembering the purpose of his voyage and the need that the French captives would soon have of his succor. He was seized with them and led as they were to torture; a savage

il fut pris avec eux, et mené comme eux au supplice; une femme sauvage ignorant totalement le religion chrétienne, fut témoin de leur mort; elle rapporta peu de temps après, que les Français pris par les Chacachas avaient été jetés dans un bûcher allumé dans une grande cabane, *après qu'ils eurent chanté pour aller en haut*; en voyant leur air et leurs gestes, elle avait compris que les prières qu'ils chantaient étaient pour les conduire au ciel.

Quatre ans auparavant en 1732, le P. Auneau était avec M. de la Vérenderie fils, qui commandait un parti de voyageurs, pour découvrir la mer d'Ouest; ce jeune officier s'était joint à une troupe de Christineaux, sauvages qui allaient en guerre contre les Sioux, autre nation très-barbare; ceux-ci reconnurent les Français mêlés avec leurs ennemis, ils résolurent d'en tirer vengeance; quelque temps après ils dressèrent une embuscade à d'autres Français aussi voyageurs, et en tuèrent vingt-deux. Le P. Auneau fut du nombre des morts.

Au mois de Juillet 1759, lorsque le fort de Niagara était vivement presse par une armée anglaise qui l'assiégait, mille deux cents Français furent envoyés au secours de ce poste, si important pour la con-

[Translation]

woman, utterly ignorant of the Christian religion, was a witness of their death. She reported, a little while afterward, that the French who were captured by the Chickasaw had been thrown upon a lighted pile of wood in a large cabin, *after they had sung in order to go on high*. Seeing their manner and their gestures, she had comprehended that the prayers which they were singing were to guide them to heaven.

Four years before, in 1732, Father Aulneau was with M. Vérendrye, Jr., who commanded a party of *voyageurs* seeking to discover the western sea. This young officer had joined a party of Cree savages who were going to war against the Sioux, another very barbarous nation; the latter recognized the French mingled with their enemies and resolved to be revenged upon them. Sometime afterward, they arranged an ambuscade for other Frenchmen, also *voyageurs*, and killed twenty-two of them. Father Aulneau was among the number of the dead.

In the month of July, 1759, when the fort of Niagara was closely pressed by an English army which was besieging it, twelve hundred Frenchmen were sent to the help of this post, so important for the

servation du Canada. Le P. Virot était aumônier de l'armée française; elle fut mise en déroute, et le missionnaire, tombé entre les mains des Iroquois, fut taillé en pièces.

Enfin, au mois de juillet 1763, au temps de la révolte des sauvages du Canada contre les Anglais, les Sauteurs de Michilimakina se jetèrent sur la garnison anglaise qui occupait ce poste; ils en avaient déjà détruit une bonne partie, quand le Père du Jaunay, Jésuite, ouvrit sa maison pour servir d'asile à ce que restait de soldats et de commerçants anglais; mais pour sauver leur vie, il exposa beaucoup la sienne. Le jeunesse sauvage, irritée de se voir arracher la moitié de sa proie, voulait se dédommager aux dépens du Père du Jaunay. Les anciens de la nation eurent peine à les adoucir. Voilà à quelles épreuves les Jésuites missionnaires en Canada et à la Louisiane ont été exposés, et voilà ce qu'on peut compter pour des fruits très-précieux de leurs missions, car c'est à quoi doivent s'attendre nécessairement tous ceux qui vont s'établir au milieu des barbares, surtout quand ils voyagent sur le Mississipi. Depuis la révolte des Natchez en 1729, il ne s'est plus trouvé aucune sûreté à monter ce fleuve; presque

[*Translation*]

preservation of Canada. Father Virot was chaplain of the French army; it was put to rout and the missionary, having fallen into the hands of the Iroquois, was cut to pieces. Finally, in the month of July, 1763, at the time of the revolt of the savages of Canada against the English, the Chippewa of Michillimackinac threw themselves upon the English garrison which occupied that post. They had already destroyed a large part of it, when Father du Jaunay, a Jesuit, opened his house to serve as an asylum to what remained of the soldiers and of the English traders; but to save their lives, he greatly endangered his own. The savage youth, irritated at seeing half of their prey snatched away from them, tried to make amends for their loss at the expense of Father du Jaunay, and the old men of the nation had difficulty in pacifying them. Behold to what trials the Jesuit missionaries in Canada and Louisiana have been exposed. But it is these which may be counted as most precious fruits of their missions, for such trials must of necessity be expected by all those who establish themselves in the midst of barbarians, especially when they journey upon the Mississippi. Since the revolt of the Natchez in 1729, there

chaque année y a été marquée par la mort quelques Français; et il est vrai que les précautions qu'il faudrait prendre durant ce voyage qui est de trois mois, pour arriver aux Illinois, ne peuvent être assez exactes pour écarter le danger; or, depuis la triste époque de 1729, on peut compter au moins vingt-six à vingt-sept voyages faits par les Jésuites sur le Mississipi; au reste on a joint ici les Missions de la Louisiane à celles du Canada, parceque, anciennement, ces missions étaient unies, et qu'encore aujourd'hui on y pratique les mêmes exercices et on y court les mêmes risques.

Que si quelqu'un persistait à demander aux Jésuites de la Louisiane de ces fruits qu'on désire et qu'on attend dans les missions, les voici. Dans les trois paroisses françaises du pays des Illinois, on pourrait compter un assez grand nombre de véritables chrétiens; c'étaient ceux qui résistaient aux mauvais exemples et aux mauvaises maximes que le voisinage des autres colonies avait commencé à répandre à la Louisiane; mais aux Illinois du moins, les missionnaires en arrêtaient les progrès; on y voyait beaucoup de personnes très-sobres, malgré la foule des ivrognes, parmi ceux qui pervertissaient les sauvages par

[*Translation*]

is no longer any safety in ascending that river. Almost every year is marked by the death of some Frenchmen; and it is true that the precautions which must be taken during that voyage — which, to reach the Illinois, occupies three months — cannot be sufficiently careful to avert the danger. Now, since the melancholy period of 1729, one can count at least twenty-six or twenty-seven voyages made by the Jesuits upon the Mississippi. Moreover, the missions of Louisiana have been mentioned here with those of Canada, because formerly these missions were united, and because today the same functions are still exercised there, and the same risks are run.

But if any one persist in asking the Jesuits of Louisiana for those results that are desired and expected from these missions, see what they are: in the three French parishes of the country of the Illinois we could count a quite large number of true Christians. It was they who resisted the evil examples and immoral maxims which the proximity of other colonies had begun to spread in Louisiana; but among the Illinois, at least, the missionaries checked the progress of these. Many thoroughly temperate people were seen there, in spite of the



l'eau-de-vie qu'ils leur fournissaient. Il y en avait plusieurs autres qui aimaient mieux se priver des provisions les plus nécessaires que de faire un commerce si pernicieux. On voyait, il est vrai, des pères de famille qui négligeaient beaucoup le soin de leurs enfants et de leurs esclaves, mais on en voyait aussi beaucoup d'autres qui leur donnaient par eux-mêmes ou qui leur procuraient les instructions nécessaires, et qui savaient les contenir dans le devoir: il y avait des chrétiens qui semblaient avoir oublié les préceptes du jeûne de l'abstinence, de la communion, de la confession, et l'obligation même d'entendre la messe; mais d'autres en grand nombre étaient très-fidèles à ces devoirs et fréquentaient les sacrements. Combien de curés en France à qui l'on sait bon gré de leur travail, quand ils peuvent recueillir des fruits pareils.

Quant à la mission des sauvages Illinois, la parole de Dieu n'y a pas été non plus annoncée sans fruits. Malgré l'inconstance de ce peuple, la religion qu'on y avait établie depuis longtemps a été conservée jusqu'à présent, la superstition qu'on appelle jonglerie y était presque anéantie; les infidèles même étaient zélés pour faire

[*Translation*]

crowd of drunkards among those who were perverting the savages by the brandy which they furnished to them. There were many others who preferred to deprive themselves of the most necessary provisions rather than to engage in so pernicious a traffic. There were, it is true, some heads of families who greatly neglected the care of their children and of their slaves; but there were also many others who themselves gave to these, or procured for them, the necessary instructions, and who knew how to keep them within the bounds of duty. There were Christians who seemed to have forgotten the precepts of fasting and abstinence, of communion and confession, and even the obligation to attend mass; but others, in great numbers, were very faithful to these duties and frequented the sacraments. How many pastors there are in France with whose work people are content when they can gather like fruits!

As for the mission of the Illinois savages, the word of God was not announced there, also, without result. Despite the inconstancy of this people, the religion that was long ago established there has been preserved up to the present, the superstition called jugglery having



baptiser leur enfants; plusieurs néophytes jugés dignes de la communion ne dés honoraient point, par leur conduite, le jugement qu'on avait fait d'eux; plusieurs résistaient à la passion si forte que ces peuples ont pour l'eau-de-vie, et se retenaient exactement dans les bornes de tempérance, même quand ils pouvaient boire sans qu'il leur en coûtât rien. Combien d'autres fruits n'auraient pas été produits dans cette mission, si l'on avait voulu sérieusement arrêter le commerce de l'eau-de-vie, qui, dans ce pays, est la ruine de la religion. Il est vrai que ce commerce était prohibé par le loi de l'Église et par les ordonnances du Roi; mais plusieurs de ceux qui faisaient publier ces dernières défenses et qui devaient tenir la main à leur observation, étaient les premiers à distribuer la boisson défendue.

Le premier grief marqué dans l'arrêt du conseil de la Louisiane qui condamne les Jésuites, est celui-ci: *Qu'ils n'ont pas eu soin de leurs missions.* Par tout ce qui vient d'être dit, l'on a pu voir si cette imputation est bien fondée.

Le deuxième grief: Que les Jésuites de cette colonie n'ont eu soin

[*Translation*]

been almost destroyed. Even the unbelievers were zealous in having their children baptized; many neophytes, judged worthy of communion, did not dishonor by their conduct the opinion that had been formed of them; and many resisted the passion, so strong among these tribes, for brandy, and kept themselves within the bounds of temperance even when they could drink without any cost to themselves. How much other fruit would not have been produced in this mission if serious effort had been made to stop the traffic in brandy which, in this country, is the ruin of religion! It is true that this commerce was prohibited by the law of the church and by the orders of the king; but several of those who made public the latter prohibitions and who ought to have enforced their observance, were the first to distribute the forbidden liquor.

The first complaint noted in the decree of the council of Louisiana which condemns the Jesuits is this: *that they have not taken care of their missions.* By all that has just been said, the reader has been able to ascertain whether this imputation was well founded.

The second grievance: that the Jesuits of this colony have only

que d'étendre leurs habitations. Mais en répondant au premier grief, n'a-t-on pas en même temps répondu au deuxième? Car si les Jésuites ont eu soin de leurs missions, comme on l'a fait voir, ils ont donc eu d'autre soin que celui de leurs habitations. Mais peut-être a-t-on voulu dire qu'il ne convient pas à des missionnaires de posséder de grandes habitations, parce que c'est une distraction au ministère spirituel, on veut bien l'avouer; mais pour éviter cet embarras, il aurait donc fallu pourvoir d'ailleurs à leur subsistance, aux frais de leurs voyages, à la construction et à l'entretien de leurs maisons et de leurs chapelles; or par leur fondation, les Jésuites recevaient peut-être chacun une pension de huit cents livres (celui qui écrit cette lettre n'est pas bien assuré de cet article); et pour bâtir et entretenir six maisons et six chapelles, ils avaient reçu quinze mille livres, une fois payées, par un engagement hasardé, il est vrai, mais dont ils n'étaient plus libres de se délivrer. Où auraient-ils donc trouvé des fonds pour ces dépenses, pour leur nourriture même et leur habillement, lorsque dans les besoins de l'Etat, les trésoriers de la colonie ne payaient plus les dettes les plus privilégiées? Lorsqu'un aune d'

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taken care to extend their estates. But in answering the first complaint has not the second one been answered at the same time? For if the Jesuits have taken care of their missions, as has been proved, they have in consequence had other cares than those of their estates. But perhaps some one has chosen to say that it is not becoming for missionaries to possess great estates, because these are a distraction to the spiritual ministry. This may be readily granted; but to avoid this embarrassment it would, then, have become necessary to provide otherwise for their subsistence, for the expenses of their journeys, for the construction and maintenance of their houses and their chapels. Now from their endowment the Jesuits received, perhaps, each one a pension of eight hundred *livres* (he who writes this letter is not quite sure on this point); and to build and maintain six houses and six chapels, they had received fifteen thousand *livres*, paid at one time according to the contract, which was indeed hazardous, but one from which they were no longer at liberty to release themselves. Where would they, then, have found funds for these expenses even for their food and clothes, when on account of the lack of state

étouffe, une aune de toile très-commune coûtait cinquante écus à la Nouvelle-Orléans, un mouchoir médiocre cent francs, une barrique de vin se vendait deux mille cinq cents francs, et n'était rendue aux Illinois, qu'au prix de cinq ou six cents livres, qu'on demandait pour le frêt; alors, n'était-il pas nécessaire d'avoir une habitation et d'en prendre soin pour y trouver les moyens de subsister? Eh! comment donc le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans leur en a-t-il fait un crime, un motif de condamnation dans son arrêt?

Il reste à discuter un troisième motif de condamnation, c'est l'usurpation du vicariat général de l'évêché de Québec. Pour la Nouvelle-Orléans, les juges de cette ville l'imputent aux Jésuites; mais ils ont donc cru que tout le monde aurait oublié que, peu d'années auparavant, eux-mêmes avaient prononcé tout le contraire.

Voici le fait: il y a environ dix-huit ou vingt ans que feu Mgr de Pontbriand, évêque de Québec, écrivit au P. Vitry, supérieur des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-Orléans, pour l'y constituer son vicaire général.

[*Translation*]

funds the treasurer of the colony no longer paid the debts most entitled to preference? When an ell of stuff or an ell of very common linen cost fifty *écus* at New Orleans, an ordinary handkerchief a hundred *francs*, and a cask of wine was sold at twenty-five hundred *francs*, and was not delivered at the Illinois without the payment of five or six hundred *livres*, which was demanded for the freight, was it not, then, necessary to have an estate and to take care of it, to obtain therefrom the means of subsistence? Ah! how then has the council of New Orleans made it a crime in their case, and a reason for condemnation in their decree?

There remains a third motive of condemnation to be discussed: the usurpation of the vicariate-general of the bishopric of Quebec. As for New Orleans, the judges of this town impute such usurpation to the Jesuits; but they have supposed, then, that everyone had forgotten that a few years before they themselves had pronounced precisely the contrary.

Here are the facts: About eighteen or twenty years ago the late Mgr. de Pontbriand, bishop of Quebec, sent letters to Father Vitry, superior of the Jesuits of New Orleans, constituting him his vicar-general there; these letters were registered in the superior council.

Ces lettres furent enregistrées au conseil supérieur; le P. Vitry étant mort en 1750, le P. Baudoin reçut la même commission et il en exerça tranquillement les fonctions pendant quelque temps; mais ensuite il s'éleva des contestations: les RR. PP. Capucins crurent leurs droits lésés par la nomination des Jésuites au grand-vicariat; ils se persuadèrent que le nom et la fonction de vicaire général ayant été donnés à leur supérieur, par Monseigneur l'évêque de Québec, en même temps que la compagnie des Indes l'avait nommé à la cure de la Nouvelle-Orléans, ces deux qualités devraient être désormais inséparables et par conséquent leur appartenir; leurs prétentions furent bien connues par Mgr de Pontbriand. Les Jésuites même (bien des gens ne le croiront pas, mais la chose n'en est pas moins constante), les Jésuites firent tous leurs efforts pour être déchargés d'un emploi qui n'était pour eux qu'une source de déplaisirs et de contradictions; le prélat persista à vouloir absolument que l'emploi demeurât à ceux qu'il avait nommés; les PP. Capucins refusèrent cependant de reconnaître le P. Baudoin. L'affaire fut enfin portée au conseil, lequel, après plusieurs procédures, adjugea aux Jésuites, par un arrêt, la légitime possession du grand-vicariat; les registres du conseil en font foi,

[*Translation*]

Father Vitry having died in 1750, Father Baudoin received the same commission, and peaceably exercised its functions for some time. But afterward there arose disputes; the reverend Capuchin fathers thought that their rights were infringed by the appointment of the Jesuits to the grand-vicariate. They persuaded themselves that the name and function of vicar-general having been given to their superior by the bishop of Quebec at the same time when the Company of the Indies had named him for the parish of New Orleans, these two titles ought to be thereafter inseparable, and accordingly belong to them; their pretensions were well known to Mgr. de Pontbriand. The Jesuits themselves (many people will not believe it, but the statement is no less true) the Jesuits directed all their efforts to be freed from a position which was for them only a source of annoyance and opposition. The prelate persisted in an absolute decision that the office should continue with those whom he had named; the Capuchin fathers refused, however, to recognize Father Baudoin. The affair was finally brought to the council, which, after several disputes,



l'exercice de cet emploi fut continué aux Jésuites: la Nouvelle-Orléans et toute la colonie en est témoin. Le P. Baudoin malgré les contestations passées et quelques oppositions passagères qui survenaient de temps en temps, en avait le nom et en faisait le devoir jusqu'au jour auquel fut porté l'arrêt de destruction. Le croira-t-on dans la suite, si la Louisiane mérite d'avoir place dans l'histoire? croira-t-on que le conseil établi pour y rendre la justice, ait osé se contredire lui-même par un arrêt solennel, qui dément expressément un autre arrêt donné peu de temps auparavant sur la même matière: matière trop importante pour pouvoir être oubliée; matière qui durant plusieurs années avait occupé les esprits à la Nouvelle-Orléans? Croira-t-on que ceux qui avaient été déclarés légitimes possesseurs, aient pu, peu de temps après, sans qu'il soit intervenue le moindre changement dans la cause, être condamnés comme usurpateurs? En réfléchissant sur cet arrêt porté sans informations, sans interrogatoire, sans donner aux intéressés la moindre liberté de se défendre, n'est-il pas naturel de penser que le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans a regardé

[*Translation*]

adjudged to the Jesuits by a decree the legitimate possession of the grand-vicariate; and the registers of the council testify to this. The right to exercise the duties of this office continued to belong to the Jesuits, to which New Orleans and the whole colony are witnesses. Father Baudoin, despite past disputes and some passing opposition which arose from time to time, had the name and performed the duties thereof until the day on which the decree of destruction was issued. Will it be believed hereafter—if Louisiana is worthy of having a place in history—will it be believed that the council established to administer justice there has dared to contradict itself by a solemn decree which expressly denies another decree issued a little while before upon the same matter—a matter too important to be forgotten, a matter which during several years had occupied the minds of the people of New Orleans? Will it be believed that those who had been declared legitimate possessors could, a little while afterward, without the least change in the matter having occurred, be condemned as usurpers? In reflecting upon this decree—declared without information, without examination, without giving those interested the least liberty to defend themselves—is it not natural to think that the council of New



les Jésuites comme des gens contre lesquels on pouvait tout dire et tout oser?

Nous avons fini l'examen des motifs particuliers énoncés dans: la condamnation des Jésuites, savoir: *Que les Jésuites n'avaient pas eu soin de leurs missions, qu'ils n'avaient eu soin que de leurs habitations et qu'ils étaient usurpateurs du vicariat général de la Nouvelle-Orléans.* Il est temps de parler de l'exécution de l'arrêt: elle devait se faire d'abord à la Nouvelle-Orléans et ensuite au pays des Illinois, à une distance de quatre à cinq cents lieues. Il y avait en ce pays, comme on l'a dit ci-dessus, une mission de Jésuites établie en quatre postes différents. Ils ne furent pas oubliés; et l'on fit partir un courrier pour y porter l'arrêt de destruction.<sup>1</sup> Cependant on l'exécuta promptement contre ceux de la Nouvelle-Orléans. Leur établissement était tout proche de cette ville et proportionné aux besoins de douze missionnaires; il y avait un assez grand atelier d'esclaves pour cultiver la terre et exercer d'autres métiers, comme il est d'usage dans les colonies; avec divers bâtimens, des troupeaux de bétail et les usines convenables, tout fut saisi, inventorié, mis à l'encan; et cette exécution dura

[Translation]

Orleans has regarded the Jesuits as people against whom one could say all and dare all?

We have finished the examination of the several reasons set forth in the condemnation of the Jesuits, namely, *that the Jesuits did not take care of their missions, that they cared only for their estates, and that they were usurpers of the vicariate-general of New Orleans.* It is time to speak of the execution of the decree. It was to be carried out first at New Orleans, and afterward in the Illinois country, at a distance of four or five hundred leagues. There was in that country, as has been said above, a mission of the Jesuits established at four different posts. They were not forgotten, and a courier was sent to carry the decree of destruction.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, it was executed promptly against those of New Orleans. Their establishment was quite near this town, and proportioned to the needs of the twelve missionaries. There was a sufficiently large gang of slaves for cultivating the land, and for plying other trades, as is the custom in the colonies; there were also various buildings, with herds of cattle and suitable works. Every-

<sup>1</sup> For the sale of the Jesuit property in the Illinois, see *post*, 125, 129, 132.

longtemps: ceux qui y étaient employés prenaient leurs repas dans la maison. C'étaient les officiers de justice les plus qualifiés, avec les moindres suppôts: il est bien à croire que les premiers se tinrent dans la décence qui leur convenait; mais les autres ne se crurent point obligés de se contrefaire: ils se voyaient bien régalez et ils étaient assurés que leur emploi était très-lucratif: ils ne dissimulèrent pas leurs sentiments. Le supérieur des Jésuites était obligé d'être aux grands repas qui se donnaient chez lui durant la déprédation, et il voyait la joie qu'on y faisait paraître. Après la vente des meubles et des immeubles, il restait la chapelle avec les ornements et les vases sacrés: il était dit dans l'arrêt que ces effets seraient portés chez les RR. PP. Capucins: cela fut exécuté, et c'était le moins mauvais usage qu'on en pût faire. Après quoi la chapelle fut rasée, et les sépultures des corps inhumés depuis trente ans dans ce lieu et dans le cimetière voisin, demeurèrent exposées à la profanation. On a souvent demandé aux Jésuites revenus de la Louisiane en France, la raison de ce procédé; on leur a marqué l'étonnement et horreur qu'on ressentait de cet

[*Translation*]

thing was seized, inventoried, and sold at auction, and this execution lasted a long time. Those who were employed therein took their meals in the house. These were the higher officers of justice, with the lesser agents. It is right to suppose that the former kept themselves within the decent behavior that beseeemed them, but the others did not consider themselves obliged to assume any disguise. They found themselves well feasted, and they were sure that their employment was a very lucrative one; so they did not dissemble their feelings. The superior of the Jesuits was obliged to be present at the great feasts which were given at his house during the depredation, and he saw the joy that was shown there. After the sale of the real and personal property, there remained the chapel, with its ornaments and sacred vessels. It was stated in the decree that these effects should be taken to the reverend Capuchin fathers; this was done, and it was the least objectionable use that could be made of them. After that, the chapel was razed to the ground; and the sepulchers of the bodies buried for thirty years in this place and in the neighboring cemetery remained exposed to profanation. The Jesuits who came back from Louisiana to France have often been asked the reason for this

événement; on leur a dit qu'on ne devait l'attendre que des ennemis déclarés de la religion catholique: les Jésuites n'ont pu répondre que par leur silence.

Rien ne manquait plus à l'exécution de l'arrêt, que de renvoyer les condamnés en France: ceux qui se trouvaient à la Nouvelle-Orléans n'attendirent pas qu'on leur intimât l'ordre de partir. Le P. Carette s'embarqua pour passer à Saint-Domingue, le P. Roy se retira à Pensacole, dans le temps même où les Anglais entraient dans ce port pour en prendre possession, et que les Espagnols l'évacuaient en vertu du traité de paix; il entra dans le vaisseau qui devait porter le Gouverneur de cette place, à la Vera-Cruz. Le Père y fut accueilli par les Pères espagnols du collège, avec la plus grande charité; peu après il fut associé à la province que les Jésuites ont au Mexique, par le P. François Zéballos, supérieur de cette province; sa lettre écrite à ce sujet exprimait les sentiments les plus généreux et les plus chrétiens, et tous les Jésuites bannis des terres de la domination français y étaient invites à la même retraite. Le P. Le Prédour était aux Ali-

[*Translation*]

proceeding; they have been told what astonishment and horror was felt at this event; it has been said to them that this was only to be expected from open enemies of the Catholic religion. The Jesuits could only answer by silence.

The execution of the decree lacked nothing, save to send back the condemned to France; those who were at New Orleans did not wait to be notified of the order to depart. Father Carette embarked to cross over to Santo Domingo; Father Le Roy took refuge at Pensacola, at the very time when the English entered this port to take possession of it, and the Spaniards evacuated it by virtue of the treaty of peace; he entered the ship which was to bear the governor of that place to Vera Cruz. The father was welcomed there by the Spanish fathers of the college with the greatest kindness; a little while afterward he was made an associate in the province that the Jesuits have in Mexico, by Father François Zéballos, superior of that province. His letter written upon this subject expressed most generous and most Christian sentiments, and all the Jesuits banished from the lands under French domination were invited thither to the same refuge. Father le Prédour was among the Alibamu, at a distance of about two hundred

bamons à une distance d'environ deux cents lieues; il fallut beaucoup de temps pour lui faire parvenir la copie de l'arrêt; et, après qu'il l'eut reçue, il fut obligé d'attendre des occasions pour se rendre au fort de la Mobile, et de là, à la Nouvelle-Orléans. On a appris depuis peu qu'il est de retour en France. Il ne restait donc plus à faire partir que le P. Baudoin, supérieur de toutes les missions; mais il était âgé de soixante-douze ans, infirme comme on le peut croire d'un homme qui avait passé trente-cinq ans dans la Louisiane; et de ces trente-cinq ans, vingt environ, au milieu des bois, avec les Chactas; il n'avait ni parents, ni habitude en France; étant né au Canada, on lui permit de demeurer. On lui constitua une pension de neuf cents livres qui équivaldrait en France à la somme de trois ou quatre cents francs. M. Boré, ancien habitant du pays, lui offrit de se retirer avec lui sur sa terre, et prouva ainsi la sincérité de l'amitié qu'il avait toujours marquée envers les Jésuites.

Cependant, le courrier dépêché aux Illinois pour y porter l'arrêt, arriva la nuit du 23 septembre au fort de Chartres, éloigné de six lieues de la résidence des Jésuites. Il remit au procureur du roi la

[*Translation*]

leagues, and much time was necessary for transmitting a copy of the decree to him. Then, after he had received it, he was obliged to await an opportunity to reach the fort at Mobile, and from that place, New Orleans. We have recently learned that he has returned to France. There were no more to send away, then, but Father Baudoin, superior of all the missions; but he was seventy-two years old, and infirm — as one may expect of a man who had passed thirty-five years in Louisiana, and of those thirty-five years about twenty in the midst of the forests with the Choctaw. He had no relatives in France, nor was he accustomed to this country; as he was born in Canada, he was permitted to remain. He was assigned a pension of nine hundred *livres*, which would be equivalent in France to the sum of three or four hundred *francs*. M. Boré, an old resident of the country, offered him an asylum with himself, upon his estate, and thus proved the sincerity of the friendship which he had always shown toward the Jesuits.

Meanwhile, the courier dispatched to the Illinois to bear the decree, arrived on the night of September 23 at Fort de Chartres,



commission qui le chargeait d'exécuter l'arrêt, et dès le lendemain, cet officier de justice se rendit sur les huit ou neuf heures du matin chez les Jésuites, accompagné du greffier et de l'huissier de la juridiction; quelques jours après il a tâché de faire valoir la modération dont il avait usé en n'arrivant pas durant la nuit, comme ses ordres le portaient, disait-il: à cela près on dut être content de son exactitude. Il lut au P. Watrin,<sup>1</sup> supérieur, l'arrêt de condamnation, et lui en ayant donnée copie, le fit sortir sur-le-champ de sa chambre pour y mettre le scellé; on en fit de même à l'égard des autres missionnaires qui se trouvaient dans la maison. Il restait une salle où ils pouvaient demeurer ensemble, quoique avec une grande incommodité, mais cette grâce leur fut refusée, parce que les gardes, établis pour la sûreté de la saisie, s'y opposèrent; ils ne voulurent pas que les Jésuites pussent éclaircir de si près leur conduite. Le procureur du Roi craignit de mécontenter ces gardiens, il ne voulut pas même permettre aux

[Translation]

distant six leagues from the residence of the Jesuits. He delivered to the procurator of the king the commission which charged him to execute the decree; and on the next day, about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, that officer of justice repaired to the house of the Jesuits, accompanied by the clerk and the *huissier* of that jurisdiction. Some days afterward, he tried to turn to account the moderation that he had used in not arriving during the night, "as his orders directed," said he; with that exception, they ought to have been satisfied with his exactness. He read to Father Watrin,<sup>1</sup> the superior, the decree of condemnation, and, having given him a copy of it, he made him at once leave his room to put the seal upon it; the same thing was done with the other missionaries who happened to be in the house. There remained one hall where they could remain together, although with great inconvenience; but this favor was refused them, because the guards, placed in custody of the property seized, opposed this; they were unwilling that the Jesuits should be able to watch their conduct so closely. The procurator of the king feared to displease these guardians, and would not even permit the Jesuits to remain

<sup>1</sup> Father Philibert (or Philippe) Watrin was born at Metz, April 1, 1697 (or 1691), entered the Jesuit order in 1712 and was sent to Louisiana in 1732, where he served until the banishment. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 71:170.



Jésuites de demeurer chez un de leurs confrères, qui étant curé de lieu, avait son logement particulier près de l'église paroissiale:<sup>1</sup> on n'y avait pas mis les scellés parce qu'il n'y avait rien à saisir. Les missionnaires chassés de leur maison se cantonnèrent comme ils purent. Le supérieur, âgé de soixante-sept ans, partit à pied pour se retirer à une grande lieue chez son confrère missionnaire des sauvages, et les Français qui le recontrèrent sur cette route gémirent de voir la persécution commencer par lui.

Dès que les sauvages le surent arrivé chez eux, ils vinrent lui marquer et au P. Meurin<sup>2</sup> son confrère, la part qu'ils prenaient à l'affliction de leurs Pères: la nouvelle de leur condamnation avait déjà fait répandre bien des larmes dans le village. On leur demanda pourquoi ils étaient traités ainsi, surtout dans un pays où tant de désordres étaient soufferts depuis si longtemps; l'ancien missionnaire, après plusieurs interrogations, réitérées, répondit enfin: *Arechi Kiécouègane*

[Translation]

at the house of one of their *confrères* — who, being pastor of the place, had his private lodging near the parish church.<sup>1</sup> They did not put the seal thereon because there was nothing there to seize. The missionaries, driven from their own house, found quarters as best they could. The superior, sixty-seven years old, departed on foot to find a lodging, a long league away, with a *confrère* of his, a missionary to the savages; and the French who met him on this journey groaned to see persecution begin with him.

As soon as the savages learned that he had arrived among them, they came to show to him and to Father Meurin,<sup>2</sup> his associate, the share which they took in the distress of their fathers; the news of their condemnation had already caused many tears to be shed in the village. They were asked why they were thus treated, especially in a country where so many disorders had been so long allowed. The old missionary, after several repeated interrogations, finally replied: "*Arechi Kiécouègane tchichi ki canta manghi* — It is because

<sup>1</sup>There were three Jesuit missions in the Illinois: one was for the Indians, one for the French village of Kaskaskia, and one at Ste. Genevieve.

<sup>2</sup>Father Sebastian Louis Meurin was born in Champagne, 1707, and entered the Jesuit order in 1729. Coming to Canada in 1741, he was sent the next year to the Illinois. He remained there after the banishment and died in Prairie du Rocher in 1777. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 70:310; *post*, general index.

*tchichi ki canta manghi; c'est que nous querellons bien fort la folie.* Ils comprirent le sens de cette réponse, ils savaient en effet, qu'en quelque lieu qu'ils soient établis, les Jésuites se croient obligés par leur état à combattre le vice, et qu'en le combattant ils font des ennemis.

Les sauvages chrétiens proposèrent ensuite de députer les principaux d'entre eux à M. Neyon, commandant, et à M. Bobé, commissaire sub-délégué du pays, pour demander qu'au moins le P. Meurin, leur missionnaire, fût conservé dans sa mission, les deux Jésuites leur dirent nettement de n'en rien faire, parce que cette démarche serait méprisée et sans effet, comme ayant été suggérée. Ils voulurent donc demander qu'au moins on conservât la chapelle et la maison du missionnaire, afin que le plus instruit d'entre eux pût assembler les enfants et leur répéter les prières, et que tous les Dimanches et fêtes, il appelât les priants, c'est-à-dire les chrétiens, au son de la cloche, pour satisfaire du mieux qu'il serait possible aux devoirs de la religion; ils firent en effet cette démarche et ils obtinrent ce qu'ils demandaient.

Cependant le Procureur du Roi se relâcha un peu de sa rigueur:

[Translation]

*we sternly condemn their follies."* They comprehended the meaning of this answer — indeed, they knew that the Jesuits, in whatever place they may be established, consider themselves bound by their profession to combat vice; and that, in fighting it, they make enemies for themselves.

The Christian savages proposed to send their chief men to M. de Villiers, commandant, and to M. Bobé, subdeputy-commissary of the country, to ask that at least Father Meurin, their missionary, be kept in his mission. The two Jesuits told them plainly to do nothing of the kind, because this proceeding would be scoffed at and ineffectual as having been suggested. They wished, then, to ask that at least the chapel and the house of the missionary be preserved, in order that the best instructed person among them might assemble the children and repeat the prayers to them; and that every Sunday and feast day he might summon those who prayed—that is to say, the Christians — by the ringing of the bell, to fulfill as well as possible the duties of religion. They did, in fact, make such a request, and obtained what they asked.

Meanwhile, the procurator of the king relaxed a little in his

vers le même temps il reçut en un seul jour quatre lettres de M. Bobé, commissaire, qui le priaît de modérer son zèle, et consentit que les Jésuites se reunissent chez leurs confrères curés des Français. Ils y étaient fort à l'étroit dans une maison bâtie pour un homme seul: on avait ouvert leurs chambres, afin que chacun pût en tirer son matelas et ses couvertures qu'ils étendirent sur le plancher dans la maison du curé. Cette manière de prendre leur repos, laquelle dura près d'un mois, les prépara au voyage qu'ils devaient faire bientôt sur le Mississippi, car on ne campe guère autrement sur les bords de ce fleuve. On permit aussi aux Jésuites de prendre leurs hardes et leurs livres que l'arrêt leur avait laissés. Enfin on pourvut à la subsistance de ces Pères, jusqu'au temps où ils devaient s'embarquer pour descendre à la Nouvelle-Orléans. On leur abandonna la plus grande partie des vivres qui se trouvaient dans leur maison, et cette provision fut en effet suffisante pour le temps qu'ils passèrent encore aux Illinois.

On en vint enfin à faire l'inventaire; il fallait du temps pour ramasser et mettre en ordre les meubles d'une grande maison et d'une

[*Translation*]

severity, about the same time that he received in a single day four letters from M. Bobé, the commissary, who begged him to moderate his zeal and allow the Jesuits to live together with their brethren, the pastors of the French. They were closely crowded there, in a house that was built for only one man. Their rooms had been opened in order that each one might be able to take out his mattress and blankets, which they spread upon the floor in the house of the pastor. This way of taking their rest, which lasted nearly a month, prepared them for the voyage which they were soon to make upon the Mississippi, for upon the banks of that river one encamps in hardly other fashion. The Jesuits were also permitted to take their clothes and their books, which the decree had left to them. At last, the support of these fathers was provided for until the time when they should embark to go down to New Orleans. The greater part of the food that was found in their house was given up to them and this provision was, in fact, sufficient for the rest of the time that they passed in the Illinois.

Finally, it came to making the inventory. Time was necessary to collect and put in order the furniture of a large house, the chattels

habitation considérables, les bestiaux dispersés dans les campagnes et les bois; d'ailleurs il y avait raison pour ne pas se presser: plus les vacations étaient longues, plus elles valaient à ceux qui s'y trouvaient employés.

Durant cette longue exécution, les gens du pays raisonnaient sur ce qui se passait sous leurs yeux; la nouvelle de la condamnation des Jésuites avait fait gémir les sauvages. Elle jeta la plupart des Français dans la consternation, on la regarda comme une calamité publique; des paroissiens justement attachés à leur pasteur se voyaient sur le point de le perdre, sans qu'on eût même pensé à lui donner un successeur. On ne tarda pas à présenter au nom de presque tous les habitants une requête adressée au commandant et au commissaire du pays, pour obtenir que du moins le P. Aubert,<sup>1</sup> curé des Cascakias français, fût conservé; et comme la réponse parut différée trop longtemps, peu après il partit une seconde requête.<sup>2</sup> En attendant qu'on y répondît, les habitants les plus sensés demandaient de quel

[Translation]

of an important estate, and the cattle scattered in the fields and woods. Besides, there was reason for not hurrying too much; the longer the delays the better they paid those who were employed in that task.

During this long execution, the people of the country were reasoning upon what was taking place before their eyes. The news of the condemnation of the Jesuits had made the savages groan; it threw most of the French people into consternation and was regarded as a public calamity. Parishioners justly attached to their pastor saw themselves upon the point of losing him without even a thought being given to providing a successor to him. There was no delay in presenting, in the name of nearly all the inhabitants, a petition addressed to the commandant and the commissary of the country, in order to secure the retention of at least Father Aubert,<sup>1</sup> the pastor of French Kaskaskia; and as the answer seemed to be deferred too long a time, a little while afterward a second petition was sent.<sup>2</sup> While waiting for an answer to this, the more intelligent of the inhabitants asked by what right the government had taken possession of the prop-

<sup>1</sup> Father Jean Bte. Aubert was born in the province of Lyons, March 1, 1722, entered the Jesuit order in 1739, arrived in Louisiana, 1754, and returned to France after the banishment. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 71:179.

<sup>2</sup> These have not been found.



droit on s'était emparé des biens des Jésuites, et quel pouvoir on avait sur leur personne, dans un pays cédé par le traité de paix à la couronne d'Angleterre? On demandait encore par quelle raison les Jésuites étaient exceptés du bénéfice accordé indistinctement à tous les habitants des Illinois, d'avoir dix-huit mois pour opter ou de demeurer dans ce pays, ou de se retirer ailleurs? Surtout on était indigné de la saisie faite des vases sacrés, d'une chapelle appartenant aux Hurons du détroit, que le P. Saleneuve, missionnaire de cette nation, avait apportés au pays des Illinois quand il s'y était réfugié deux ans et demi auparavant. Autre sujet d'étonnement: ce Père venu du détroit, et le P. de la Morinie, venu du poste de Saint-Joseph, n'étaient pas de la Louisiane, mais du Canada; c'était l'extrême disette qui les avait obligés de se retirer au pays des Illinois; ils n'y étaient restés que par le défaut des occasions nécessaires pour retourner à leur poste. Le P. Salleneuve n'avait point d'emploi dans la mission des Illinois, et le P. de la Morinie ne s'était chargé de l'église de Sainte-Geneviève, que par le motif d'un zèle qui ne se refuse à rien; il était visible que le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans ne devait ni les connaître ni penser à

[*Translation*]

erty of the Jesuits, and what power it had over their persons in a country ceded by the treaty of peace to the crown of England. It was also asked by what reason the Jesuits were excepted from the privilege granted without distinction to all the inhabitants of the Illinois of having eighteen months to choose either to remain in this country or to go elsewhere. Above all, they were indignant at the seizure made of the sacred vessels of a chapel belonging to the Hurons of Detroit, which Father Salleneuve, missionary to that nation, had brought to the Illinois country when he had taken refuge there, two and a half years before. There was another cause for astonishment: this father who had come from Detroit and Father de la Morinie from the Post St. Joseph, did not belong to Louisiana but to Canada. It was extreme want that had obliged them to withdraw to the country of the Illinois, and they had remained there only for lack of the necessary opportunities to return to their posts. Father Salleneuve had no work in the Illinois mission, and Father de la Morinie had only taken charge of the church of Ste. Genevieve through the motive of a zeal that refuses itself to nothing. It was plain that the council

eux; mais ceux qui avaient l'autorité, aux Illinois, n'en jugèrent point ainsi; et les Jésuites se soumirent à tous les sens qu'on voulut donner à l'arrêt; ils n'entreprirent, ils ne dirent rien pour leur défense. Qu'auraient-ils pu faire? protester contre l'arrêt et contre son exécution? Le notaire qui aurait dû recevoir la protestation était intéressé à leur destruction; il servait de greffier dans l'exécution de l'arrêt, il n'y gardait pas même les mesures de bienséance. Auraient-ils affiché publiquement leur protestation? On n'eût pas manqué de les traiter comme des gens révoltés contre l'autorité publique: on les aurait saisis et peut-être mis aux fers comme des malfaiteurs; il y avait sur cela des ordres donnés. Enfin les Jésuites n'eurent soin que d'exécuter ce que leur supérieur de la Nouvelle-Orléans leur avait ordonné, ou plutôt de se rendre à la prière qu'il leur avait faite, au nom de Jésus-Christ, de se soumettre à tout, et de se rendre tous à la ville sans avoir égard à aucune raison qui semblerait les en dispenser. Ils se souvinrent qu'ils étaient disciples du divin Maître qui s'est livré à celui qui le jugeait injustement, et qui, comme l'agneau devant celui

[*Translation*]

of New Orleans ought neither to have taken cognizance of them nor given heed to them. But those who had authority in the Illinois did not think thus, and the Jesuits submitted to every interpretation that the officials chose to give to the decree; they did not attempt, they did not say anything for their defense. What could they have done? Protest against the decree and its execution? The notary who would have had to receive their protest was interested in their destruction; he acted as clerk in the execution of the decree; and he did not even keep within the bounds of decorum. Would they have given public notice of their protest? They would assuredly have been treated as people revolting against public authority. They would have been seized, and perhaps placed in irons as malefactors; orders had been given on that point. In short, the Jesuits' only care was to carry out the order given them by their superior at New Orleans, or rather to yield to the request which he had made them in the name of Jesus Christ to submit to everything, and all to proceed to that town, without regard to any reason which might seem to excuse them from doing so. They remembered that they were disciples of the divine Master who had yielded to him who judged him unjustly,

qui le tond, n'a pas ouvert la bouche. Peut-être, qu'au moins pour cette fois, on ne leur sut pas mauvais gré d'avoir pratiqué l'obéissance aveugle!

Ils firent plus: craignant que les requêtes présentées par les habitants ne fissent naître contre eux le soupçon d'une intrigue et, d'une semence de révolte, ils écrivirent à M. le Commandant et à M. le Commissaire pour les prier de n'avoir aucun égard aux représentations qu'on leur faisait et de hâter le départ ordonné par l'arrêt. Mais ces messieurs firent moins d'attention à cette lettre, qu'au danger d'une émotion dont ils étaient menacés, et ils ordonnèrent que le Père Aubert, curé de Cascakias, demeurerait jusqu'à ce que le conseil de la Nouvelle-Orléans en eût décidé.

Cependant l'encan était fini, on avait vendu la maison, les meubles, les bestiaux, les terres; les esclaves devaient être conduits à la Nouvelle-Orléans pour y être aussi vendus au profit du roi; et la chapelle devait être rasée par celui à qui la maison était adjugée. On permit alors aux Jésuites de rentrer dans leur ancienne maison dont l'usage jusqu'à leur embarquement leur était réservé par une clause stipulée

[*Translation*]

and as the lamb before his shearer, did not open his mouth. Perhaps, at least for this time, no one was displeased with them for having practiced blind obedience!

They did more. Fearing that the requests presented by the inhabitants might arouse against them the suspicion of an intrigue and of instigating revolt, they wrote to the commandant and to the commissary, urging them not to have any regard to the representations that were being made to them, and to hasten the departure ordered by the decree. But those gentlemen paid less attention to this letter than to the danger of a riot with which they were threatened; and they ordered that Father Aubert, the pastor of Kaskaskia, should remain until the council of New Orleans should decide his case.

Meanwhile, the auction was finished; the house, the furniture, the cattle, the lands had been sold; the slaves were to be taken to New Orleans, to be sold there for the benefit of the king; and the chapel was to be razed by the man to whom the house had been adjudged. The Jesuits were then permitted to re-enter their former home, the use of which was, by a clause inserted in the bill of sale,

dans la vente. Ils la trouvèrent bien dégagée; on n'y avait laissé que les bois de lit et les paillasses; et pour s'y loger, ils furent obligés d'emprunter de leurs amis, chacun une chaise et une petite table. Ils trouvèrent leur chapelle dans un état encore plus triste; après qu'on eût enlevé les vases sacrés et les tableaux, les gradins de l'autel avaient été jetés par terre; les doublures des ornements avaient été données à des négresses décriées pour leur mauvaise vie; un grand crucifix qui avait figuré sur l'autel et les chandeliers se trouvaient placés sur un buffet, dans une maison dont la réputation n'était pas saine. A voir les marques du dépouillement de la chapelle, on aurait pu penser que c'étaient des ennemis de la religion catholique qui y avaient travaillé.

Ce fut en ce temps-là que les Jésuites des Illinois virent arriver leur confrère, le P. de Vernay;<sup>1</sup> il venait du poste de Saint-Ange éloigné de soixante-dix ou quatre-vingt lieues. On y avait envoyé l'ordre d'exécuter aussi l'arrêt à son égard; cet ordre fut si exactement suivi, que de ses meubles saisis et vendus, on n'excepta pas une petite

[*Translation*]

reserved to them until their embarkation. They found it well cleared; nothing was left except the bedsteads and the straw mattresses; and, in order to lodge there they were obliged to borrow from their friends each a chair and a little table. They found their chapel in a still more melancholy condition: after the sacred vessels and the pictures had been taken away, the steps of the altar had been thrown down; the coverings of the ornaments had been given to Negresses decried for their evil lives; and a large crucifix, which had stood above the altar, and the candelabras were found placed above a cupboard in a house whose reputation was not good. To see the marks of spoliation in the chapel, one might have thought that it was the enemies of the Catholic religion who had caused it.

It was at that time that the Jesuits of the Illinois saw their associate, Father de Vernay,<sup>1</sup> arrive. He came from the post of St. Ange, seventy or eighty leagues distant. The order to carry out the decree in regard to him had been sent there also; this order was so exactly followed that from the seizure and sale of his possessions they did not

<sup>1</sup> Father Julien de Vernay was born December 19, 1719, entered the Jesuit order in 1737, arrived in Louisiana in 1754, and returned to France after the banishment. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 71:180.



provision de noisettes qui se trouva dans sa maison. Cependant le P. de Vernay avait la fièvre depuis six mois: elle lui dura encore jusqu'à son arrivée en France, six autres mois après. Ce ne fut pas une raison pour différer son départ; l'ordre de partir était donné; et comment serait-il demeuré dans une maison démeublée et dénuée de provisions? Il se mit en marche: on était au mois de novembre; il fallut voyager au travers des bois et des prairies bien mouillées, exposé au froid et à la pluie: ce fut en cet état que le P. de Vernay vint joindre la troupe des missionnaires bannis qui attendaient leur embarquement. Il était de leur intérêt que cet embarquement ne fût pas trop différé; ils avaient sujet de craindre les glaces, qui dès la fin de novembre se trouvent quelquefois en abondance sur le Mississipi, où ils devaient s'embarquer. Ces glaces venant à se serrer pourraient bientôt fracasser la voiture qui s'en trouve environnée: du moins elle pouvait l'arrêter et réduire les voyageurs à une grande disette de vivres. Enfin arriva le jour fixé pour l'embarquement; c'était le 24 de novembre; le bagage des Jésuites n'embarrassait pas beaucoup le bateau où ils entrèrent: ils n'avaient que leur lit et leurs hardes en

[*Translation*]

except a little supply of hazelnuts which was found in his house. Meanwhile, Father de Vernay had had the fever for six months; it remained with him until his arrival in France, six months later. This was no reason for deferring his departure; the order to leave had been given, and how would he have remained in a house stripped of furniture and provisions? He set out on his way; it was then the month of November; he had to travel across woods and flooded prairies, exposed to the cold and rain. It was in this condition that Father de Vernay came to join the band of banished missionaries, who were awaiting their embarkation. It was for their advantage that this embarkation was not too long deferred; they had reason to fear the ice, which from the end of November is sometimes found in abundance upon the Mississippi, upon which they were to embark. These pieces of ice, if they happened to crowd together, could soon crush the boat that became surrounded by them; at least they could stop it, and reduce the travelers to a great scarcity of provisions. Finally the day set for the embarkation came; it was the twenty-fourth of November. The baggage of the Jesuits did not greatly embarrass the vessel

petite quantité, avec quelques vivres qu'ils avaient épargnés pour le voyage, et qui servirent non-seulement à eux, mais à quarante-huit nègres embarqués avec eux. Ces esclaves qui se ressentaient beaucoup de la disette répandue dans la colonie n'appartenaient plus aux Jésuites, étant confisqués au profit du Roi. Mais leurs anciens maîtres conservaient toujours la même attention à leur égard, et ils partagèrent bien volontiers avec ces misérables les provisions qu'ils avaient ménagées. Cette charité était alors bien nécessaire: les vivres qu'on avait embarqués par l'ordre du Roi étaient fort modiques; on les avait données comme pour un voyage de quinze à vingt jours: et, dans la saison, on aurait dû compter ce voyage de quarante à quarante-cinq jours; l'expérience de plusieurs années devait le faire estimer ainsi. Heureusement M. de Volsey, officier des troupes, pourvut par lui-même à ce qui manquait: il était dans un autre bateau avec environ vingt Anglais, que les sauvages révoltés contre eux avaient pris quelques mois auparavant et qu'ils avaient conduits au pays des Illinois pour les livrer aux Français. Le commandant du fort de Chartres les envoyait alors à la Nouvelle-Orléans; c'étaient

[*Translation*]

in which they had taken passage; they had only their beds and their clothes in small quantities, with some provisions which they had saved for the voyage; this food served not only for them, but for forty-eight Negroes embarked with them. These slaves, who keenly felt the scarcity prevalent throughout the colony, no longer belonged to the Jesuits, having been confiscated for the benefit of the king. But their former masters always preserved the same care in regard to them, and shared quite willingly with these wretches the provisions which they had saved. This charity was then very necessary; the supply of food that had been shipped by the order of the king was very moderate; it had been given as if for a journey of fifteen or twenty days, but, at that season, the journey ought, from the experience of many years, to have been estimated as lasting forty or forty-five days. Fortunately, M. de Volsey, officer of the troops, himself provided for what was lacking; he was in another boat with about twenty Englishmen whom the savages, who had revolted against them, had captured some months before, and whom they had taken to the Illinois country in order to deliver them to the French. The commandant of Fort de

tous gens de grand appétit. M. de Volsey qui, en qualité de commandant, réglait la marche, avait soin tous les soirs après qu'on était débarqué, d'entrer dans les bois pour y chasser. La peine qu'il se donnait ne fut point inutile: accompagné de quelques autres chasseurs, il tua des ours et des boeufs sauvages, qui furent le supplément de la provision trop médiocre.

M. de Volsey eut une autre attention: dans cette saison d'hiver, il fallait un temps considérable pour embarquer et débarquer un si grand nombre d'esclaves, vieillards, femmes et enfants; il fallait le soir, en sortant du bateau, grimper sur les bords du fleuve, élevés, escarpés et glissants, en danger de tomber dans le Mississipi, et de s'y noyer. Après avoir gagné le haut du rivage, il fallait aller chercher dans les bois dont ce fleuve est bordé partout, un lieu convenable pour y camper; souvent on ne le trouvait qu'après avoir défriché la place tout hérissée de halliers, de ronces, et de squine; il fallait encore faire une provision de bois suffisante pour allumer et pour entretenir sept à huit grands feux pendant la nuit; enfin il fallait travailler à se mettre

[*Translation*]

Chartres then sent them to New Orleans; they all were people with good appetites. M. de Volsey — who, in the capacity of commandant, directed the journey — was careful every evening after landing to go into the woods to hunt. The trouble that he took was not fruitless; accompanied by some other hunters, he killed some bears and wild cattle which supplemented the too moderate provisions.

M. de Volsey had another care. In this winter season, considerable time was necessary to embark and disembark so great a number of slaves — old men, women, and children. In the evening, upon leaving the boat, they had to climb up the banks of the river, which were high, steep, and slippery, with the danger of falling into the Mississippi and being drowned. After having gained the top of the bank, they had to go into the woods with which this river is everywhere bordered, to seek a suitable place in which to encamp; often they did not find one until after they had cleared such a place, all bristling with thickets, brambles, and cat-briar. It was necessary also to provide a stock of wood sufficient to light and keep up seven or eight great fires during the night. Finally, they had to work to protect themselves from the cold by putting up tents, which were very neces-

à l'abri des injures de l'air en dressant des tentes bien nécessaires dans la saison la plus rude de l'année; et les Jésuites, très-à propos, s'en étaient pourvus pour eux et pour leurs esclaves; dans la saisie de leurs meubles on leur avait permis de prendre cette précaution; M. de Volsey eut toujours la complaisance d'accorder le temps qu'il fallait pour toutes ces manœuvres.

Le voyage qui pouvait être bien long ne fut que de vingt-sept jours, parce que le temps ne fut pas aussi mauvais qu'il est d'ordinaire dans cette saison. Les Jésuites trouvèrent le moyen de dire la messe tous les dimanches et toutes les fêtes. Dans cette route qui est environ de quatre cents lieues, on ne trouve que deux postes établis, celui des Arkansas, et celui de la Pointe-Coupée, car on ne compte pas ici le poste des Allemands qui est trop près de la ville. En passant aux Arkansas, village distant de cent cinquante lieues des Illinois, M. Labaret d'Estrépy, commandant de ce poste, fit aux Jésuites un accueil gracieux et honorable. A la Pointe-Coupée, M. d'Esma-zilières, capitaine commandant de ce poste, les traita de même; mais surtout le R. P. Irénée, capucin, qui dans le même lieu est chargé

[*Translation*]

sary in the most severe season of the year. The Jesuits, very opportunely, had provided themselves with some tents for themselves and for their slaves — in the seizure of their furniture, they had been permitted to take this precaution. M. de Volsey, too, always had the kindness to grant the time that was necessary for all these proceedings.

The voyage, which might have been very long, lasted only twenty-seven days, because the weather was not so bad as it usually is at that season. The Jesuits found means to say mass every Sunday and every feast day. In this journey, which covers about four hundred leagues, one finds only two posts established, that of the Arkansas and that of Pointe Coupée, for the post of the Germans, which is too near the town, is not reckoned here. Passing to the Arkansas, a village about one hundred and fifty leagues from the Illinois, M. Cabaret de Trepî, commandant of that post, gave the Jesuits a gracious and honorable welcome; and at Pointe Coupée, M. Desmazellieres, the captain commanding that post, treated them in the same way. But, above all, Rev. Father Irénée, a Capuchin, who at the same place has charge of



d'une paroisse de douze à treize lieues d'étendue, fit pour les recevoir tout ce qu'il aurait pu faire pour les plus chers de ses confrères. Enfin, à sept ou huit lieues de la Nouvelle-Orléans, ils entrèrent à l'habitation de M. de Maccarty, ancien lieutenant du Roi, dans cette ville, qui par ses bontés leur rappela le souvenir de la bienveillance qu'il leur avait toujours marquée aux Illinois, ou il avait été major commandant général. Depuis qu'ils furent arrivés à la ville, il leur donna encore plusieurs autres marques de son amitié.

Mais au sortir de cette habitation ils se trouvèrent fort en peine. Ils se voyaient près d'entrer dans la Nouvelle-Orléans, et ils ne savaient pas où ils pourraient loger; ils n'avaient garde d'approcher de leur ancienne maison, bien instruits qu'elle était vendue et occupée par d'autres maîtres; ils n'osaient plus compter sur leurs anciennes connaissances; la Providence de Dieu pourvut à ce besoin. M. Foucaut, contrôleur de la marine, qui commandait à la Nouvelle-Orléans pendant l'absence de M. le commissaire ordonnateur, avait appris par M. de Volsey l'embarras de Jésuites; il les fit venir au gouvernement où il demeurait, et leur indiqua le logement qu'il leur avait procuré chez M.

[Translation]

a parish of twelve or thirteen leagues in extent, did for their reception all that he could have done for the dearest of his brethren. Finally, at seven or eight leagues from New Orleans, they reached the estate of M. de Macarty, former lieutenant of the king in that city, who by his kind attentions recalled to their remembrance the benevolence he had always shown at the Illinois, where he had been major commandant general. After they arrived in the town, he gave them several other tokens of his friendship.

But, on departing from that estate, they found themselves in great perplexity. They saw that they were about to enter New Orleans, and they did not know where they could lodge; they were unable to enter their old house, knowing well that it was sold and occupied by other masters; and they no longer dared to count upon their old acquaintances. The providence of God made provision for this need. M. Foucault, controller of the marine who had command at New Orleans during the absence of the *commissaire-ordonnateur*, had learned through M. de Volsey the embarrassment of the Jesuits. He had them come to the government house, where he lived, and

le Sassier, assesseur du conseil: ils s'y rendirent et furent traités avec beaucoup de politesse; ce Monsieur les invita même à demeurer chez lui jusqu'à leur départ pour France.

Cependant les RR. PP. Capucins sachant l'arrivée des Jésuites étaient venus à six heures du soir (c'était le 21 décembre) à leur débarquement, pour leur témoigner la part qu'ils prenaient à leur disgrâce, et le dessein où ils étaient de leur rendre tous les bons offices qu'ils pourraient. Ce fut pour les Jésuites un motif pressant d'aller, dès le lendemain matin, remercier ces Pères, qui les reçurent avec toutes les démonstrations par lesquelles la charité peut se faire connaître: ils les prièrent de ne prendre point d'autre table que la leur. Les Pères Capucins ne purent pas les loger dans la maison où ils étaient; ils l'avaient louée, et n'y étaient pas eux-mêmes tous logés, mais les Jésuites prirent une maison voisine; ils acceptèrent avec grande joie l'invitation qui leur fut faite: et durant six semaines qui se passèrent jusqu'à leur embarquement, il n'est pas de marques d'amitié qu'ils n'aient reçues de ces Révérends Pères. Touchés d'une

[*Translation*]

directed them to the lodging that he had procured for them at the house of M. le Sassier, assessor of the council. They went thither, and were treated with much courtesy. This gentleman even invited them to stay with him until their departure for France.

Meanwhile, the reverend Capuchin fathers, hearing of the arrival of the Jesuits, had come at six o'clock in the evening (it was the twenty-first of December) to the landing-place, to manifest to them the interest that they took in their misfortune, and their intention of rendering them all the kind offices that they could. This was to the Jesuits an urgent motive to go, the next morning, to thank these fathers, who received them with all the demonstrations by which charity can make itself known. They begged them not to take their meals anywhere else but with them. The Capuchin fathers could not lodge them in the house where they were; they had rented it, and they themselves were not all lodged there. But the Jesuits took a neighboring house, accepting with great joy the invitation that had been given to them; and, during the six weeks which elapsed before they embarked, there were no marks of friendship which they did not receive from these reverend fathers. Touched by deep grati-

vive reconnaissance, ils souhaitèrent de la témoigner de quelque manière; ils en trouvèrent le moyen: leurs livres de la Nouvelle-Orléans leur avaient été laissés par la disposition de l'arrêt porté contre eux, ils formaient une petite bibliothèque estimable dans un pays nouvellement établi, ils prièrent les PP. Capucins de les accepter.

D'autres personnes encore, même des plus distinguées de la ville, donnèrent aux Jésuites des marques d'amitié, qui, dans cette occasion, n'étaient point suspectes. M. le Procureur général les honora de sa visite et leur témoigna la peine qu'il avait ressentie en remplissant à leur égard un ministère fâcheux. Un peu avant leur départ, M. d'Albadie, commissaire ordonnateur, leur remit une lettre qu'il avait écrite en leur faveur à M. le duc de Choiseul, secrétaire d'État pour la marine, et qu'ils devaient présenter eux-mêmes: par cette lettre, il demandait, pour chacun d'eux, une pension, et avant de la fermer, il en fit la lecture à l'un d'eux; il y rendait un témoignage favorable de leur conduite.

Cependant les Jésuites comprirent qu'on souhaitait de les voir partir. La saison était fâcheuse, on était encore au mois de janvier;

[*Translation*]

tude, they wished to show it in some manner, and found means of doing so. Their books at New Orleans had been spared to them by provision of the decree issued against them. They formed a little library, valuable in a country newly established, and they prayed the Capuchin fathers to accept it.

Still other persons, even the most distinguished of the town, gave the Jesuits marks of friendship which, under the circumstances, were not open to suspicions. The procurator general honored them with a visit, and assured them of the grief he felt in discharging a disagreeable duty towards them. A little before their departure, M. Dabbadie, *commissaire-ordonnateur*, delivered to them a letter which he had written in their favor to the Duc de Choiseul, secretary of state for the marine, and which they were to present in person. In this letter he asked, for each one of them, a pension; and before closing it, he had it read to one of them. In this letter he gave favorable testimony of their conduct.

However, the Jesuits perceived that their departure was desired. The season was disagreeable, it being still the month of January, the

c'est le temps des grosses mers. Mais il se présentait un vaisseau tout neuf et bien construit: c'était *La Minerve*, de Bayonne, commandée par M. Balanquet, armateur fameux dans la dernière guerre, et fort estimé pour sa probité. Ces raisons déterminèrent les Jésuites à s'embarquer sur ce vaisseau. Cependant de six qu'ils étaient, il y en eut deux qui se séparèrent. Le Père de la Morinie se souvenait qu'il avait souffert, sur la mer, tout le mal qu'on y peut ressentir, à la mort près; il remit son départ jusqu'au printemps pour trouver la mer plus douce. Le P. Meurin demanda à Messieurs du Conseil la permission de retourner aux Illinois: c'était une grande résolution après la vente de tous les biens des Jésuites; il ne pouvait compter sur aucun fonds pour sa subsistance, les Français ne lui devaient rien, les sauvages ont plus besoin de recevoir qu'ils ne sont en état de donner; de plus, la santé de ce Père était très-mauvaise, comme elle l'avait toujours été depuis vingt et un ans qu'il était à la Louisiane; mais il savait le danger où étaient les néophytes Illinois d'oublier bientôt la religion s'ils demeuraient longtemps sans missionnaires; il compta donc pour rien tous les autres inconvénients, pourvu qu'il pût reprendre les exercices

[Translation]

time for rough seas. But an entirely new and well-built ship presented itself; it was *La Minerve*, of Bayonne, commanded by M. Balanquet, a famous shipowner in the last war and very much esteemed for his integrity. These reasons determined the Jesuits to embark upon this ship. There were two, however, out of their band of six, who parted with them. Father de la Morinie, remembering that he had suffered upon the sea every sickness that can be felt there, almost to death itself, postponed his departure until spring when the sea would be calmer; and Father Meurin asked the gentlemen of the council for permission to return to the Illinois. This was a brave resolution after the sale of all the property of the Jesuits: he could not count upon any fund for his subsistence, the French were under no obligation to him, and the savages have more need of receiving than means for giving; furthermore, the health of this father was very poor, as it had always been during the twenty-one years which he had spent in Louisiana. But he knew in what danger the Illinois neophytes were of soon forgetting religion if they remained long without missionaries. He therefore counted as nothing all the other incon-



de sa mission: on lui accorda sa demande, et on lui promit de demander pour lui à la cour une pension de six cents livres. Les quatre autres Jésuites qui s'embarquèrent le 6 février eurent l'agrément de se trouver avec M. l'abbé Forget du Verger,<sup>1</sup> des Missions-Étrangères, qui venait aussi du pays des Illinois, où il était vicaire général de l'évêché de Québec. Durant dix ans de séjour en ce pays, il avait donné aux Jésuites mille marques de son amitié, et sa compagnie les aida beaucoup à supporter les peines du voyage. Ils eurent un temps assez favorable jusqu'aux environs du canal de Bahama, mais il fallait passer le fameux écueil de l'Ile du martyr; le capitaine, très-vigilant fit le possible pour l'éviter: durant près de douze heures il fit porter à l'est, et cependant, malgré cette précaution, le vaisseau emporté par les courants se trouva vers minuit sur les roches qui bordent le Martyr. Les secousses du bâtiment échoué étaient terribles; un vaisseau moins fort y eût été brisé ou du moins se serait ouvert; *La Minerve* ne fit pas un pouce d'eau plus qu'à l'ordinaire; on eut recours à la prière, et

[*Translation*]

veniences, provided he could resume the duties of his mission. His request was granted, and a promise was given to him that a pension of six hundred *livres* would be asked for him at the court. The four other Jesuits who embarked on the sixth of February had the pleasure of finding themselves in the company of Abbé Forget du Verger,<sup>1</sup> of the Missions Étrangères, who came also from the Illinois country where he was vicar-general for the bishop of Quebec. During a ten years' sojourn in this country, he had given to the Jesuits a thousand marks of his friendship, and his company aided them much in bearing the trials of the voyage. They had very favorable weather until they neared the Bahama channel, but it was necessary to pass the famous reef of the Martyr's Island. The captain who was very vigilant did all that he could to avoid it. For nearly twelve hours he steered to the east, and yet in spite of this precaution the ship borne on by the current was found toward midnight to be upon the rocks which border the Martyr. The shock experienced when the ship struck was terrible. A craft less strong would have been shattered, or at least its seams would have opened. *La Minerve* did not take in an inch of water more than usual. The people had recourse to

<sup>1</sup>See *ante*, 45, 48, 56.

l'on fit différents vœux. Au lever du soleil on était déjà un peu éloigné des rochers; tout le jour on courut d'un bord sur l'autre, on eut le soir quarante cinq brasses d'eau, et peu après on ne trouva plus de fond; on respira, et le lendemain on chanta le *Te Deum* en action de grâces; tout le reste de la route fut assez tranquille, excepté le jour et la nuit du 6 mars: dès la veille, le feu Saint-Elme avait annoncé le mauvais temps; la tempête fut violente et s'étendit si loin, qu'à Bayonne, à mille lieues du vaisseau, on la ressentit également.

Enfin les 6 avril *La Minerve* entra dans la rade de Saint-Sébastien en Espagne, parce que le temps ne permettait pas d'aller se présenter à la Barre de Bayonne. Les Jésuites du collège Saint-Sébastien reçurent les missionnaires français avec la charité qu'on ressent naturellement pour des étrangers, surtout quand on les voit injustement persécutés. Ces Pères étaient bien étonnés qu'on fût allé chercher jusqu'au milieu de l'Amérique septentrionale des missionnaires qui n'y étaient que pour convertir les infidèles, et entretenir les Français dans la religion et la piété. Un autre sujet d'étonnement

[Translation]

prayer, and many vows were made. At sunrise they were already at a little distance from the rocks. All day they beat from one shore to the other, and in the evening they had forty-five fathoms of water, and soon afterward could no longer find bottom. The people took breath, and the next day they sang the *Te Deum* as an act of thanksgiving. All the rest of the voyage was very calm, except the day and night of the sixth of March, on the eve of which St. Elmo's fire had announced bad weather. The tempest was violent and extended so far that at Bayonne, a thousand leagues distant from the ship, it was equally felt.

Finally, on the sixth of April, *La Minerve* entered the roadstead of St. Sebastian in Spain, because the weather would not permit her to proceed to the bar of Bayonne. The Jesuits of the college at St. Sebastian received the French missionaries with the kindness that one naturally feels toward strangers, especially when one sees them unjustly persecuted. These fathers were greatly astonished that persecution had gone into the midst of North America in search of missionaries who were there only to convert unbelievers and to maintain the French in the practice of religion and piety. Another cause

pour eux c'était ce qu'on a déjà dit: quelles prétentions l'on pouvait avoir sur des sujets cédés à la couronne d'Angleterre par le traité de paix. A cet étonnement des Pères espagnols succéda réciproquement la surprise des Jésuites nouvellement débarqués: on les envoyait en France et ils voyaient leurs confrères de France, bannis du royaume, tout près à arriver en Espagne; car on leur apprit les arrêts du parlement de Paris et des autres, qui avaient ordonné cet exil contre ceux qui ne voudraient pas devenir apostats en abjurant l'institut. Ils virent arriver deux jours après le P Nektous dernier provincial des Jésuites de Guyenne. Ce fut pour eux un nouvel embarras; comment se présenter aux frontières de France tandis qu'on en chassait leurs confrères? Ils se rassurèrent cependant, et ils se souvinrent qu'ils étaient porteurs d'une lettre écrite à M. le duc de Choiseul et qu'ils devaient la présenter aux-mêmes; ils se résolurent donc à traverser les Pyrénées, et à Saint-Jean de Luz, ils trouvèrent trois Jésuites qui faisaient la route d'Espagne. Les deux plus anciens avaient chacun près de quatre-vingts ans; le troisième qui était jeune s'était chargé

[Translation]

of astonishment for them was what has already been mentioned: "What claims could France have upon subjects ceded to the crown of England by the treaty of peace?" To this astonishment of the Spanish fathers succeeded, in turn, the surprise of the recently arrived Jesuits. They had been sent to France and they saw their brethren of France, banished from the kingdom, now coming to Spain; but they were informed of the decrees of the *parlement* of Paris, and of others, which had ordered this exile against those who would not consent to become apostates by abjuring the constitution. They saw two days afterward, the arrival of Father Nektous, the last provincial of the Jesuits of Guyenne. This was for them a new embarrassment; how present themselves at the frontiers of France, when their brethren were being driven thence? They reassured themselves, however, and remembered that they were the bearers of a letter to the Duc de Choiseul, and that they were to present it themselves. They resolved, therefore, to cross the Pyrenees, and at St. Jean de Luz they found three Jesuits who were making their way to Spain. The two eldest were nearly eighty years of age; the third, who was young, was charged with conducting the two old men across the moun-

de conduire les deux vieillards au passage des montagnes. Leur tranquillité et leur gaîté fut pour les missionnaires d'Amérique un motif qui les encouragea à continuer la nouvelle route où ils entraient; ils arrivèrent à Bayonne la veille du dimanche des Rameaux; ils y trouvèrent diverses troupes de leurs confrères fugitifs qui se retiraient en Espagne; les uns et les autres furent accueillis avec la plus grande bonté par Mgr l'évêque de Bayonne. Ce prélat leur fit l'honneur de les communier de sa main le jour du Jeudi-Saint dans la cathédrale, à la suite de MM. les Chanoines de cette Église; et le lendemain il reçut douze d'entre eux à sa table; il leur donna encore depuis plusieurs autres marques de sa bienveillance; les Jésuites en reçurent aussi de beaucoup d'autres personnes, mais singulièrement de M. le baron d'Oriol, durant leur séjour à Bayonne, qui fut de quinze jours. Ce Monsieur ne les quitta presque point, et leur rendit tous les bons offices qu'ils auraient pu attendre d'un confrère le plus zélé. En partant de Bayonne, les Jésuites de la Louisiane prirent un passe-port de M. le marquis d'Amou, commandant en cette ville; c'est une précaution dont les étrangers sont obligés d'user pour entrer dans le

[*Translation*]

tains. Their calmness and cheerfulness were for the missionaries of America an incentive which encouraged them to continue the new journey which they had undertaken. They reached Bayonne on the eve of Palm Sunday. There they found various bands of their fugitive brethren, who were seeking refuge in Spain. All were welcomed with the greatest kindness by the bishop of Bayonne. This prelate did them the honor of giving them communion on the day of Holy Thursday in the cathedral with his own hand in company with the canons of that church; and on the next day he received twelve of them at his own table. He has given them since then various other marks of his kindness. The Jesuits received such tokens also from many other persons, but especially from the Baron d'Oriol, during their sojourn at Bayonne, which lasted two weeks. This gentleman hardly left them at all, and rendered them all the kind offices that they could have expected from a most zealous member of their own order. On leaving Bayonne, the Jesuits of Louisiana obtained a passport from the Marquis d'Amou, commandant in that town; this is a precaution which strangers are obliged to use, in order to enter the kingdom and



royaume et pour y voyager sûrement. Les Jésuites se regardaient comme désormais étrangers en France; et ils voulurent se mettre à l'abri des mauvais traitements qui pouvaient leur arriver. A Bordeaux ils trouvèrent encore un grand nombre de leurs confrères, qui étaient incertains de leur sort, et qui craignaient que le parlement de cette ville ne suivit l'exemple que le parlement de la Capitale venait de donner; les uns et les autres se consolèrent mutuellement de leurs aventures.

Jusque-là les Jésuites de la Louisiane avaient voyagé ensemble au nombre de quatre; en partant de cette ville ils se quittèrent; chacun se rendit dans la province où ses affaires particulières l'attiraient. Deux se rejoignirent à Paris. Sur leurs différentes routes ils trouvèrent encore beaucoup de personnes qui leur donnèrent des preuves d'amitié, particulièrement à Orléans où, comme il était arrivé à Bordeaux, les RR. PP. Chartreux renouvelèrent à leur égard les témoignages de l'attachement que de tout temps leur saint ordre a fait paraître envers les Jésuites.

Mais partout on marquait le même surprise de ce que la cession faite aux Anglais n'avait pas mis les Jésuites à l'abri; on était encore

[Translation]

to travel there with safety. The Jesuits regarded themselves henceforth as strangers in France, and they wished to protect themselves from any bad treatment that might befall them. At Bordeaux they found also a great number of their brethren, who were uncertain of their fate, and who feared that the *parlement* of that town would follow the example that the *parlement* of the capital had just set. They mutually consoled one another over their adventures.

Up to this time, the four Jesuits of Louisiana had journeyed together. Upon leaving that town they separated, and each proceeded to the province whither his private affairs led him. Two joined each other again at Paris. Upon their different routes they still found many persons who gave them proofs of friendship, especially at Orléans where, as had happened at Bordeaux, the reverend Carthusian fathers renewed toward them the evidences of attachment which at all times their holy order has shown toward the Jesuits.

But everywhere the same surprise was expressed that the cession made to the English had not protected the Jesuits. People were still

plus étonné de leurs tranquillité à l'égard des événements passés et des peines qu'ils avaient à craindre pour l'avenir; il est vrai qu'ils sentaient la difficulté de trouver des retraites qui leur convinssent et en même temps les moyens de subsister; mais ils mettaient leur confiance en la Providence de Dieu qui jusqu'alors ne les avait pas abandonnés, et ils étaient intimement persuadés que, quand le secours des hommes vient à manquer, c'est alors que la main bienfaisante du Seigneur se fait mieux sentir.

Enfin arrivés à Paris, quoiqu'ils n'y fussent point connus, ils reçurent les mêmes marques d'amitié qu'on leur avait données pendant tout leur voyage. Des personnes de différents états, même des plus distinguées, de tous temps attachés aux Jésuites, se signalèrent en cette occasion par de nouvelles preuves de leur bienveillance. Ensuite ils se rendirent tous à Versailles pour présenter à M. le duc de Choiseul la lettre dont ils étaient chargés; et parce que le jour marqué pour sa première audience était encore très-éloigné, ils firent rendre cette lettre par la voie ordinaire, et se retirèrent chacun aux lieux où ils espéraient recevoir le secours que la justice demandait pour eux.

[*Translation*]

more astonished at their calmness in regard to past events, and to the troubles that they had to fear for the future. It is true, they realized the difficulty of finding places of refuge suitable for them, and, at the same time, the means of subsistence; but they put their confidence in the providence of God, who, up to that time, had not abandoned them; and they were inwardly persuaded that, when the help of man fails, it is then that the beneficent hand of the Lord makes itself better felt.

Finally, having arrived at Paris, they received, although they were not known there, the same tokens of friendship that had been shown them throughout their journey. Persons of different conditions, even the most distinguished, at all times attached to the Jesuits, signalized themselves on this occasion by new marks of their kindness. After a time, they all repaired to Versailles, to present to the Duc de Choiseul the letter intrusted to them; but, as the day appointed for his first audience was still very distant, they had this letter delivered in the ordinary way, and withdrew to the places where they hoped to receive the assistance that justice demanded for them.

Je crois, Monsieur, avoir rempli exactement la promesse que je vous ai faite au commencement de cette lettre, de ne m'écarter en rien de la vérité, et je ne crois pas non plus qu'il n'y ait rien dont personne ait le droit de s'offenser; vous pourrez donc la communiquer à tous ceux qui souhaiteront de la voir.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, etc.

A PARIS, le 3 septembre 1764.

[*Translation*]

I believe, sir, that I have exactly fulfilled the promise that I made you at the beginning of this letter, not to deviate from the truth; nor do I think, besides, that there is anything herein at which anyone has the right to be offended; you may, therefore, communicate it to all those who shall desire to see it.

I have the honor to be, etc.

PARIS, September 3, 1764

SALE OF JESUIT PROPERTY AT KASKASKIA, November 6, 1763<sup>1</sup>

[K. MSS.—C.]

L'an Mil sept Cent soixante Trois, Le sixieme jour de novembre avant midi, en Vertu de L'arrest du Conseil superieur de la Louisianne en datte du neuf juillet dernier, Rendu au profit de sa Majesté, Contre les Cy devant soy disant jesuites portant permission de saisir et Vendre Les Biens appartenant a leur Mission, et a la requeste de M<sup>r</sup> etienne Marafret Laissard, substitut du procureur general du Roy, du Conseil superieur de la N<sup>lle</sup> orléans, demeurant a la N<sup>lle</sup> Chartres, ou il a élu

[*Translation*]

Before noon of November 6, 1763, in pursuance of the decree of the superior council of Louisiana, dated July 9 last, issued in favor of his majesty against the late self-styled Jesuits, bearing permission to seize and sell the property belonging to their mission, I, at the request of M. Etienne Marafret Laissard, deputy of the king's attorney general of the superior council of New Orleans living at Nouvelle Chartres,

<sup>1</sup> This and the following document are identical except as to the final purchaser of the property at the auction. This variation seemed of sufficient importance to warrant the publishing of both.

son domicile, je moy jean Robinet huissier Royal en La Jurisdiction des Illinois demeurant a la N<sup>lle</sup> Chartres, soussigné me suis exprés Transporté avec mes deux Temoins exprés menés avec moy a la principale porte; entrée et sortie de L'église paroissiale du Bourg des Kaskaquias a L'issue de la grand messe paroissiale, Le monde sortant en grand nombre de la d<sup>te</sup> Eglise, J'aurois lû, publié, mis et affiché, Crié a haute et Intelligible Voix, et Cri public, fait a sçavoir au public que J'allois Tout présentement proceder pour La Troisieme et Derniere adjudication a la Vente d'un Bien fond consistant en une Maison sur sole, Couverte en Bardeaux distribuée en plusieurs Chambres et appartemens, grenier et Cave, plus un autre Batiment de poteaux en Terre Couvert en Bardaux Distribué en plusieurs appartemens Bas et Cabane a negre, plusieurs autres Batimens, etables, Cabanes a negre, grange, Ecurie, Blutteau, moulin a Cheval, un pigeonnier, et généralement Tous les Batimens appartenant a la mission des Cy devant soy disant Jesuites, au Bourg des Kaskaquias, saisis en Vertu du d<sup>t</sup> arrest, au profit de sa Majesté, ou toutes personnes seront Reçûes a sur encherir, aux Charges, Clauses et Conditions suivantes, sçavoir que

[Translation]

where he has chosen his home, I, Jean Robinet, undersigned royal *huissier* in the district of the Illinois, living at Nouvelle Chartres, went purposely with my two witnesses, who were for this purpose brought, to the principal door, entrance, and exit of the parish church of the borough of Kaskaskia, at the close of high mass, when many people were coming out of the said church; I read, published, posted, and cried out in an intelligible voice and publicly, and made known to the public that I was presently going to proceed, for the third and last auction, to the sale of property consisting of a house covered with boards and divided into different rooms and apartments, a garret and cellar, and another building of posts, covered with boards and divided into many low apartments, and a Negro cabin, many other buildings, cow sheds, Negro cabins, a barn, a stable, a weaving room, a horse mill, a dove-cote, and, generally, all the buildings belonging to the mission of the late self-styled Jesuits in the borough of Kaskaskia, seized in pursuance of the aforesaid decree for the benefit of his majesty. At the auction everyone will be welcome to bid according to the following charges, stipulations, and conditions, to wit: The



L'adjudicataire sera Tenu de payer Comptant Le prix de son adjudication, en Bons de la Caisse Du Roy, payera pareillement, les fraix des Crieés Et procès Verbaux Comptant, Lui declarant que faute par luy de Ce faire, que le susd<sup>t</sup> Bien sera Recréé a sa fole enchere, et qu'il payera le retardem<sup>t</sup> de la Vente, et les fraix a faire; En Consequence La d<sup>te</sup> maison, Batimens et Terrain mis a prix par Jean Bap<sup>te</sup> Beauvais<sup>1</sup> a huit mille Livres par Raphael Beauvais a Vingt Mille Livres par M Rocheblave<sup>2</sup> a Vingt Cinq mille Livres par M. La Clede<sup>3</sup> a Trente Mille Livres, par Jussiaume a Trente deux mille Livres, par Jean Bap<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a Trente Cinq Mille Livres, par M. La Clede a Trente neuf mille Livres; par Jussiaume<sup>4</sup> a quarante mille Livres, et par Jean Bap<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a quarante mille Cent Livres et après avoir attendu jusqu'a midi sonné; et qu'il ne s'est plus Trouvé personne a sur enchérir, et que Tout le monde se Retiroit, Le d<sup>t</sup> Jean B<sup>te</sup> Beauvais

[Translation]

purchaser must pay the price of his purchase in cash in the king's bonds; he must pay in cash, also, the expense of the public sale and the recording. In case of failure to do this, the aforesaid property will be cried at auction at the price bid and the original purchaser will pay for the delay of the sale and the expense of the same. Consequently, the said house, building, and land were bid for by Jean Baptiste Bauvais<sup>1</sup> at 8,000 *livres*, by Raphael Bauvais at 20,000 *livres*, by M. de Rocheblave<sup>2</sup> at 25,000 *livres*, by M. Laclede<sup>3</sup> at 30,000 *livres*, by Jussiaume at 32,000 *livres*, by Jean Baptiste Bauvais at 35,000 *livres*, by M. Laclede at 39,000 *livres*, by Jussiaume<sup>4</sup> at 40,000 *livres*, and by Jean Baptiste Bauvais at 40,100 *livres*. And after having waited until noon struck and not finding anyone to bid

<sup>1</sup> On the Bauvais family see Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I. H. C., 5), 414 n. 8, and also the introduction of Alvord, *Cahokia Records* (I. H. C., 2).

<sup>2</sup> Later the acting commandant in the Illinois for Great Britain. Numerous letters from him will be found in the later volumes of this series. Consult index.

<sup>3</sup> This is Pierre Laclede Ligest, the founder of St. Louis. He had arrived in the Illinois country only three days before the date of this sale. See Houck, *History of Missouri*, 2:3 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Jussiaume dit St. Pierre. According to a public sale in the Kaskaskia MSS., his wife was Therese Turpin, one of the heirs of Louis Turpin, deceased. As will be seen from the following document Jussiaume bought the Jesuit property which he later sold to Jean Baptiste Bauvais. The reason for this transfer or for the peculiarity of the two documents has not been discovered. The names "Sequin" and "Laderoute" appear in the index of Alvord, *Kaskaskia Records* (I. H. C., 5).

auroit demandé acte de son enchere a luy octroyée Comme dernier encherisseur, et de luy adjuger la d<sup>te</sup> Maison, Batimens, Terrain, et dependances, Cequi Luy à été accordé et adjugé par M. Laissard substitut de M. Le procureur général du Roy en présence du s<sup>r</sup> La Buxiere greffier en Cette Jurisdiction, et de Jean B<sup>te</sup> hervieux armurier Du Roy, aux Illinois, pour la d<sup>te</sup> somme de quarante mille Cent Livres que le d<sup>t</sup> Jean Bap<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a presentement Baillé et payé Comptant a Mon d<sup>t</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Laissard, ainsi qu'il Le Reconnoit et dont il est Content, en Tient quitte Le d<sup>t</sup> Jean B<sup>te</sup> Beauvais et Tous autres, dont quittance, et avons signé les d<sup>ts</sup> jour et an, signé a La Minute des présentes, hervieux, La Buxiere, Laissard, et Robinet huissier.

Pour Copie Conforme a L'original, Remis a M. Laissard pour etre deposé a la N<sup>lle</sup> orleans a sa Requisition.

signé LA BUXIERE N<sup>ro</sup>

[Endorsed:] 2 Feb<sup>r</sup> 1767 N<sup>o</sup> 16 529 Copy of the sale of part of the Jesuits Effects at the Illinois by Auction, purchased by Jean Baptist

[Translation]

higher, and as everyone was leaving, the said Jean Baptiste Bauvais demanded a deed of his bid, which was given him as the last bidder, and to him was knocked down the said house, buildings, land, and dependencies which were accorded and adjudged him by M. Laissard, deputy for the king's attorney general, in the presence of M. Labuxiere, clerk in this province, and in the presence of Jean Baptiste Hervieux, armorer of the king in the Illinois, for the said sum of 40,100 *livres*, which the said Jean Baptiste Bauvais then delivered and paid in cash to M. Laissard, who acknowledges it, and is satisfied with it. M. Jean Baptiste Bauvais is released of it and of all others for which this is a receipt. We have signed, the said day and year, and we have signed in the records of these presents: Hervieux, Labuxiere, Laissard, and Robinet, *huissier*.

A copy conforming to the original given to M. Laissard to be filed at New Orleans at his request.

signed LABUXIERE, notary

[Endorsed:] February 2, 1767. No. 16. 529. Copy of the sale of part of the Jesuits' effects at the Illinois by auction, purchased by

Beavais consisting of Houses and other Buildings — transmitted in said Beauvais Letter to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage of 9<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1767.

[*Translation*]

Jean Baptiste Bauvais consisting of houses and other buildings; transmitted in said Bauvais' letter to General Gage of February 9, 1767.

SALE OF JESUIT PROPERTY AT KASKASKIA, November 6, 1763  
[K. MSS.—A.C.]

L'an mil sept cent soixante trois le sixieme jour de Novembre avant midy En vertu de larrest du Conseil superieur de la louisianne En datte du Neuf juillet dernier Rendû au profit de Sa majestie contre les Cy devant soy disant jesuistes portant permission de saisir et vendre les Biens appartenants a leur mission et a la requete de M<sup>e</sup> Etienne marafret Laissard substitut du procureur general du roy du Conseil superieur de la Nouvelle orleans, demeurant a la Nouvelle Chartre ou il a Elû son domicile jay moy jean louis Robinet huissier Royal En la juridiction des islinois demeurant a la Nouvelle Chartre soussigné me suis expres transporte avec mes deux temoins expres menes avec moy a la principale porte Entrée Et sortie de l'Eglise paraissiale du bourg de de [*sic*] Caskakias a lissue de la grande messe paroissiale le monde sortant En grand nombre de la dite Eglise jaurais lû publie mis et affiché, Crié a haute Et inteligible voix Et Cri

[*Translation*]

Before noon of November 6, in pursuance of the decree of the superior council of Louisiana, dated July 9 last, issued in favor of his majesty against the late self-styled Jesuits, bearing permission to seize and sell the property belonging to their mission, I at the request of M. Etienne Marafret Laissard, deputy of the king's attorney-general of the superior council of New Orleans, living at Nouvelle Chartres, where he has chosen his home, I, Jean Louis Robinet, undersigned royal *huissier* in the district of the Illinois, living at Nouvelle Chartres, went purposely with my two witnesses, who were for this purpose brought, to the principal door, entrance, and exit of the parish church of the borough of Kaskaskia, at the close of high mass, when many people were coming out; I read, published, posted, and

public fait a savoir au public que jalois tout presentement proceder pour la troisieme Et derniere adjudication a la vente dun bien fond Consistant En une maison sur sole couverte En bardaux distribuée au plusieurs Chambrés et apartemens, greniers, et Cave, plus un autre grand Batimens de poteau En terre Couverte En bardeau distribuee En plusieurs apartemens Bas, Et Cabannes a negre, plusieurs autre Batimens Etables, cabanes a negre, grange, Ecurie, Bluteau, moulin a Cheval Et un pigeonnier et generalement tous les Batimens appartenants a la mission des cy devant soy disant jesuistes au bourg de Caskakias saisis En vertu du sus<sup>d</sup> arrest, au profit de Sa majesté ou toute personnes seront Recues a sur Encherir, aux Charges Clauses Et Conditions suivantes savoir que ladjudicataire sera tenu de payer comptant le prix de Son adjudication en bons de la Caisse du Roy, payera pareillement les frais de Criées Et procès verbaux Comp-tant luy declarant que faute par lui de ce faire que le susdit Bien sera Recrié a sa fole Enchere Et qu il payera le retardement de la vente Et les frais a faire En Consequence la dite maison, Batimens Et terrain misee a prix par jean B<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a huit mille livres, par

[*Translation*]

cried out in an intelligible voice and publicly, and made known to the public that I was presently going to proceed, for the third and last auction, to the sale of property consisting of a house covered with boards and divided into different rooms and apartments, a garret and cellar, and another building of posts, covered with boards and divided into many low apartments, and a Negro cabin, many other buildings, cow sheds, Negro cabins, a barn, a stable, a weaving room, a horse mill, a dovecote, and, generally all the buildings belonging to the mission of the late self-styled Jesuits in the borough of Kaskaskia, seized in pursuance of the aforesaid decree for the benefit of his majesty. At the auction everyone will be welcome to bid according to the following charges, stipulations, and conditions, to wit: The purchaser must pay the price of his purchase in cash in the king's bonds; he must pay in cash, also, the expense of the public sale and the recording. In case of failure to do this, the aforesaid property will be cried at auction at the price bid and the original purchaser will pay for the delay of the sale and the expense of the same. Consequently, the said house, building, and land were bid for by Jean



Raphael Beauvais a vingt mille livres par M<sup>r</sup> de Rocheblave a vingt Cinq mille livre, par M<sup>r</sup> La Clede a trente mille livres, par le Nommé jussion a trente deux mille livres, par jean B<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a trente Cinq mille livres par M<sup>r</sup> La Clede a trente neuf mille livres, par jean B<sup>te</sup> Beauvais a quarante mille livres, Et par paul jussiom dit S<sup>t</sup> pierre a quarante Mille Cent livres Et après avoir atendû jusqua midy sonné et quil ne sest plus trouvé personne a sur Encherir et que tout le monde se retiroit le d<sup>t</sup> paul jussiom aurois demandé acte de Son Enchere a luy octroyé comme dernier Encherisseur, et de luy adjuger la dite maison, Batimens terrains et dependances ce qui luy a Eté accordé et adjugé par M<sup>r</sup> Laissard substitut de M<sup>r</sup> le procureur general du Roy En presence du s<sup>r</sup> Labuxiere grefier En cette juridiction et de jean B<sup>te</sup> hervieux aurmurier du Roy aux ilinois pour la dite somme de quarante mille Cent livres que le d<sup>t</sup> paul jusiom a presentement Baillé Et payé Comptant a mon d<sup>t</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Laissard ainsy qu'il le reconnoist Et dont il Est Contant Entient quitte le d<sup>t</sup> paul jussiom Et tous autres dont quittance Et avons signé les d<sup>t</sup> jour Et an signé a la minute hervieux, Labuxiere Laissard, Et Robinet huissier.

[Translation]

Baptiste Bauvais at 8,000 *livres*, by Raphael Bauvais at 20,000 *livres*, by M. de Rocheblave at 25,000 *livres*, by M. Laclede at 30,000 *livres*, by Jussiaume at 32,000 *livres*, by Jean Baptiste Bauvais at 35,000 *livres*, by M. Laclede at 39,000 *livres*, by Jean Baptiste Bauvais at 40,000, and by Paul Jussiaume *dit* St. Pierre at 40,100 *livres*. And after having waited until noon struck and not finding anyone to bid higher, and as everyone was leaving, the said Paul Jussiaume demanded a deed of his bid, which was given him as the last bidder, and to him was knocked down the said house, buildings, land, and dependencies which were accorded and adjudged him by M. Laissard, deputy for the king's attorney general, in the presence of M. Labuxiere, clerk in this province, and in the presence of Jean Baptiste Hervieux, armorer of the king in the Illinois, for the said sum of 40,100 *livres*, which the said Paul Jussiaume then delivered and paid in cash to M. Laissard who acknowledges it, and is satisfied with it. M. Paul Jussiaume is released of it and of all others for which this is a receipt. We have signed the said day and year. Signed on the minutes, Hervieux, Labuxiere, Laissard, and Robinet, *huissier*.

Pour copie conforme a l'original Remis a M<sup>r</sup> Laissard p<sup>r</sup> être  
deposé a la N<sup>lle</sup> orleans a sa Requisition.

LABUXIERE

gfier

je transporte la presente vente a M<sup>r</sup> Beauvais qui men a Rem-  
bourcé le meme prix dont je suis content aux ilinois le 7. Novembre  
1763.

PAUL JUSSIAUME.

[*Endorsed:*] 401 N<sup>o</sup> 25 [*MS. torn*] 6 Nov<sup>re</sup> 1763 Vente par Crieé public  
de la maison &c des Jesuiste à Paul Juissauime dit S<sup>t</sup> pierre et trans-  
porte à M<sup>r</sup> Bauvais

[*Translation*]

A copy conforming to the original given to M. Laissard to be filed  
at New Orleans at his request.

LABUXIERE

clerk

I transport the present sale to M. Bauvais who has paid to me the  
same price, with which I am content.

PAUL JUSSIAUME

THE ILLINOIS, November 7, 1763

[*Endorsed:*] 401 No. 25 [*MS. torn*] November 6, 1763. Sale by  
public auction, etc., of the house, etc., of the Jesuits to Paul  
Jussiaume *dit* St. Pierre, and the transference to M. Bauvais.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING THE JESUITS, February 15, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A43:314]

Lorsque M. Dabbadie a passé a La Louisianne il a eu ordre de  
faire proceder contre les Jesuites, comme on en usoit en france; il  
l'a Executé: la dissolution de la Societé a été operée, et ses biens

[*Translation*]

When M. Dabbadie went to Louisiana, he received an order to  
institute proceedings against the Jesuits such as were used in France.  
He has had it put in execution. The dissolution of the Jesuits was  
brought about and their goods sold before the letters patent of June

vendus avant qu'on eut pu y envoyer les lettres Patentes du 3 Juin 1763. qui reglent l'instruction et la maniere d'y proceder.

Le prix en a été payé et déposé au greffe Du Conseil Superieur, partie en argent, partie en billets de monoye de la Colonie, de maniere que le Projet de lettres Patentes envoyé par M. le Controlleur general ne peut pas avoir lieu puisqu'elles ont pour objet d'Envoyer les syndics des Creanciers en possession des biens des Jesuites et que ces biens ont été vendus.

il faut attendre la representation des billets de monoye qui seront payés sur le pied qui sera réglé en egard a leur discredit. Dailleurs il sera necessaire de diminuer sur la Masse du prix de ces biens la portion de ceux qui ont été donnés originairement par le Roy aux Jesuites, pour l'Etablissement de leurs Missions, cette portion devant revenir a sa Majesté par la dissolution de la Societé.

approuve<sup>1</sup>

[Endorsed:] 15 fev<sup>er</sup> 1764 La Louisianne

[Translation]

3, 1763, which contain the instructions and regulate the manner of proceeding in such a case, could be sent there.

The price was paid for the property and was deposited at the clerk's office of the superior council, partly in money, partly in colonial drafts, in such a manner that the project ordered in the letters patent sent by the controller general cannot be put in operation, since it has for its object the placing of the syndics of the creditors in possession of the goods of the Jesuits, and since those goods have been sold.

It is necessary to await for the presentation of the drafts which will be paid at the rate regulated according to their discount. Besides it will be necessary to subtract from the gross prices of these goods the portion which has been originally given by the king to the Jesuits for the establishment of their missions, since this portion ought to revert to his majesty upon the dissolution of the society.

Approved<sup>1</sup>

[Endorsed:] February 15, 1764. Louisiana.

<sup>1</sup> This is in the handwriting of the Duc de Choiseul, the prime minister.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PROPOSED COLONY OF CHARLOTINA

THE OPPORTUNITY OF GREAT BRITAIN — THE FRENCH SETTLERS MAY  
MOVE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI — NEED OF PROTECTING THE  
BOUNDARIES — BOUNDARIES PROPOSED FOR THE OLD COLONIES —  
BOUNDARIES OF CHARLOTINA — ADVANTAGES OF THE SITUATION —  
THE PRODUCTS OF THE COUNTRY — HOW SECURE SETTLERS — THE  
INDIANS SHOULD BE TREATED KINDLY AND BE EDUCATED.

#### THE EXPEDIENCY OF SECURING OUR AMERICAN COLONIES, &c.<sup>1</sup>

PROVIDENCE having favoured the *British* arms with surprising success, in the prosecution of the late war, our enemies have been obliged to abate of their usual haughtiness, and to accept of reasonable terms of peace. Not to mention our advantages by this peace in the *East Indies* and *Africa*, an addition is made to our *American* territories of about 500,000 square miles, which we either did not pretend *right* to before, or had not in *possession*. This vast acquisition, above four times larger than all the lands of *Britain* and *Ireland*, is, most part of it, very fertile and valuable of itself, and all [4] of it very convenient, along with the other plantations, to *Britain*. For hereby our dominions in that continent are closely united; so precisely determined, that there can be no ambiguity nor dispute hereafter about the limits; have no neighbours from whom danger can be appre-

<sup>1</sup> The only copy of this pamphlet known is in the library of Harvard University. It was probably written in Scotland and was published in Edinburgh sometime between October 10 and the end of November, 1763. It thus appeared subsequent to the announcement of the proclamation of 1763. The authorship of the pamphlet may be ascribed to some one who was familiar with the intent of the proclamation and who was a supporter of Shelburne's policy of westward expansion. For a full discussion of this, see Susan Martha Reed, "Early Colonial Schemes in the West," in manuscript; Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36: 20 *et seq.* In this reprint the pagination of the original is indicated.



THE  
EXPEDIENCY  
OF SECURING OUR  
AMERICAN COLONIES  
BY SETTLING

The Country adjoining the River  
MISSISSIPPI, and the Coun-  
try upon the OHIO,

CONSIDERED.

*Romulus, et Liber Pater, et cum Castore Pollux,  
Post ingenta facta, —————  
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella  
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt.* Hor.

EDINBURGH:

Printed in the year M,DCC,LXIII.



hended, but upon one side only; and are of as large extent as *Britain* can be supposed ever to have occasion for, or as may be thought proper for the mother-country to have in any separate continent, and so remote.

OUR Rivals, no doubt, will look with regret, and with a wishful eye upon the fine extensive country they have been obliged to cede, and may, in some future period, agreeable to their usual temper and practice, attempt to annoy and disturb us in that quarter, if they shall have, or imagine they have, any probability of retrieving, were it but in part their late great and galing losses.

THE object they had in view, according to a plan concerted long before the last war commenced, was no less than the command of the whole continent of *North- [5] America*. With this view, were all their encroachments upon our settlements, begun many years ago, but carried on chiefly after signing the treaty of *Aix la chapelle*; great numbers of their troops, with large quantities of military stores, clandestinely sent to their plantations; the *Indians* debauched and spirited up to the most shocking instances of barbarous cruelty against our Planters; and their intended chain of forts, from *Canada* to *Louisiana*, not only begun, but considerably advanced.

BUT Heaven supporting our just cause, and making our arms remarkably victorious both by sea and land, our insidious enemies, like the dog with the piece of flesh in the table [fable], have not only been entirely frustrated of this their design, but obliged to relinquish all their former encroachments, and cede to us all *Canada*, with whatever else they possessed of *North America* to the river *Mississippi*.

Thus have the *French*, to their great mortification, been disappointed of a design they seem'd to have had much at heart; by the accomplishment of which, they would, [6] in all probability, not only have had *Britain* at their mercy within a few years, but been capable to give law to *Europe*.

THEIR passion for universal empire having been thus frustrate [*sic*], and their deep concerted scheme of *American* dominion rendered abortive, they will, no doubt, be filled with revenge, and with a strong desire to recover the power they have lost, and the territory they have been forced to cede. These and other considerations give us great reason to expect, that a Nation, whose humour is constitutionally ambitious and restless, and which keeps no treaty longer than they

think it their interest to break it, will, by their natural subtlety, evade the late treaty also, whenever a promising view of advantage shall offer. An attempt of this kind, if compared with many similar instances of their conduct, both in former and later times, need give us no surprise. But the probability of such event, ought to make us use all necessary precaution for our own security, especially where it may seem most in their power to annoy or injure us.

[7] WHETHER the *French* in *Canada* will continue there or not,—time will discover. It seems most probable indeed, that national and natural relation; the same Religion, Language, Customs, and Manners; the engaging views of superior wealth, and a much more agreeable life in *Louisiana*, a place incomparably more fertile and pleasant than the other; will occasion a general Emigration of these *Canadians*; to whom, no question, encouraging offers will be made by their old masters, in order to such a removal [*sic*].

BUT though, for the reasons mentioned, the *most part* of them should remove within the stipulated time, yet it is probable *some* of them will continue. The Protestant Religion will be a motive to retain those of that persuasion. The greater security of their whole rights and properties, under the mild equitable *British* Government, than under the arbitrary power of *France*, may possibly prevail with others also, to continue in their natural Climate and place of Nativity, in the full enjoyment of their estates and effects. Such of them [8] as may chuse to do so, ought to be discreetly used. For it is to be hoped, that these new subjects, under the cherishing wings of *British* protection and liberty, will, before many years, by civil usage and prudent management, entirely incorporate with their fellow-subjects, without distinction of Nation, Language, or Religion, as was the case of the *Dutch* in *New York*. Particular care, however, should be taken, to prevent, by strict penal laws, any of these *French* from removing, after the time allowed them by treaty shall have elapsed.

BUT though the greater part of them, or even the whole, should continue in *Canada*, there is little reason to apprehend danger from that quarter. Our military establishment in that country, would render any attempt in them to raise disturbance, folly, and madness.

BUT to secure our Colonies on the west-side, seems to merit our serious attention. There the *French*, our constant Rivals and most



violent Enemies, are our *next neighbours*. Interest, and many political motives, can- [9] not fail to make *them*, who abound in numbers of people, careful to settle *Louisiana*, the only Colony they now have in that continent, in as speedy and effectual a way as possible. In doing this, they certainly will, agreeable to their constant practice, erect forts wherever thought necessary, especially upon the *Mississippi*, in order to secure the Country, and favour their future designs. If, when they shall have done so, the Country upon our side of that river shall have been neglected, or but thinly peopled,—no Fort above the river *Iberville*,—and perhaps no *British* Family for several leagues south of the *Forks* of the *Mississippi*: It is not to be expected, they will confine themselves within their own limits, and not scruple to cross the *Mississippi* with their usual encroachments, contrary to the late treaty, more than they did formerly to cross *St Laurence*, in manifest violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*. It is very natural to expect, that, in this case, they, in conjunction with the *Indians*, [10] whom we found to our cost they are very dexterous at corrupting, would by no means let slip what they might look upon as an opportunity of encroaching a-new upon our territories, and would renew their former scenes of cruelty upon such of our people as might be exposed to their revenge.

THUS, if the *French* should be beforehand with us (as they still endeavour to be, and often are) and, by putting *Louisiana* in a respectable condition, be capable to play their old game over again, numbers of our innocent Planters would lose, in a few days, what they might have gained by labour and industry in several years; whole Families of our people either barbarously murdered in cold blood, or driven from their habitations; our Colonies thrown into confusion; and the Nation put to the unavoidable expence and calamities of a new war.

BUT that any such opportunity may, as much as possible, be prevented in all time coming, we may be confident, that [11] His Majesty, whose paternal affection for his people is most conspicuous, and who, by the assistance of an able Ministry, hath happily brought about an honourable and advantageous Peace, will, in his royal wisdom and goodness, use the most proper means for improving it in such a way, that all his Subjects may avail themselves of it, in the most speedy, general, and effectual manner.

IN order to the effectual improvment of our Dominions in that Continent, three things seem to fall naturally under consideration.

1. What part of our new acquisition there, it might be most proper to add to our former Colonies, and what parts of it to form into new Colonies, one or more.
2. Settling what parts first and chiefly, would contribute most to the security and advantage of the whole.
3. By what ways this might be effected most speedily, and to the best purpose.

UPON these Questions, a few plain simple thoughts are here humbly offered; written, designedly, without art or ornament, purely for amusement, and as they [12] occurred to the writer, upon reading the articles of the late peace. He afterwards made some additions to his notes, upon reading a History of *Louisiana* lately published,<sup>1</sup> and the accounts of the *Indian* insurrections. Any Maps he had occasion to see of that Country, are small and incorrect, which is the reason why so little is said upon the first Question, and in such general terms. Hoping the honesty of his intentions will atone for his deficiencies and inaccuracies, he shall reckon his pains, in writing this small Essay, very well bestowed, if it shall be a mean to cause any person of ability, and knowledge in these matters, and acquainted with that Country, to favour the Publick with his thoughts upon this Subject, and propose a practicable scheme in order to so useful an end.

As to the *first* Question:—In order to determine what may be the most convenient Partition or Division of that Country into Colonies,—not only a general but a particular knowledge of the Situation, Climate, Soil, Mountains, Rivers, &c [13] of the several parts of it is requisite. And if the Plan of a certain worthy Nobleman lately in the Administration, relating to this very thing, shall be executed, as, considering its great usefulness to the publick, there is reason to expect it shall; this will give proper light into an affair of such importance and national concern.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This reference is doubtless to Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758. 3 v.). This was one of the chief authorities on the Mississippi Valley, and there is evidence that it was used extensively by the English.

<sup>2</sup> This is a reference to Lord Shelburne's plan as outlined in a portion of the proclamation of 1763. On account of certain changes in the ministry, he resigned the presidency of the board of trade in September, 1763; but before his resignation he had drafted the proclamation which was to prepare the way for future westward expansion. The measure was, however, carried out by other minds. See in this connection Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 36: 20 et seq.

SOMETHING intended to have been offered upon this Head, being prevented by the division of *Florida* into *East* and *West*, only two things shall be here proposed.

1. THAT *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Pensylvania*, be terminated by a Bound to be fixed thus:—From Lake *Errie*, up the river *Miamis* to the Carrying-place, from thence down the river *Waback* to where it runs into the *Ohio*, and from thence down the *Ohio* to the *Forks* of the *Mississippi*. This would leave the Colonies to the north-east of *Carolina*, pretty equal length from the sea to the north-west; and seems a more just and proper Limit on that side, than either the *Apalachian* mountains or [14] the *Ohio* in its whole course. A Bound from Lake *Errie* to the *Forks*, drawn this or some other way, as the nature of the Country shall be found most conveniently to answer, seems necessary. For, supposing any of these Colonies to extend that way, without any Bound, to the South-Sea, is ridiculous and absurd, and would entirely prevent settling the Country upon the *Ohio*, either so soon or so effectually, as the safety, peace and prosperity of that whole Country, absolutely requires. Therefore,

2. That the Country betwixt the *Mississippi* and the fresh-water Lakes, extending north-west from this proposed bound, be formed into a new Colony, which might be called CHARLOTINA,<sup>1</sup> in honour of Her Majesty, our present most excellent Queen.

As to the *second* Question:—From all observations we can make, and the accounts we have of that country, we ought principally, and as soon as possible, to fix Settlements in such particular places of the country adjoining the *Mississippi*, [15] as shall appear, upon the above mentioned Survey, to be most convenient. A Settlement and Fort at *Rosalie*<sup>2</sup> seems necessary. But in how many, and in what other particular places from thence to the river *Ohio*, must be determined upon a thorough knowledge of the country, or as the Colonists shall find occasion.

BUT of all *North-America*, the place of most importance to *Britain*, and where a new Colony is most requisite, is at the *Forks* of the *Mississippi*. The *Expediency*, yea *Necessity* of this, both in respect

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly spelled "Charlotiana" in Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies*, 12; and Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 228. This was due to an error in a manuscript copy in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> Natchez.

of *Security* and *Interest*, appears with such force of evidence, even upon looking to a map of that country, that it may seem quite superfluous to enumerate or enlarge upon the many reasons that might be given for it. Most of the principal rivers of that extensive country, navigable for many hundred miles, East, West, North and South, meet in this place as the centre. Hither the staple Commodities of the inhabitants, whether Colonists or *Indians*, and the merchandise of the whole country for near a thousand miles all around, [16] and in some places much farther, might be convey'd with more ease and convenience, than to any other spot of our Dominions in that quarter of the World. Besides, as the Country for about 8 or 900 miles south, and several hundred miles north, upon the *Mississippi*, is acknowledged to be the most fertile and healthful of any in *North-America*, a town at or nigh the *Forks*, would be the common *Emporium* of the produce and riches of that vast Continent: And a Colony extending from that place along the north-west of the *Ohio*, might be expected remarkably to increase and flourish.

In short,—a Colony fixed in this place, with suitable encouragement, would give us the entire command of that Continent; secure to us the trade with the *Indians*: be an effectual Barrier for the defence, security and quiet of all our Colonies; check the natives; prevent the *French* from having access to and corrupting them; and render any attempt in after-times, from either or both of them, vain and ineffectual.

[17] FATHER *Heunequin* [*sic*], a *French* Jesuite, who, about 80 years ago, traversed and accurately survey'd this Country, expressly says, that whatever nation should secure the country on the *Ohio*, by a chain of Fort from the Lakes to the *Mississippi*, might command all *North-America*. Every body knows, of how great importance to their usurping scheme, his countrymen look'd upon this hint; what extraordinary pains and diligence they were at for a great many years, to possess and secure this very country; and how much labour, blood and treasure it cost this Nation, to defeat and overturn the small part of their plan they had executed. So very much were they taken with this their favourite scheme, as conducive to some valuable prize their ambition had fixed upon, that they expended several millions of treasure, and the lives of many thousands of their people, in the course of a seven years war, to accomplish it. This



they neither would nor did fall from, nor consent to relinquish their encroachments, [18] till reduced to the lowest state of distress—beaten in all quarters of the world,—their Fleets destroyed,—their trade and credit sunk; they were upon the very brink of national ruin, and incapable any longer to avoid impending destruction.

WHAT, therefore, our vigilant enterprising Rivals (*fas est et ab hoste doceri*) found a very promising means for obtaining so great a prize, and laboured with assiduity and perseverance to make good, notwithstanding the opposition they might rationally expect from us, of whose just Rights the execution of this their darling plan was a most manifest Invasion; let not us neglect nor delay to execute, while we can do it without opposition; and thereby secure to ourselves the full and undisturbed possession of our own indisputable property, that is of so great importance and value: Which if we had done about 12 or 14 years ago, when the designs of our Enemies were by that time pretty evident, the late bloody war, in all probability, might have been prevented, [19] and our national debt between forty and fifty millions Sterling less than it now is.

It would be tedious to mention all the advantages, obvious to every one, that would accrue to us, and to our whole *American* Dominions, from the proposed settlements. Besides these already hinted, others will appear from comparing the country in general with our present Colonies, and observing its vast superiority in extent, properties and productions.

A Colony is profitable, according as its land is so good, that, by a part of the labour of the inhabitants bestowed on its cultivation, it yields the necessaries of life sufficient for their sustenance; and by the rest of their labour, produces staple commodities in such quantity and of such value, as bring from the Mother-country, in the way of commerce and traffick, all manufactures necessary for the proper accomodation of the Colonists, and for the gradual and more extensive improvement of the Colony, as the number of people increases.

So that *Fruitfulness of Land* is the principal property of a Colony, and that wherein [20] its usefulness chiefly consists: Because (*Mines* are supposed to be out of the question here) in proportion to the quantity of the necessaries of life, with the number and value of staple commodities that it produces, will be the number of people encouraged to go to it; the cheapness of labour; the small share of

it needful for the maintenance of the inhabitants; and, consequently, the more of it bestowed on staple commodities.

IF, besides fertility of soil, it hath also a *healthful Climate* and *extensive Bounds*,—of so much greater value must it be accounted, and merits proportionably greater care and encouragement from the Mother-country. A Colony having these properties, if duly supported in its infant state, must soon flourish and become strong; and will, like a dutiful child, return manifold the favours of the kindly parent, to the great convenience and advantage of both.

But a Colony, whose inhabitants are obliged, from the barrenness of the country, [21] the length and coldness of the winters, or whatever other cause, to bestow all or most of their labour on having the necessaries of life, can scarcely be supposed to avail the mother-country: Because the people, for their own subsistence, must of necessity apply themselves to Farming and Manufactures, and thereby, instead of benefiting, must interfere with her in many branches of trade.

WITHOUT depreciating our former Colonies, or detracting in the least from their real worth, it must, however, be acknowledged, that most of them are rather of the last, than of the first mentioned kind: that, excepting the Furs which we purchase from the natives, all our northern Colonies produce very little staple, and but of small value for *Britain*,<sup>f</sup> and that all of them, except some lands on the south parts of *Carolina*, scarcely produce any but *Tobacco*. The lands of the very best of them, for several miles from the sea, are low, marshy, hot, and therefore unhealthy; and their [22] soil, from the Sea to the *Apalachian* mountains, is shallow, light, and soon worn out with culture. Beyond these mountains to the *Ohio*, particularly upon the back of our most southerly Colonies, the lands are said to be of a more deep, strong and fertile soil: But these have never yet been occupied by our people, nor could be, on account of the encroachments of the *French*, and the cruelty exercised by them and the natives in their interest, against our Planters, for a good many years past.

So that, however valuable these our Colonies are (and that they are of great value, is certain) yet they may be made infinitely more so to *Britain* as a trading nation, conjoined with, and by a proper improvement of our new acquisition. For, if the Settlements here

proposed were made, our old Colonies would see it their interest, to extend their Plantations, each within their respective limits, to the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*, as far as the *Forks*. This they would be encouraged to do, from the motives of gain, safety, undisturbed possession, the prospect of [23] improving their lands at pleasure and to the best purposes, with the convenience of Navigation, whether for Export or Import, by the rivers that run from the *Apalachian* mountains into the *Ohio*, by the *Ohio* itself, and the *Mississippi*. Thus the old Colonies and the new one proposed, might be joined before many years, to their unspeakable mutual help and interest.

BESIDES this and other advantages, arising from its *contiguity* to our other Colonies, this extensive pleasant country, of which very little hitherto hath ever been opened, could not be expected to wear out by culture; and is of so deep and rich a soil, that, upon proper improvement, it would yield, not only all things necessary for the maintenance of the inhabitants, tho' several millions in number, but produce staple commodities for the Mother-country, in far greater plenty and variety, and of far more value, than all of that Continent we ever were possessed of before.

[24] THE south part of it, for about 30 or 40 miles from the Seashore, tho' by far the most barren of all the country, is stored with plenty of the finest Pines, Cedar, Cypress, ever-green Oaks, &c. of which large navies might be built at small expence. Care and pains in draining the swamps and clearing the ground in that low part of the country, as the *French* do in *New-Orleans*, would render it far more healthy, and fit to produce immense quantities of Rice, and other valuable productions.

FROM thence to the *Forks*, about 8 or 900 miles, the country, we are told, is healthful, and the soil exceeding fertile, the lands being of a rich black mould, three feet deep in the hills, and much deeper in the bottoms, with a strong clayey foundation; producing all kinds of provisions and esculent plants, with little or no care or labour, and almost without culture. The lands are dry, hilly, and in some parts mountainous, which greatly refreshes and cools the air over the whole country, and [25] renders the climate extremely healthful. This account we have from a history of that country lately published, written by a *Frenchman*, who resided a good many years there. He says further,—‘The air is perfectly good there; the blood is pure; the

people are healthy; subject to few diseases in the vigour of life, and without decrepitude in old age; which they carry to a farther length than in *France*. People live to a long and agreeable old age in *Louisiana*, if they are but sober and temperate."<sup>1</sup> When the *French*, who have been in possession of this country upwards of half a century, own and publish this,—we may believe the acknowledgment: And the rather, as some of our own people, who had been sent by the Government of *Virginia* about 20 years ago, after going down the *Ohio* and *Mississippi* to *New Orleans*, reported, 'that they saw more good land on the *Mississippi*, than they judged to be in all the *English* Colonies so far as they were inhabited.'<sup>2</sup> Thus we have sufficient evidence, that this is a fertile, [26] healthy fine country in general, and what claims our highest attention to occupy and secure.

BUT still,—that part of the Country upon the *Mississippi*, from the *Ohio* to the *Illinois* river, seems to be the most fertile, healthful, inviting and encouraging of all, and the most necessary place to us for a Colony, of any in *North-America*; being as it were intended by nature, and adapted by its convenient situation in the very heart and centre of the country, to be the key of all the inland parts, and to command the whole of that vast continent. So very pleasant and delightful did the country upon the north-west of the *Ohio* appear to the *French*, that they called this the Fair River. Such is the mildness of the air, consequently healthfulness of that climate, such the fruitfulness of the many pleasant extensive vallies interspersed thro'out the whole country, among the numerous rivers whereby it is watered; in short so agreeable and charming a country is this, so abounding in both the necessities and [27] pleasures of life, that the *French* usually called it, a Terrestrial Paradise. The better sort of their people, of both sexes, from *Canada* and other parts, chused to reside and end their days *here*, as the most pleasant desirable place they had in that Continent. *Here* they formed a settlement and built some forts, to check our southern Colonies, and secure their own interest in that important place, which they acknowledge, as they

<sup>1</sup> Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 1:141.

<sup>2</sup> This refers probably to the expedition made in 1741 by John Howard and John Peter Salley under commission of the governor of Virginia. The exact quotation is not to be found in the "Brief Account of the Travels of Mr. John Peter Salley," in Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 253 *et seq.*



justly may, is one of the most considerable posts in all *Louisiana*. They acknowledge also,— that this country is very good and fertile: That of the whole Colony (*viz.* of *Louisiana*, of which they reckoned this a part) this is the country in which, with the greatest ease, they grow Wheat, Rye, and other like grain: that turning the earth in the slightest manner, is sufficient culture to make it produce as much as can be reasonably desired; that Tobacco thrives there: that all plants transported thither from *France*, succeed well; as do also the fruits: That there are Mines of Silver, Lead, and Iron there: And that in the country north of the *Illinoi*s, Mines are said to be in great numbers, and very rich. What place more encouraging for a new Colony!

It would make up a volume, to mention, at any tolerable length, the productions, already known of this whole Country, with their uses and advantages. And it is more than probable, there are many, especially of the *vegetable* kind, that have not yet fallen under the notice of *Europeans*. It would be both tedious and superfluous to enumerate the many sorts of Grain, Fruits, Roots, Plants, Beasts and Fowl, wild and tame, Fishes, &c. which are there in the greatest variety and abundance.

As to Productions for *Commerce*:—Hemp, Flax, Silk, Cotton, Cochineal, Oil, Raisins, Currants, Almonds, Oranges, Citrons, Walnuts, Chesnuts, Prunes, Potash, Indigo, Rice, Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Saltpetre, Sweet-gum, Wax, Sassafras, Salsaparilla, &c. besides innumerable materials for Medicine and Dyeing, might all be had from thence, and in great plenty. In short, of the numerous articles of Commerce from this large, fruitful Country, *these* which by nature *are*, with *these* that, if transported thither from other places of similar Climate and Soil, by artificial culture *might be* produced,—may justly be supposed of such variety, quantity and value, as, when purchased with our manufactures, would enable us to keep in our pockets some millions of our Treasure, which, for these very Commodities, we yearly give out to other Nations; besides immense profits that we might draw from foreign parts, for such of these Commodities as would exceed our home Consumption. If, for instance, we pay, as it is acknowledged we do, near two millions Sterling yearly to other Nations, for these two necessary articles of *Hemp* and *Flax*, which may be raised in this Country, and that in

the greatest plenty; what vast profits would arise from the whole of the above List? And, besides our own savings and actual profits, what Resources of treasure, which hitherto we have furnished [30] our Enemies with, would thereby be cut off? The writer of the above mentioned History says of this Country,—“That whatever way one walks from the Sea-coast for 500 leagues northwards, he cannot proceed 100 steps without meeting with a Vine.”<sup>1</sup> Is there not good reason, then, to expect, that *Wine*, and the other produces of the *Grape*, which we purchase from Enemies with great sums of money, might, by proper cultivation and care, be had from thence; perhaps sufficient, before many years, to answer the most, if not the whole, of our home consumpt?

FROM what hath been observed of this Country, comparatively with our Colonies so far yet settled, it plainly appears to have very much the preference in extent, fruitfulness, as also in quantity, variety, and value of Productions, and in every other respect, except nearness to the Sea. But making the Settlements here proposed, would entirely remove this objection, if any should think it one: Be- [21] cause, hereby would be secured to us, the navigation of the Rivers in these inland parts of the Country, particularly the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*. This is of the utmost importance to us, and what the very Being of our *American* Colonies depends upon; and which, if these Settlements shall be neglected a few years, the *French* will leave no means unattempted to wrest from us. In which event, all the Lands to the north-west of the *Apalachian* mountains would be useless to *Britain*, and might be given up at once; and the rest also would fall of course, unless the pervidious Invaders should again be driven out, at the expence of several millions of our Treasure, and the Blood of many of our innocent Countrymen.

BESIDES what hath been said from the topic of *securing* against *French encroachments*, another consideration seems equally to claim our attention. Of the two most usual means of aggrandizing a Nation, *Conquest* and *Trade*, the *French* have of late, to the utmost of their might, attempted, [32] by the *first*, to raise themselves and humble us: But (thank God) have come off entirely disappointed. Their boundless Ambition, which would be satisfied with no less than the whole of *North-America*, hath tended *doubly* to their own loss.

<sup>1</sup> Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 2:15.

For, in the *first* place,—while, intoxicated with the views of Conquest and Territory, they disposed of what people they had in that Continent, sparsely, throughout these extensive Countries which they called *Louisiana* and *Canada*, and in the inland parts upon the back of our Colonies, in order to facilitate their encroaching Designs; they neglected the *Improvement* of the whole, at least of the very best Lands in all their Colonies. Again, in the course of the War, which their continued insufferable Usurpations and repeated Insults had rendered unavoidable, so great were their Losses notwithstanding their formidable confederacy with the mightiest Powers of *Europe*,—and such our success, by the remarkable assistance of the God of Armies, maintaining the justice of our Cause; that [33] these boasting Invaders, besides *renouncing all their Usurpations*, were obliged to *cede* to us *immense territory*, which, otherwise, they might have possessed and improved at their pleasure.

If disappointment of their hopes with respect to *American Empire*, and their late great loss of Men, Ships and Territory, shall cure them for some years of their usual itch of *war*, and make them discontinue their old usurping practice; a *superiority in Trade* will be the next object of their incurable ambition, and what they will strain every nerve to make good.

UPON comparing circumstances, ours and theirs, in that Continent, there seems to be more reason to apprehend their Rivalship in *this*, for some years at least, than in *war*. Besides the Island and Fort of *New-Orleans*, they are yet possessed of vast territory on the west of the *Mississippi*; the South part of which, from that river to mountains of *New-Mexico* westward, and from the Sea to about six Degrees northward, we are told, is one entire level [34] champaign Country, as large as both *France* and *Spain* together; exceeding fruitful; and alone sufficient to supply the World with the productions of *North America*; being fertile in every thing, both in Land and Metals; and watered by several large navigable rivers that spread over the whole country. Upon supposition, then, of the *Canadians* and other *French* subjects in that Continent, their settling in the most convenient parts of that fine extensive Country, it may be expected they will, by cultivating it with care and diligence, endeavour to obtain by the *Improvement of Trade*, that advantage and superiority, which they could not by their *Martial Efforts*.

FROM the fruitfulness of these fresh virgin lands, and two or three months more of summer season in *Louisiana* than in our old Colonies, which, so far as hitherto occupied, are now much worn out, they can in one year make two or three crops of *Tobacco*, for instance, upon the same ground, as easily as we can make one, and in far greater plenty too, according to the superior fertility of soil. And if the *Tobacco* they used to make in this country, is of such value as they give out, they may by the improvement that country is capable of, as effectually outdo us, after some years, in that article, the only one we have hitherto kept entire to ourselves, as they have already done in that of the *Sugar*.

BUT while we have ten or twelve times, if not more, the number of people that they yet have, in that Continent, and a country much of the same latitude and nature with theirs; it is in our *power*, and should be our *endeavour*, both to *secure* this valuable acquisition against *Encroachments*; and, by a proper timely improvement of it, to *prevent* our Rivals, as much as we can, of superior *commercial advantages*: Both which necessary ends, it is presumed, the proposed settlements would answer.

In this argument from *Trade*, it is supposed that the *French* will be pacific, and behave strictly conform [*sic*] to treaty. But their speedy endeavours to restore their Marine; the freedoms they are said to be already *using* at *Newfoundland*; the present insurrection of the *Indians* (of which afterwards) no question excited by *French* Jesuits and Priests; seem to indicate, that they are rather disposed to continue their former turbulent practices, than to maintain peace and good neighbourhood. This makes it still more necessary for us, to be upon our guard.

We are told in the public News-Papers, 20th July last, 'that according to advices from *France*, they were doing all in their power to establish their Colonies in *America* upon a firm foundation, and expected 60 or 70,000 Inhabitants from *Canada* to settle at *New-Orleans* and on the west side of the *Mississippi*.' No question *this* is their design, and what they will spare no pains to effectuate. If, for the reasons before hinted, the *Canadians*, or greater part of them, shall go thither, as is most likely, they will be of more use, both for themselves and their Mother-country (in point of national profit, tho' perhaps not so well answering the late project of Usurpation [37])



and Conquest) in *Louisiana*, than in the cold regions of *Canada*. But as the *French* will see to avail themselves the best way they can of this last return they are to expect from that place, they will take care to dispose of them in such a manner, and in such places, as shall contribute most to their future Designs: And what these shall be,—time will discover.

SUSPICIONS and suppositions are indeed no arguments; but, so far as probable, deserve notice. And is it not natural to think, a considerable number of these *Canadians*, and other *French* from the east-side of the *Mississippi*, with many others from *France*, will settle on that river, opposite to the country betwixt the *Ohio* and *Illinois*? The famous Silver-mines of *Marameg*; the Lead-mines and Salt-pits betwixt that place and the *Forks*; the acknowledged Fruitfulness and Worth of that part of their country, &c. maybe justly reckoned such powerful motives (really, or in pretence, the same thing to us) that one can scarce help thinking, they will not let [38] that place be long unoccupied. But if we take this motive also, the strongest of all, into consideration, *viz.* a Design,—tho', according to their usual way, absolutely disowned till discovered by an attempt to execute,—of seizing the country on the *Ohio*, the grand object of their ambitious views, and cause of the late war; this makes the matter still more serious and interesting to us. For is it not rational to expect, they would carefully erect Forts; secure the country to the utmost of their power; cultivate a constant trade and correspondence with, and, when strong, spirit up against us, the numerous nation of the *Illinois* and other *Indian* tribes, their old acquaintance; whose firm alliance and friendship ever since they knew these parts, they acknowledge and boast of? In this event, and if we shall be so careless (*infatuated* would be a more proper term) as to neglect settling this important place: Let any one who reflects on the usual behaviour of that nation, and their continued course of encroachments in that part of the [39] world for about thirty years past, figure to himself,—what we might expect from such restless, perfidious, neighbours, whom no treaty ever bound, when their interest and convenience came in competition: Especially as such neglect on our part, would encourage them, by the most probable views of success and impunity, again to grasp at the valuable and long coveted prize of *North America*.

ONCE more upon this head:—If we will advert to these two facts mentioned in the News-papers 10th Oct. That *Frenchmen* are seen among the warring parties of the *Indians*; and that large quantities of various sorts of goods of *French* manufacture, are conveyed from *France*, in vessels sent upon pretence of the fishery, to be distributed among the *Indians* and natives in the Gulph of *St. Lawrence* and other parts of that coast; it appears pretty evident, whence these our present disturbances by the natives, have originally proceeded, and by whose influence they are maintained.

[40] To raise up the *Indians* against us, and in these very parts, is one of the best cards they can now play, and very artfully contrived to serve a double end, both very much favouring the Design they seem already to have in view. For, such a war, they well know, must draw our attention and forces to those more barren northerly regions, and make us neglect the far more fertile and valuable countries upon the *Mississippi* and *Ohio*; while, in the mean time, alluring by great encouragements, their late subjects from *Canada* and other parts, they are losing no time to settle *New Orleans*, and *Louisiana* to the best advantage. Which done,—their numbers increased,—their country secured,—and the *Indians* on that side also wheedled over and depraved by the contagion of their pernicious influence; as much mischief may be expected from them in some future period, and that perhaps not remote, as at any time before; if not timeously, and by suitable measures on our part, prevented.

[41] THUS far of the expediency, advantage, and necessity of settling the country upon the *Mississippi*, and particularly of planting a new Colony at the *Forks*.

As to the *third* question:—No doubt there is difficulty as to the numbers of people requisite for the proposed Settlements. But the difficulty, it is hoped, is not insurmountable. That considerable numbers for beginning a new Settlement, might be had from several parts of the *British* Dominions, where they are not so usefully employed,—is evident: And that encouraging terms, with other views of gain, would engage many to go accordingly,—is equally certain. Were these settlements once begun in earnest, their numbers, tho' fewer at first than what might be wished, would soon increase. The prospect of gain in a country so far preferable in every respect, would engage spare hands from the northern Colonies, to settle either at the

*Forks*, or in other places betwixt that and the Sea, where found most necessary and convenient.

[42] THE harbours from *Georgia* to *New Orleans*, particularly at *St. Augustin* and *Pensacola*; the towns already built, and the convenience of carrying on trade along that whole coast; the improvements and cultivation of lands already made in these parts by the *French* and *Spaniards*; will contribute much to the speedy settlement and peopling of *East* and *West Florida*; still more so, if a considerable number of the old inhabitants shall continue in their habitations.—The Colonies of *Georgia* and the *Carolinas*, from the motives of interest and safety, will, no doubt, take care to extend their settlements, within their respective bounds, towards the *Mississippi*. All this may be done with no charge to the mother-country.

TOWARDS settling the new Colony proposed, which seems to be more material, and therefore to claim greater notice; it were to be wished, the Government would give good encouragement. For, in proportion to this, undeniably, would be the number of adventurers at first; their future increase of people, whether by incomers, or in the usual way of population; and, consequently, their prosperity, wealth, usefulness, &c. What encouragement in particular should be given,—these who are proper judges in such matters, would determine, according to the importance and public utility of the design. Besides, some present advance, as is usual, for helping the new planters to a stock of cattle, furniture, utensils, and other necessities,—a favourable easy tenure of lands; a set of well contrived good rules with respect to their constitution, polity, œconomy and order; wise prudent Governors, and a sufficient number of able approven Clergymen and teachers, &c. would be of the utmost consequence to their future welfare and prosperity.

BUT more particularly:—Of our Soldiers and Sailors lately dismissed without provision or encouraging prospect of business, many, 'tis to be feared, will rather become beggars, loose idle vagrants, or even worse, than re-apply themselves to labour, after [44] so many years disuetude. Immediately upon the conclusion of the peace, scarce any one thing seemed to have a preferable claim to the attention of the Government, than these two;—providing for those brave fellows by whose intrepidity and valour so much Glory and Conquest had been obtained to the Nation;—and settling some of the

most important parts of the fine Country acquir'd. It is indeed hard to say, in which of these two the neglect was most surprising. The inseparable connection, and numerous advantages of both, are obvious. Justice, Gratitude, and Humanity, required the one; Interest and Necessity, the other. But as it is not yet too late, numbers of these our Countrymen, who so highly merit the thanks of the Nation, might be sent thither, and supplied with lands, upon the condition of military service when wanted, as a reward of their extraordinary bravery and the duty they faithfully did their King and Country during the late war. *These* would be most suitable for a new Colony, and *this* as ad- [45] vantageous a disposal of them, both for themselves and the publick, as any other yet proposed.

MEN of the several necessary Crafts also, such as Masons, Carpenters, Joiners, Bricklayers, &c. would be requisite: And according to what history we have of that Country, a company of Miners, at least after a few years, might turn out to very good account.

AGAIN, — It is undeniable in fact, whatever may be the cause or causes, that there are in many parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*, great numbers of Housholders, such as reduced Farmers, Cottagers, and others, in very low circumstances; who, by all their labour and industry, can scarcely scrape together a sorry subsistence for themselves and needy families. These, bred up to no mechanical employment, and having no prospect at home but continued poverty, would, many of them, it is to be supposed, embrace with cheerfulness an opportunity of going to settle in a Country, where [46] their labour would yield them plenty and affluence.

*Lastly*, — It may be supposed, there are many throughout *Britain* and *Ireland* pining in Jails, unable to do good to themselves or others, while in that sorry situation. Besides the publick-good, would it not be an act of humanity, to send thither all that are confined for Debt, whose characters are otherways fair and unblemished! would the act of Royal mercy, soon expected, be one whit tarnished, by annexing to the liberation of such, a condition of being removed from a Country where they could expect nothing but straitened circumstances and disregard, to where they might have, not only a comfortable Subsistence, but probably of wealth and opulence in a few years?

To strengthen their hands, and as a mutual security and help



both to this and the adjacent Settlements, the Colonies of *Virginia* and *Pensylvania*, but chiefly the first, might, upon recommendation from the Government, and no doubt, would, [47] upon the prospect of Interest, send people, according to their own plan and design about 20 years ago, to settle in the Lands adjoining the South-east of the *Ohio*, and other parts of the Bound above-proposed; who might extend their Plantations South-east within their respective Limits, while the new Colony extended theirs along the *Ohio* and *Mississippi*, as their people should increase.

As a Colony in this important place would be of incomparably more advantage to the Mother-country, as well as to the other Colonies, than *Nova Scotia*, to settle which, the Nation, for some years past, hath been at considerable charges; to neglect such a valuable purpose, therefore, on account of what expences might be necessary to effectuate it, would be an imprudent, ill-judged parsimony. A competent sum bestowed upon it, and properly applied, under the direction of Gentlemen of probity, appointed for that purpose, like the seed sown on good ground, would soon produce an hundred-fold.

[48] FOR the same reason, we should not grudge sending thither a few thousands of people, of the sorts before named. The extent and worth of this our new acquisition; the danger that we have reason to apprehend from restless insidious Neighbours, in case of neglecting it; with the expediency and advantage of securing that Country, particularly, where the new Colony is proposed, make this necessary; and in all appearance but for *once*. For, such a number being fixed there as encouraging terms would procure, besides numbers of strangers that so fine a Country could not fail yearly to allure thither, having most fertile ground to occupy at pleasure, and the necessaries of life in great abundance, and produced by little labour; would marry in their early years: Whereby, together with the healthfulness of the Climate, they could not, humanly speaking, but increase and multiply as much as any Colony could be expected. And it is observed, that in our *American* Colonies the number of Inhabitants is doubled in 25 [49] years, exclusive of Incomers. According to which calculation, *Britain*, one Century hence, would have sixteen times the number of Subjects in *America* that are there at present, besides all Strangers, with their proportional increase.

SOME assistance therefore of *people* and *money* being bestowed upon this one, urgent, useful and necessary design, which can neither be neglected nor delayed with safety, it is not likely there would be any demand of this nature afterwards. For, these places being thus secured, our Colonies, enjoying peace and quiet, would so prosper and multiply, that they would be able to repel any force or injury attempted by whatever assailants on that Continent, without putting the Mother-country to the great trouble and charges of sending thither Armies, Artillery, &c. as in the last War. Moreover, in proportion to the increase of people, and improvement of lands in these parts, would be the demand for *British* Goods, to the great encouragement of our [50] Manufactures, the increase of trade and navigation, and of the national revenue.

THE new Colony, and the Bound above proposed, ascertaining the limits betwixt it and the other Colonies, could be no injury to them. They would have more land besides than they could fully settle in a great many years. For which reason,—proposing to settle that country, by extending the limits of our old Colonies that way, or by two or more new ones at first, instead of answering, would, it is to be feared, entirely defeat the excellent ends proposed. For it is not-tour[ious] fact, that not only a carelessness in general, but a jealousy of one another's prosperity prevails among our Colonies. As a proof of this,—the greatest dangers lately hanging over all their heads, was for several years insufficient to make them enter into any association, or to unite them in any public measure for their common safety. Nor is it to be expected, that they would, in this case, do any thing jointly or to purpose, for the effectual security of that country, nor build [51] forts in proper time, if at all, needful for that end.

But a considerable body of people settled there, in one community, having one Governor, one law, one council, and one common interest; gathering additional strength by the yearly accession of strangers, that, for the above reasons, would flock to it, whether from the other Colonies, or from whatever Protestant Countries; would in proper time become so powerful, as fully to answer all the salutary ends already named. Afterwards, when become populous, strong, and its limits extended, it might, as has been done with some of our Colonies formerly, be divided into two or more, as convenience or reasons of state should require.

THE objection,—‘That in a Colony so remote from the sea, there would be little or no consumpt of *British* goods, rendered dear by the necessary charges of land-carriage,’—is frivolous. For common sense and experience dictate, that the trade of every country must be in pro- [52] portion to the quantity and value of its staple commodities: And that, if the productions of a country find their way out of it, the manufactures of the country to which they go, will certainly find their way into it. We are assured by those who are well acquainted with that country, such as the ingenious Dr *Franklyn*, that goods may be conveyed in boats or canoes, to and from the most inland parts of it, by great navigable rivers and fresh-water lakes communicating one with another, very small portages here and there excepted. Much more now must that be the case, when the navigation of the *Mississippi* is free to us, and the whole country, with the rivers and lakes on the east of it, are our own. Such additional charges, therefore, must be inconsiderable.

If it shall be alledged, as an objection,—‘That some or all of the places proposed to be settled, are the property of the *Indians*,’—It is answered, — Supposing the fact, what then? So was once that whole Continent. Nothing is known to [53] hinder our purchasing from the natives, as hitherto, whatever lands we have occasion for, and that at an easy rate. But the objection is not fact. For whatever lands the *French* possessed on the east of the *Mississippi*, except *New Orleans*, is now by treaty, as much our right and property, as any part of that Continent. And besides the extensive country on the east of the *Mississippi* from the sea northwards, they had Forts and settlements nigh the *Forks*, where the new Colony is proposed. Further it may be observed, both from the history and maps of that country, that from the *Illinois* river to the sea, scarce any of the *Indian* tribes have their habitation within a great many miles of the *Mississippi*; which, in this case, is a very favourable encouraging circumstance.

FROM [From] the recommencement of hostilities upon our back Settlements by the *Indians*, Some may perhaps object,—‘That a number of our people, though considerable, when settled at a distance from the parts occupied of our other Colonies, yet might [54] be in danger, before they gathered sufficient strength, of being perpetually harassed by the Natives, whom the *French* would not fail to instigate.’—

The objection is as much against *extending* our *old* Colonies as *settling* a *new* one; and amounts plainly to this,—That we must attempt neither the one nor the other, without the permission and good leave of the *French* and *Indians*: which is absurd and ridiculous. But if a new Colony where proposed, is necessary at all,—so far from being delayed, it ought to be much rather hastened, on account of the present *Indian* insurrections. This being self-evident, to say any thing in support of it, would be altogether idle.

That the *French* Jesuits and Priests are concerned in these disturbances, is fully confirmed by accounts from these parts. This hath been their usual practice, even in times of profound peace. But whether these incendiaries are, in this, acting by authority from the *French* nation, we cannot as yet [55] positively say: Though, from the public accounts already noticed, it is more than probable, they have instructions, or permission at least, from some leading Persons of that faithless Court, which countenanced proceedings of the same nature, immediately after the treaty of *Aix-la-chapelle*.

BUT be this as it will,—Shall *Britain*, whose troops carried victory wherever they advanced their Standards in that Country during the late war, and drove the armies of both *French* and Natives before them, be intimidated by any such thing as an *Indian* war, from settling and securing these acquisitions that have cost the Nation so much. Ought we not rather, without loss of time, to send a respectable body of regular forces, with express orders to the several Colonies to join them with sufficient numbers of Provincials, that these insurrections may be quelled by force, if other means shall prove ineffectual?

BUT we are sorry to hear, from the publick and other accounts, that some of our own people are not blameless. Some, [56] in the frontiers of our Colonies, where generally the most worthless persons are to be found, remote from the notice and restraint of Government, had, we are told, lately possessed themselves of Lands belonging to the natives, without purchase or treaty. This encroachment, notwithstanding the repeated Remonstrances of the Natives and the Proclamations of the Governour of the adjacent Colony, could not but highly irritate the original proprietors against our people; especially, at so critical a time. Many of our Colony-traders also, intent upon Gain, right or wrong, sell them spirituous Liquors; and



after making them drunk, cheat, defraud and over-reach them in bargains. Is it any wonder then, that these poor *Indians* when exasperated to the highest degree by such injustice and bad usage, endeavour by what methods they can, to do themselves justice, and maintain their natural rights?

THUS it is that a parcel of Sharpers, the scandal and disgrace of our Colonies, observing neither law nor equity, occasion general mischief. For, by these their shameful low practices, they provoke the *Indians*, who, if discreetly used, would keep treaties as strictly as we do; but when exasperated by such glaring injustice, are of all men the most revengeful and cruel.

THE *French*, who neglect no means of securing their interest and power wherever they have footing, are careful to gain the affection of these *Indians*: And, according to their superior dexterity in address and civility of usage, they are more successful than we, in procuring and retaining their friendship. They are at the utmost pains, by religious and matrimonial ties, and by whatever methods their art and cunning can suggest, to engage them firmly to their interest: Whereby they manage them to their own mind, and find great account in so doing.

How highly imprudent and impolitick, therefore, it is, thus to injure and provoke these natives, may be known from the melancholy accounts from these parts, for some months past. These unjustifiable proceedings afford very plausible arguments to the *French* Jesuits and Priests, who, like Satan, whose creatures they are, love to fish in muddy waters, and are ever rambling in these parts, —to create jealousies and suspicions; widen breaches however occasioned; inflame the revengeful spirits of these cruel savages, whom they still abuse; and in short, to persuade them, that our design is, to expel all the natives, and take possession of the whole country: A notion, with which they seem to have been strongly impressed of late; but by whom, is no mystery.

But, to get free of a vexatious, fatiguing, inconvenient *Indian* war, however or by whomsoever raised, it is to be wished, some effectual method were taken to compromise the present differences by a fair and equitable treaty; to prevent our people, particularly the Colony-traders, from abusing and injuring them; to deal fairly, and as much as possible, maintain a strict inviolable friendship with them; to

execute the laws impartially against those [59] that happen to injure them; and, chiefly, to search out, with rewards for discovery, and make public examples of, these plagues of society, disturbers of mankind, and constant source of mischief to us in these parts,—whatever Jesuits, Monks, Priests, &c. can be apprehended any where throughout the whole country eastward from the *Mississippi* and *Iberville*.

WHAT might be the most effectual way of managing these *Indians*, so as to have lasting peace and good neighbourhood with them in time coming,—is a very material consideration. Some are of opinion, that, on account of their insufferable repeated treachery, and the infinite mischief they have done us for many years past; not only *war*, but *extirpation* of some of the most unruly of these tribes, is necessary. Others,—that we ought to keep muskets and powder from them altogether.

BUT both these are liable to objections. For, the immense extent of the country; the large woods, rivers, lakes, mountains and other incumbrances throughout almost [60] the whole of it; the *Indian* method of carrying on war, in small parties, by stolen marches, unexpected attacks upon our sparse defenceless Plantations, and suddenly retreating thro' woods impassable by our people; cannot but render a *war* with them most difficult to us, and *extirpation* next to impossible. Nor would this method, tho' easy and actually practiced, be found to answer the end. For, while any of these tribes remained, the out-parts of our Settlements would still be exposed to their cruelty and fury, and in danger of being perpetually harassed. Neither could we, in many years, people the territories of any of these Nations that might be thus extirpated. Besides,—That of *extirpation*, however agreeable and common to the cruel *Spaniards*, is a method by which, it is hoped, the humane generous *Britons* will never chuse to extend their dominions.

WITHOLDING gun-powder and fire-arms from them, would certainly occasion heavy complaints, and exasperate them exceedingly. The *French* too, would not [61] only improve such refusal, and represent it as a strong argument, to incense the whole tribes against us, as keeping from them the necessary instruments of their game, food, trade, and war; but would find ways and means, while they have any interest in that Continent, to furnish them with these

implements, as much to their own advantage in trade and other ways, as to our loss.

BUT tho' these, and other such forcible measures, may be improper for gaining over people of so cruel revengeful tempers, as they are in their present Pagan state; yet there are certainly some methods, which, if carefully pursued, would be found effectual.

BESIDES justice in dealing, and discreet fair usage, we ought, principally, to endeavour *civilizing* them. The most effectual way of accomplishing this, would be,—using all due pains to teach them our language,—and, chiefly, to instill into them the principles of the true Religion: [62] Which we have hitherto neglected, equally to our shame and loss.

THE *Spaniards* make more useful subjects and friends in *South-America*, and elsewhere, by their missionaries than by their soldiers; and more faithful too: For, of all obligations, these from Religion must be the most firm and lasting.

ONE reason, among others, why the natives shew more favour, and are more firmly attached to the *French* than to us, is manifestly this: Because many of them, by the indefatigable diligence of their Priests, are proselyted to the Catholic faith.

THE impious freedoms, indeed, gross absurties [*sic*] and blasphemous prostitution of the most sacred truths, whereby the *French* endeavour to engage them to their interest, and work up their indignation against us, are shocking, and altogether unworthy the Christian name. Besides their common maxim, of keeping no faith or promises made to those differing from them in religion, they are at great pains to make these Natives believe the most absurd stories and [63] falsehoods, the very naming of which would be disagreeable to Christian ears: Such as,—that our Saviour was a Frenchman, and the English those that crucified him, &c. By these, and other scandalous abuses, which scarcely any other Nation on earth would dare to attempt, instead of teaching them Divine Truth, they debauch and deprave them; make them still more faithless, treacherous and cruel; extinguish any notions of morality that the light of Nature furnishes; and in short render them seven-fold more the children of the Devil than before.

BUT still, this makes the duty more necessary, of endeavouring to free these our poor abused fellow-creatures and neighbours from the fatal impositions of these arch-deceivers, who, from base selfish views,

thus defy the Arm of Omnipotence, prostitute Religion, make no scruple to pervert and mislead by the grossest lies upon all occasions, and ruin the souls of many thousands.

[64] NOT to mention the Honour of our Nation, King, Church and Government, and other motives yet more noble; this, even from political considerations, claims our sincere regard. The national advantages that would accrue to us from thence, cannot be told. By the light of the Gospel planted among these poor Heathens, would the ferocity of their tempers be removed; their Lives and Manners polished; and the Souls of many saved. Instead of Jealousies, Hatred, Diffidence, Insurrections, and Hostilities, they would love and reverence us as their spiritual Deliverers, and Guides: would be fond to imitate us in polite fashions and civilized manners: would use apparel; build and live in towns and villages; cultivate lands; and, thro' time, study Arts and Sciences. Finally, instead of being idle wanderers, they would make a great addition of very useful Subjects to the *British* Empire.

THEN might we expect, with much more reason than in the present situation, peaceable neighbourhood with them: Ju- [65] stice in dealings; a close lasting friendship; mutual affection and confidence; and their chearful ready assistance when wanted.

THE most effectual way of obtaining and securing these advantages by them, is,—to instruct them carefully in the Knowledge of the true God; the immortality of the Soul; a future State of rewards and punishments; the nature, usefulness and necessity of Truth, Justice, Uprightness and other moral Virtues, with the turpitude and danger of their contrary Vices, &c.

THIS would be the most glorious Conquest we ever made in *America*; and a suitable return of gratitude to our GOD, who of late gave us so many Victories there, and such large Dominions.

IN case of attempting this worthy Design (and would to GOD it were attempted) we never had such promising views of Success as now. For, supposing the present differences with the Natives accommodated, and peace restored, 'tis hoped we [66] shall take care not to be any more pestered with the *French* Jesuites, &c. in these parts.—Again, how favourable for such a design is it, that a Prince of such eminent Goodness, and possessed of all the amiable Virtues, now fills the *British* Throne! A Prince,—who would rejoice to be the



Instrument of sending the Light of God's Word to so many thousands of the human species, sunk in the woeful darkness of Heathenish Ignorance, or abused by nominal Christians, but falsely so called: A Prince,—whose principal aim is, the Glory of God whom he serves, and the good of Mankind whom he loves: A Prince,—against whom the wanton opposition of selfish designing Men, must be as wicked and odious, as his disinterested truly patriotick Views and endeavours for the welfare and happiness of all his Subjects, are remarkable: A Prince, as well qualified as disposed to bring us to the *Æra* of the highest Glory and Felicity that *Britain* ever enjoyed; if, turning precious Liberty into Licentiousness, and [67] abusing the greatest Mercies, and most distinguished privileges that any Nation on earth is favoured with,—we do not, peevishly, and with unparalleled perversity, provoke Heaven to withdraw the numerous Blessings now in our offer.

To conclude:—Seeing the late war, which was chearfully gone into by the whole Nation; prosecuted by Measures as wisely concerted as vigorously executed; maintained by a steady firmness, and at vast expence;—is at length happily terminated by a peace, the most advantageous to us of any ever made betwixt the two Nations, and which, if but as carefully improved, as its improvement is easy, may render *Britain* more glorious, powerful and wealthy, than in any former period: It is hoped, that those in power, particularly the Lords of Trade and Plantations, will join our most excellent, amiable, virtuous, and truly worthy Sovereign, and use all proper methods, timeously and effectually to accomplish a matter of such importance and general concern: that the [68] now extensive *British* Dominions, by the blessing of the Most High, who has done such great and marvellous things for us, may henceforth flourish and prosper, under the mild, auspicious and happy Reign of His Majesty and of his Royal Descendents, as the Guardians of Liberty, and Defenders of the true Religion in these our Realms, till earthly Kingdoms and Dominions shall be no more.

F I N I S

## CHAPTER IV

### THE JOURNAL OF M. DABBADIE, 1763-1764

THE FRENCH DO EVERYTHING TO ASSIST THE BRITISH — TALKS WITH INDIANS — THE CARE OF THE POSTS — NEWS FROM THE ILLINOIS — DOUBT AS TO THE CONCESSION TO SPAIN — BRITISH OFFICERS IN NEW ORLEANS — THE EXPEDITION TO THE ILLINOIS — THE CONDUCT OF M. PITTMAN.

JOURNAL OF DABBADIE, 1763-1764<sup>1</sup>  
[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A43: 249-282 — C.]

Journal de M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie Commissaire General de la Marine,  
Ordonnat<sup>r</sup> a La Louisianne

.....

[juillet, 1763]

il arrive ici differens Chefs des nations Sauvages	Je Vis Pendant le Courant de ce mois les chefs des differentes nations Sauvages, les Bilaxis, les chetimachas, les houmas, les Chactas, Les arkanças, et les Natchés, toutes ces
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[Translation]

Journal of M. Dabbadie, commissary general of the marine and  
*ordonnateur* of Louisiana.

.....

[July, 1763]

There arrive here different chiefs of the savage nations	I saw during the course of this month the chiefs of several savage nations: the Biloxi, the Chitimacha, the Huma, the Choctaw, the Quapaw, and the Natchez — all these nations,
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<sup>1</sup> Extracts of this very interesting journal are printed in De Villiers du Terrage's *Louisiane française*, 177 *et seq.*, but upon comparison with the original, his transcript proved very faulty and there appeared to be many editorial modifications. The journal is most important for the history of the whole Mississippi Valley, but it is impossible to publish in this place more than those extracts which concern the Illinois country. The only insertions are the dates in brackets, which have been taken from omitted portions.

nations amies et attachées aux françois venoient a la nouvelle Orleans S'eclercir des Bruits qui Couroient Parmi elles Sur la Cession d'une partie de La Louïsianne aux Anglois et disoit on aux Espagnols.<sup>1</sup>

**J'envois a la Mobile pour** Je fis Passer a La Mobile un bateau  
**Tremporter ici L art<sup>rie</sup> ordres** fretté Pour Commencer L'Evacuation  
**dans les Postes Pour L'Evacua-** et l'Enlevement de L'artillerie.  
**tion**

Les ordres furent donnés dans les differens Postes Pour qu'on Si disposat a L'Evacuation, nos p<sup>res</sup> dépeches pour les ilinois Partirent le 15 par le Na<sup>re</sup> La Jeanne qui des arkançois devoit aller a pied aux ilinois.<sup>2</sup>

Aoust 1763.

**Nouvelle des ilinois** Le 2 de ce mois nous aprimes par les lettres des ilinois tous les détails des mouvemens des Sauvages Contre les anglois qui les ont attaqué et defes au détour M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon envoya a ce sujet une grande Relation

[Translation]

friends of, and attached to, the French, came to New Orleans to be informed concerning the rumors current among them of the cession of part of Louisiana to the English, and, it is said, to the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup>

**I send to Mobile to have trans-** I sent to Mobile a chartered bateau  
**ported here the artillery; orders** to commence the evacuation and to  
**to the posts to be evacuated** remove the artillery. Orders were given in the different posts that preparations be made for the evacuation. Our first dispatches for the Illinois were sent on the fifteenth by the na<sup>re</sup> [?] *La Jeanne*; who will go from the Arkansas to the Illinois by foot.<sup>2</sup>

August, 1763

**News from the Illinois** The second of this month has brought us by letters from the Illinois all the details of the movements of the savages against the English. They have attacked and defeated them by trickery. M. de Villiers sent a long account of this to M. de Kerlérec which he promised me. It was

<sup>1</sup> Since Spain was not ready to take over Louisiana immediately, its cession by France was kept secret for some time, Even Dabbadie remained in doubt until September 9, 1764. See *post*, 198. Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane française*, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Translation very doubtful.

a M<sup>r</sup> de Kerlérec qu'il m'a Promis Le Bruit Etoit Commun ici que cette relation étoit exagérée qu'on vouloit Se faire Valoir et Prolonger son Sejoûr dans le poste.

Le départ d'un Convoy Pour les Illinois  
 Il partit dans les 1<sup>ers</sup> jours de ce mois cinq Bateaux qui Portoient avec Le Duplicata de Nos P<sup>res</sup> dépeches nos Seconds et differens approvisionnement[ent] qu'on jugea necessaire aux ilinois. M<sup>r</sup> de Cabaret Cap<sup>ne</sup> des n<sup>lles</sup> comp<sup>es</sup> destiné a remplacer aux Arkanças Le S<sup>r</sup> Moncherveau  
 M<sup>r</sup> de Cabaret va Command<sup>t</sup> aux Arkanças  
 Il partit en même Tems Pour Se rendre a Sa destination.

Le 8 je fis a M<sup>r</sup> Le Gouverneur les representation Suivantes. L'intention de le Cour étant devacuer les Postes d'en diminuer la representation Pour diminuer la garnison des Postes  
 garnison et de les reduire a l'absolû necessaire j'observé Par l'Etat de Revüe qui m'avoit été envoyé des ilinois qu'il restoit dans ce Poste 196 hommes de garnison que dans le plus fort de la guerre il n'y avoit jamais eu que 100 hommes

[Translation]

current rumor here that this account was exaggerated and that he wished to make himself of value and to prolong his sojourn in the post.

Departure of a convoy for the Illinois  
 There set out on the first days of this month five bateaux which carried the duplicates of our first dispatches, our seconds, and the supplies of various kinds, which are judged necessary for the Illinois.

M. de Cabaret goes as command-  
 ant to the Arkansas  
 M. de Cabaret, captain of the new companies, destined to replace M. Moncherveau at the Arkansas set out at the same time to reach his destination.

On the eighth I made to the governor the following representations. Since the intention of the court was to evacuate the posts, to diminish the garrisons, and to reduce them to what is absolutely necessary, I observed from the condition of the review that had been sent to me from the Illinois that there remained in that post one hundred and ninety-six men in garrison, where in the



de garnison au plus on eut Egard à mon observation et j'Ecrivis avec M<sup>r</sup> Le Gouverneur une lettre Commune Pour Renvoyer ici 96 hommes et des officiers a proportions, mais M<sup>r</sup> de Kerlerrec en donnant cet ordre voulut y ajouter la restriction de laisser M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon le Maitre de garder Cet exedent de troupes en cas qu'il le Jugeat necessaire attendû les mouvemens des Sauvages, comme je n'Etois Pas aussi Persuadé que lui que ces mouvemens exigeassent une garnison aussi nombreuse je trouvé la restriction tres inutile il étoit bien plus avantageux de songer a diminuer les dépenses Excessives de ce poste. je fis la même Observation au sujet des Natchés dont la garnison étoit

**Je demande L'Evacuation des Natchés** de 36 hommes, on decida que cette garnison seroit reduite à 15 hommes seulement, j'étois d'avis qu'on Evacuat

Ce poste dont les Bâtimens Licités tombent entierement en ruine et Ceux des fortifications ne sont Pas beaucoup meilleurs, en prenant ce parti on Craignoit quelques impertinances de la part des chic. [*sic*] qui pourroient Bruler le reste de Ces ouvrages et les reproches qu'auroient Pû faire les anglois a Ce Sujet, jaquieesai a ces raisons on

[*Translation*]

height of war there were never more than one hundred men at the most. Regard was paid to my observations and I wrote, with the governor, a common letter with orders to send back here ninety-six men and officers in proportion; but M. de Kerlérec in giving this order desired that there be added to it the restriction permitting M. de Villiers to retain this excess of troops in case he judged it necessary on account of the movements of the savages. Since I was not so persuaded as he that these movements demand the maintenance of such a garrison, I think the restriction is very useless. It would be much more advantageous to consider the restriction of the excessive expenses of this post. I made the same observation on the subject

**I demand the evacuation of the Natchez** of the Natchez, the garrison of which was thirty-six men. It was decided

that this garrison be reduced to fifteen men only. I was of the opinion that they should evacuate this post, the lawful buildings of which are entirely fallen in ruins and the fortifications of which are not much better. If this advice is followed there are feared some impertinences on the part of the Chickasaw

S'en tint au p<sup>er</sup> avis les ordres furent donnés, en Consequence je fis monter deux batteaux aux Natchés qui devoient Tremsporter L'art<sup>rie</sup> du fort et les autres Effets du Roy a La pointe Coupée, on devoit Seulement reserver au fort 2 pieces de Canons. Le senau le Bilbao ayant déchargé les Effets du Roy il sort [*sic*] tirant d'eau ne permettant Pas de L'Envoyer a La Mobile. Je decidé de le garder ici Jusqu'a de nouveaux Arrangemens.

.....

Janvier 1764.

.....

No<sup>lles</sup> des ilinois

Le 5 il arriva un Batteau des ilinois  
Commandé Par le S<sup>r</sup> Girardeau, voir  
le détail des Lettres de M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon Sur les dispositions des Sauvages  
au sujet des anglois.<sup>1</sup>

sur les No<sup>lles</sup> que j'ai reçû de la Cour Par le V<sup>au</sup> Particulier le  
Contant freté Pour le Roy arrivé ici le [*blank in MS.*] x<sup>b<sup>re</sup></sup> pour faire

[*Translation*]

who might burn the rest of these works, and the consequent reproach which the English might make. I consented for these reasons. The first opinion was maintained, and orders were sent. Consequently I sent two bateaux to the Natchez to transport the artillery from the fort and the other property of the king to Pointe Coupée. Only two pieces of cannon are to be kept at the fort. When the vessel *Bilbao* unloaded the king's goods, it drew too much water to send it to Mobile; so I kept it here until the new arrangements.

.....

January, 1764

.....

News from the Illinois

On the fifth, there arrived a bateau  
from the Illinois commanded by M. de  
Girardot: see the details in the letters of M. de Villiers on the dis-  
positions of the savages towards the English.<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the news which I have received from the court  
by the special vessel, *Le Contant*, chartered for the king, arriving

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 49.

publier la paix, je pris des arrangemens en Consequence et je fixé le jour au 8 de Ce mois.

.....  
**Arrivée d'un Batteau anglois au Bayou** Le 18 un Batteau anglois de la Mobile arriva au Bayou avec 10 hommes et 3. officiers je leur en permis l'Entrée, Le Batteau que Le Commandant Anglois qui monte aux ilinois avoit destiné a porter la garnison des Natchés devoit être tremsporté Par terre du Bayou dans le Mississipi, je ne voulu pas pas paroître y refuser mon agrement Par l'impossibilité de L'Entreprise, le Batteau Sera obligé de sen retourner Comme il est venû.

**Les anglois expedient une voiture pour la Balise** Le 20 je permis a L'Officier anglois qui est ici pour disposer les aprets des Batteaux du Convoy d'Expedier une Voiture Pour la Balise afin d'être Plûtôt informé de L'arrivée des Troupes qu'ils attendent Par L'Embouchure du Mississipi Pour aller aux ilinois.

[Translation]

here the [blank in MS.] of December, instructing me to have the peace published, I made arrangements and selected the eighth of this month for the day.

.....  
**Arrival of an English bateau at the bayou** On the eighteenth, an English bateau from Mobile arrived at the bayou with ten men and three officers. I permitted them to enter. The bateau which the English commandant, who is going to ascend to the Illinois, had selected to carry the garrison for the Natchez must be transported by land from the bayou to the Mississippi. I do not wish to appear to refuse my consent to this arrangement, but on account of the impossibility of the undertaking, the bateau will be obliged to return the way it came.

**The English send a vessel to the Balise** On the twentieth I permitted the English officer, who is here for the purpose of storing the ammunition of the bateaux of the convoy, to send a boat to the Balise in order to be better informed about the arrival of the troops who are to go to the Illinois and are expected to come by way of the mouth of the Mississippi.

**Nouvelle de l'arivée des anglois a la Balise**  
 Le 23 le Batteau qui avoit Eté expédié Pour la Balise revient ayant Trouvé dans le fleuve un Bâtiment anglois qui amenoit ici une partie de la garnison des ilinois M<sup>r</sup> Loftus destiné a commander dans ce Poste et Loff<sup>r</sup> qui doit commander aux ilinois arrive ici Plusieurs autres officiers profitant de Cette Occasion pour monter a la ville, en mettant Pied a terre ils viennent chés moy, Le lendemain 24 je leur donné a Diner, après diné je fis Passer M<sup>r</sup> Loftus dans mon Cabinet en presence de M<sup>rs</sup> Loftus Dolsay et Pitinan autre officier anglois je lui fis lire et interpreter Par M<sup>r</sup> Aubry les Lettres de M<sup>r</sup> De Neyon et tout Ce qu'il me je Communique au commandant anglois tout ce que je Sçai des Sauvages marque de particulier sur tout ce qui a rapport aux Sauvages illinois enfin je lui dis combien je desirois qu'il se rendit dans ce Poste qu'il étoit tous les jours plus interessent d'Evacuer Pour les interets du Roy, je Saisiray, toute les facilités qui dépendront de moy pour acclerer l'Expedition de leur Bat-

## [Translation]

**News of the arrival of the English at the Balise**  
 On the twenty-third the bateau which had been sent to the Balise returned after finding in the river an English vessel which was bringing here a part of the garrison for the Illinois. M. Loftus, sent to command at that post, and several other officers who have profited by this occasion to ascend to the town came to my house upon their arrival. On the **The officer who is to command in the Illinois arrives here** next day, the twenty-fourth, I gave them a dinner. After the dinner, I had M. Loftus come to my office; in the presence of MM. Loftus, Dolsay, and Pittman, another English officer, I had read to him and interpreted by M. Aubry the letters of M. de Villiers, containing all the information he has given me particularly in regard to the Illinois savages; finally I told him how much I desired that he go to this post, since it was daily of more importance to evacuate it for the king's interests. **I communicate to the English commandant all I know of the savages** I will use all the facilities which depend upon me to hasten the departure of



teau, je fis cesser tous les Travaux du Roy pour leur procurer plus d'ouvriers.

Le 26 je destiné le S<sup>r</sup> de Lagrand Cour pour aller servir aux arkanças sous les ordres de M<sup>r</sup> De  
**Expedition pour les Arkanças** Cabaret à la place de M<sup>r</sup> de Buetet  
 qui doit revenir continuer ses Services, je fis expédiér un bateau  
 pour aller aux arkanças et y Porter divers approvisionnem[ens]  
 Pour Le Poste.

.....  
**Expedition pour les ilinois** Le 30 Jexpedié un Bateau Pour les  
 ilinois dont je donné le Commande-  
 ment au S<sup>r</sup> Dolsay, il monta avec Lui un demi beau commandé  
 Par le S<sup>r</sup> Lefevre. J'adressé des ordres a M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon sur L'Evacu-  
 ation des Postes qu'il commande, j'ai  
**Duplicata de mes Lettres Par** remis dans ce Bateau Le duplicata  
**les arkanças** de mes dépeches pour être envoyés  
 des Arkanças par Terre aux ilinois.

[Translation]

their bateaux. I stopped all work for the king in order to procure more workmen for them.

On the twenty-sixth I sent M. de la Grandcour to the Ar-  
**Expedition for the Arkansas** kansas to serve under the orders of  
 M. de Cabaret in place of M. de  
 Buetet who is going to return to continue his services. I sent  
 a bateau to the Arkansas to carry there various provisions for  
 the post.

.....  
**Expedition to the Illinois** The thirtieth I sent a bateau to the  
 Illinois, the command of which I gave  
 to M. Dolsay. There goes up with him a half-bateau commanded by  
 M. Lefebvre. I sent orders to M. de Villiers concerning the evacua-  
 tion of the post which he commands.  
**Duplicates of my letters sent** I sent in the bateau the duplicates of  
**via the Arkansas** my dispatches which were to be sent  
 by land from the Arkansas to the Illinois.

.....

fevrier 1764

Les anglois demandent d'Envoyer a la Balise

Le 7 les anglois me demanderent d'Expédier une Voit<sup>re</sup> pour la Balise pour Sçavoir des no<sup>lles</sup> d'un Brigantin chargé de troupe qui étant mouillé a L'Entrée du fleuve avoit été jetté au Large Par le gros vent, Cette voiture le rencontra a 15 Lieües dans le fleuve. un p<sup>er</sup> Bâtiment également chargé de troupes étoit remonté Ce jour-lá devant la no<sup>lle</sup> Orleans je le fis amarer sur la Rive droite du fleuve au dessus de la Ville, je previns le Commandant anglois Pour qu'il donna ordre avec la plus Exacte discipline, ce qui a été Executé, ils S'occupent des dispositions de leur voyage aux ilinois.

Du 14 hier et aujourd'huy étoit descendû des voitures des ilinois les nouvelles que M'apprend M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon sont Tres inquietantes

[Translation]

February, 1764

The English demand permission to send to the Balise

On the seventh the English demanded permission to send a boat to the Balise in order to obtain news of a brigantine loaded with troops which had, in casting anchor in the entrance of the river, been driven into the open sea by a great wind. This boat will meet it fifteen leagues up the river. A first vessel, likewise loaded with troops, has arrived this day before New Orleans. I had it make fast to the right bank of the river above the village. I warned the English commandant to give orders for the strictest discipline, which he has done. They are busy with the preparations for the voyage to the Illinois.

On the fourteenth, yesterday, and today, there descended some boats from the Illinois. The news which M. de Villiers sends me is

## Nouvelles des ilinois

Pour lui, les sauvages le visitent souvent Par détachem<sup>t</sup> de 20 et de 30 il faut leur donner quelque chose, ou Courir les risques de leur menaces, les Sauvages ont tiré le siege du fort du détroit pour Se retirer dans leurs [*blank in MS.*], mais on en augure Pas mieux pour les anglois, leur garnison au détroit est de 400 hommes suiv<sup>t</sup> ce qu'on me marque.<sup>1</sup>

## Depart des anglois pour les ilinois

Du 27 les anglois qui dispoient ici depuis le mois d<sup>r</sup> leurs Convois pour les ilinois Sont partis aujourd'hui, j'ai été Très satisfait de Leur Exactitude a Contenir leurs troupes, il ne S'est Pas passé ici la moindre petite chose qui m'ait donné lieu de m'en plaindre quoy que j'usse lieu d'Etre Tranquille Sur les entre-prises que les anglois avoient Pû Tenter ici, lorsqu'ils ont été rassem- bles dans leur Batteau Sur la Rive droite du fleuve j'ai fait doubler la garde pendant la nuit aux Postes Sur la levée du fleuve, J'avois apporté L'Economie de L'habitation du Roy Pour m'informer Par un Signal

## [Translation]

## News from the Illinois

very disquieting to him: the savages are visiting him in companies of twenty and thirty, and it is necessary that he give them something or run the risk of their threats. The savages have withdrawn from the siege of Fort Detroit and have retired to their [*blank in MS.*] but one should not augur better things for the English from that. The garrison at Detroit is four hundred men according to my information.<sup>1</sup>

## Departure of the English for the Illinois

The twenty-seventh, the English, who have been preparing their convoys for the Illinois since last month, departed today. I have been very well satisfied with their care to restrain their troops. There has not happened here the least little thing that has given me cause to complain. Although I might have had reason to be tranquil about the undertakings that the English could have attempted here, when they were quartered in their bateaux on the right bank of the river, I did have the guard redoubled on the river levee during the night, and I stationed the steward of the royal house

<sup>1</sup>The letter from De Villiers has not been found.

**Precaution contre leur entre-  
prises**

de deux Coups de fusils du moindre mouvement qu'ils auroient Pu faire, on faisoit bon quart a Bord de la flute le Salomon ou il y avoit Plusieurs Canons chargés a mitraille, toutes ces precautions ont été heureusement inutiles, mais elles étoient neces-saires. Quelque êxacte qu'est été la discipline des anglois pendant leur Sejour ici, il leur est deserté 20 hommes, on compte qu'avent Leur arrivée a la Pointe Coupée le nombre en sera plus considerable, ces gens sont Effrayés des difficultés du Trajet et des craintes des sauvages quelques officiers ne sont Pas plus rassurés; Pour eviter les discussions et terminer les differens qui Pourroient survenir du Passage de ce

**Je destine un off<sup>er</sup> pour les  
accompagn<sup>er</sup> a la pointe coupée**

Convoy d'ici a la pointe Coupée, j'ai destiné le s<sup>r</sup> Baurang off<sup>er</sup> reformé et interprete de la Langue angloise Pour les accompagner jusqu'a la Pointe Coupée et m'informer de tout Ce qui ce Passera pendant cette Route. J'ai fait au Major Loffeteur qui Commande ce Convoy toutes les representations que je devois

## [Translation]

**Precautions concerning their  
undertakings**

so that he could inform me by a signal of two gunshots of the least move-ment that they might make. Watch was kept on the transport *Salomon* where there were several cannon loaded with grape shot. All these precautions were happily useless, but they were necessary. In spite of the severe discipline maintained by the English during their sojourn here, twenty men have deserted. It is expected that before they arrive at Pointe Coupée, the number will be considerably greater. These people are frightened at the difficulties of the passage and are afraid of the savages; some of the officers are not much more reassured. In order to avoid difficulties,

**I send an officer to accompany  
them to Pointe Coupée**

and to put an end to the disputes which may occur during the passage of this convoy from here to Pointe Coupée, I have sent M. Baurans, officer on half pay and interpreter of the English language, to accompany them as far as Pointe Coupée, and to inform me of all that takes place during this journey. I memorialized Major Loftus who commands this convoy upon the care that he should exercise in restraining his troops from molesting



lui faire sur Son Exactitude a contenir ses gens pendant la Route  
Sur les habitations le long du fleuve. il ma promis d'y avoir Egard  
j'en ai prevenû les Commandans des Postes françois Par ou il doit

**mes representations sur la discipline quils doivent observer**

Passer suivant L'Etat qu'on m'en a  
donné, ils montent aux ilinois dans onze  
Batteaux avec 360 hommes compris 17

offers 30 femmes et 28 enfans et quelques Domestiques ce qui fait en  
tout a peu près 420 a 430 Personnes, on Specule ici pour et Contre Sur  
leur Voyage le plus grand nombre pensent quils ne Parviendront pas

**Differens sentimens sur la Reussite de Ce Voyage**

aux ilinois autant Par la difficulté du  
chemin, Le peu de Precaution quils  
ont Prises et Lembaras de leur Bateaux,

que par les oppositions de La Part des Sauvages.

Du 29 je reçus une députation des Sauvages Pascagolas ils massure-  
rent de Leur attachement aux françois et me dirent que si les anglois

**Deputation des Pascagolas**

les inquietoient ils me demanderent a  
Passer Sur Les possessions françoises,

mais qu'ils allerent rester ou ils étoient Pour voir tout Ce qui se passe-

[Translation]

the inhabitants along the river. He has promised me that he will  
take care of that. I warned the commandants in the French posts

**My representations concerning the discipline that they ought to observe**

by which they must pass according to  
the list of them that has been given to  
me. They are going up to the Illinois  
in eleven boats with three hundred

and sixty men, besides seventeen officers, thirty women, twenty-eight  
children, and some servants, in all, some four hundred and twenty to  
four hundred and thirty persons. There is speculation here in regard

**Various opinions on the result of this journey**

to their journey. The greatest number  
think they will not arrive at the Illinois,  
as much on account of the difficulty of

the route, the few precautions which they have taken, and the impedi-  
ment due to their boats as from the opposition of the savages.

**Deputation of the Pascagoula**

On the twenty-ninth I received a  
deputation of Pascagoula Indians.

They assured me of their attachment to the French and told me that  
if the English disturbed them they would ask me for permission to

roit qu'ils Seroient Exats a m'en informer. je les Exhortai a Vivres Tranquiles et a regarder les anglois comme nos freres je les aussurai qui N'auroient Pas Lieu de S'en plaindre, cependant si contre mon attente il se passoit quelque chose qui tandit a Troubler La paix qui nous unit ils feroient bien de m'en donner avis Sur Le Champ Je Les renvoyé Contans et je Leurs fis delivrer deux presens qui Leurs étoient dûs.

**N<sup>lle</sup> des arkanças Leur paix avec les osages** Je reçûs des nouvelles des arkanças, le S<sup>r</sup> Cabaret me marque qu'une Partie des Sauvages des Osages y étoient venu apporter un Calumet de pais et un Colier de porcelaine demandant la Paix avec les françois et les arkanças, ramenant même pour la sincerité de Leur demande plusieurs chevreux [*sic*] qu'ils Leurs avoient volés Le S<sup>r</sup> Cabaret après Leurs avoir reproché qu'ils avoient Souvent fait de Pareilles Promesses qu'ils N'avoient Pas tenuës, Sur les N<sup>lles</sup> assurances qu'ils donnoient de Se mieux conduire les reçût bien fit la Paix, et leur donna quelques petites choses, Suivant le Rapport de

[Translation]

cross over to the French possessions, but that they were going to remain where they were in order to see what would take place, concerning which they would be prompt in informing me. I exhorted them to live peacefully and to look upon the English as our brothers. I assured them that there would be no cause to complain. If contrary to my expectations, however, there should take place some event that might disturb the peace that united us, they would do well to give me information immediately. I sent them away content and had given to them two presents that were due to them.

**News from the Arkansas; their peace with the Osage** I received news from the Arkansas. M. Cabaret informs me that a party of Osage savages came there to bring a calumet of peace and a belt of wampum demanding peace with the French and the Quapaw. They also brought back, as pledge of the sincerity of their demands, several skins which they had stolen. After M. Cabaret had reproached them for having often made similar promises which they had not kept, and after they had given new assurances that they would conduct themselves better, he received them, made peace with them, and gave them some little pre-

quelques Sauvages venûs des Illinois Les Nations y Sont toujours  
 en grande farm[ant]ations et Se  
 formantation des Sauvages  
 contre les anglois proposent d'attaquer les anglois Ce  
 Printems, un sauvage à Particuliere-  
 ment été chargé de Porter cette nouvelle aux arkanças.

Mars 1764.

Le 5 je reçûs une députation De 10 Chactas, du Village des cannes  
 jeaunes, chactas ou Mastabé Leur Chef me dit qu'il ne Se feroit  
 point a ne plus voir les françois dans  
 Députation des Chactas Son Village que tout étoit Triste pour  
 eux, qu'il étoit venû me demander mes Conseils, je lui repondis quil  
 avoit entendû ma Parole a la Mobile, que je N'avois autre chose a lui  
 Conseiller que de rester Tranquille que les anglois étoient aujourdhuy  
 nos freres quil N'Etoit plus question de guerre et qu'il faloit que les  
 blancs et les hommes Rouges vecussent bien ensemble, qu'ils travail-  
 lassent.

et que les anglois Pourvoiroient a leur besoins Par les Traiteurs

[Translation]

sents. According to the report of some savages, who had come  
 from the Illinois, the nations are still  
 Hostility of the savages against the English in great agitation and propose to at-  
 tack the English this springtime. One  
 savage in particular has been deputed to carry this news to the  
 Quapaw.

March, 1764

The fifth I received a deputation of ten Choctaw from the village  
 of Canes Jeunes. Choctaw or Mastabé, their chief, told me that  
 he was dissatisfied to see the French  
 Deputation of the Choctaw no longer in his village; that all was  
 sad for them; and that he had come to ask advice from me. I an-  
 swered him that he had heard my talk at Mobile, that I had no other  
 advice to give him than to remain peaceful, that the English were  
 today our brothers, that there was no longer any question of war, and  
 that it was necessary that the white and the red men should live  
 together in harmony, and that they should work.

[I further told him] that the English would provide for their needs

enfin tout ne tendit de ma Part qu'a Leur inspirer des Sentimens de Paix et de Tranquillité, il falut Suivant l'usage leur faire quelques Petits Presens.

Du 14 je Reçûs des nouvelles de La Mobile qui M'apprirent  
 que 14 Traiteurs anglois avoient été  
**Nouvelles de la Mobile Trouble** Tués aux alibamons et quelques autres  
**des Sauvages** avoient Eté renvoyés a La Mobile tout  
 Nuds, que 400 Chactas étoient a La Mobile et y demandoient des  
 Presens qu'on Leurs faisoit Esperer, je crains que Si ces Promesses ne  
 S'effectuent Pas il n'en Coute quelque chose aux anglois. on me  
 marque 230 sauvages mobiliens, Tinsas et autres Petites Nations des  
 environs de La Mobile Se rendent ici Pour me demander à être places  
 sur nos Terres, je les attends ils viennent dans leur voitures. une  
 Corvette angloise en Station  
**dans la Baye de la Mobile** Corvette de 12 Canons et de 60 hommes  
 d'Equipage, est en Station dans la  
 Baye de la Mobile et fait venir a Son  
 Bord Tous les bâtimens françois qui y Passent ils deffendent Sous  
 peine de Confiscation l'Exportation du vin et de toute autres liqueurs

[Translation]

by traders, and finally that everything tended, as far as I saw, to inspire them with sentiments of peace and tranquillity. According to the custom it was necessary to make them some small presents.

On the fourteenth I received news from  
**News from Mobile; trouble with** Mobile informing me that fourteen  
**the savages** English traders had been killed among  
 the Alibamu, and some others had been sent back to Mobile all naked; that four hundred Choctaw were at Mobile and were demanding presents, concerning which they had received hopes. I fear that if these promises are not fulfilled, it is going to cost the English something. I have been informed that two hundred and thirty Mobile savages, Taensa, and other little nations from around Mobile are coming here to demand that they be established on our territory. I am awaiting them; they are coming in their boats. A sloop of twelve  
**English sloop stationed in the** cannon and sixty men is stationed in  
**bay of Mobile** the bay of Mobile and inspects all  
 French boats that pass. They prevent,  
 under pain of confiscation, the exportation of wine, of all other liquors



du Crû de France, Le taffia, Le sucre et le Caffé dans les places de La Mobile et de Pensacole.

il Est entré aujourd'hui et amaré a la levée un Bâtiment françois Le Vainqueur Cap<sup>ne</sup> Collet venant de La havanne Sur son Lest.

**Relache du Convoys anglois** Le 22, Le Convoy anglois relacha ici, il avoit été attaqué Par les Sauvages, a la Rache a Davion, voici Le detail qu'on m'a donné, dont Evenement, Voyés ma Lettre Cy jointe f<sup>o</sup> 10,<sup>1</sup> pour Eviter que la nouvelle n'en fut Portée Trop vite a La Mobile et Eviter la revolution que cela Pourroit faire Parmi les Sauvages, je fis arrester au Bayou St Jean tous les Batteaux, et Pour Eviter les inconvenients qui étoient Survenûs a leur P<sup>r</sup> Voyage que de particuliers qui voloient des Bestieaux et autres choses et les alloient vendre abord des V<sup>aux</sup> Je fis deffendre Par un ord<sup>re</sup> Sans une permission d'Envoy.

**Depart du Convoy anglois pour la Balise** Le 25 a 2 heures après midi les Bateaux du convoy anglois mirent en derive Pour Se rendre a la Balise, le command<sup>t</sup>

[Translation]

of French manufacture, tafia, sugar, and coffee into Mobile and Pensacola.

There is entered today and moored at the levee a French boat, *Le Vainqueur*, Captain Collet, which comes from Havana with ballast. On

**Return of the English convoy** the twenty-second the English convoy touched here. It had been attacked by the savages at Roche à Davion. Here is the account<sup>1</sup> which has been given to me: for this occurrence see my letter no. 10. In order to prevent the news being carried too quickly to Mobile, and so avoid a revolution among the savages that it might cause, I had all the boats stopped at the Bayou St. Jean, and to avoid the inconveniences which had occurred on their first journey both from individuals who stole cattle and other things and also from those who went to trade on board the vessels, I issued an ordinance prohibiting sales without a messenger's permission.

**Departure of the English convoy for the Balise** On the twenty-fifth at two P.M. the bateaux of the English convoy cast off to go to the Balise. The commander,

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 225, and also, *post*, 237.

M<sup>r</sup> Loftus m'en prevint et me pria de donner ordre qu'on remit a Ce poste Ses Bateaux et il me demanda d'y laisser une garde de 10 hommes et un officier pour en avoir soin j'y consenti, ils devoient embarquer leur troupes dans un Brigantin anglois qui Se trouvoit a La Balise,

**Ordres que je donne a ce sujet** il envoya chercher leur Batteaux par un Batiment garde Côte Pour le mener a la Mobile, cette operation ne me paroit pas aise, la Suite nous en apprendra le Succés, Je permis a un détachement anglois de 20 hommes et de 20 off<sup>rs</sup> de passer par le Bayou s<sup>t</sup> jean pour se rendre a La Mobile,

**Je permets á un détachement de passer par le Bayou** il me revint que les petites nations Situées sur le Lac Pontchartrain devoient les attaquer j'en previns les off<sup>rs</sup>

afin qu'ils prissent les precautions necessaires a cet Effet, je leur fis même Prêter pour cela deux Pierriers des magasins du Roy ils Partirent

**Je les Previns qu'ils devoient être attaqués Par les Sauvages** du Bayou Le 30 de mars Je destiné le Batteau du n<sup>o</sup> Bresillier pour les accompagner jusqu'a la passe a Christiane.

Le 30 je reçûs une députation des sauvages houmas et [blank in MS.]

[Translation]

M. Loftus, sent me notice and prayed me to give orders that his bateaux be sent back to this post, and he demanded permission to leave a guard of ten men and an officer to have charge of them. I consented to this. They are going to embark the troops on an English brigantine

**Orders that I gave on this subject** which is at the Balise. He is going to send for these bateaux by means of a coast guard vessel to tow them to

Mobile. This operation does not appear easy to me. The outcome will inform us of its success. I permitted an English detachment of

**I permit a detachment to go via the bayou** twenty men and twenty officers to pass

via the Bayou St. Jean to go to Mobile. It occurred to me that the little tribes situated on Lake Pontchartrain might attack them, and I warned the officers that they should take the necessary precautions.

**I warned them that they might be attacked by the savages** I lent them for this purpose two royal swivel guns. They set out by way of the bayou March 30. I sent the

bateau of the merchant [?] Bresillier to accompany them as far as

**Deputation Sauvage** petites Nations Voisines au dessus de la N<sup>elle</sup> Orleans. je leurs dis sommairement, qu'ils avoient vû les anglois qui avoient remonté Le Mississipi pour aller Prendre possession des terres que le grand Empereur leur avoit donné Qu'ils leurs auroit donné La main et que cela me faisoit plaisir parceque La paix Les avoit rendu nos amis, que j'avois vû avec peine que les Nations au dessus de La pointe Coupée avoient fait Coup Sur eux, qu'ils avoient Eté ingrats de ma parole, que je Leurs avois fait dire d'Etre Tranquiles, que les grands Empereurs avoient voulû que La terre fut Blanche partout Pour le bonheur des hommes Rouges et des Blancs, et enfin je Leurs dis Lorsqu'ils veroient les anglois qu'ils fussent Tranquiles et qu'ils les regardassent Comme nos amis.

**Arrivée d'un Batteau du Cap** Le 31 J'appris L'arrivée du Batteau La Liberté Cap<sup>ne</sup> fastion Parti du Port au Prince Le 15 de fevrier, jé rien appris d'interessant Par cette occasion, Le Cap<sup>ne</sup> me dit avoir Trouvé les anglois le 28 au detour des

## [Translation]

Pass Christian. On the thirtieth I received a deputation of Humas Indians and [*blank in MS.*] little nations above New Orleans. I told them briefly that they had seen the English who went up the Mississippi to take possession of the territory which the great emperor had given to them; that they had given them their hand, and that this had pleased me for peace had rendered them our friends; that I had seen with pain that the nations above Pointe Coupée had made an attack upon them; that they had shown ingratitude at my talk; that I had sent word to them to be peaceful; that the great emperors desired that the land be everywhere white for the welfare of the red men and of the white. Finally I told them that when they should see the English, they should be peaceful, and regard them as our friends.

**Arrival of a bateau of Captain** On the thirty-first I learned of the arrival of the bateau *La Liberté*, Captain Fastion, which had set out from Port au Prince February 15. I

Playes mines ils étoient en derive du 25 Pour la Balise ils y vont a  
 Petites journées. Le [blank in MS.] mourut M<sup>r</sup> Pradel ancien off<sup>r</sup>  
 N<sup>lle</sup> des anglois reformé de cette Colonie, Je fis com-  
 mander pour son Convoy 50 hommes  
 et 4 off<sup>rs</sup> pour Porter La Brunette.

Avril 1764

.....  
**Deputation des Tonikas**

Le 4 je reçus un député du Chef des  
 Tonikas qui me fesoit demander a me  
 venir voir, je fis repondre au chef que j'étois faché qu'il eut rejehtë  
 ma parolle, que je lui avois fait dire d'Etre Tranquille et de recevoir  
 les anglois nos amis avec amitié, Le Deputé me repondit a cela que  
 C'étoit vray, mais que les Anglois avoient un mauvais Coeur et qua  
 la pointe Coupée ils les avoient entendû parler avec mépris des Sau-  
 vages ce qui les avoit determiné à fraper mais qu'ils ne L'avoient Pas  
 fait Sur les Terres francoises. je repondis au deputé que Je donnerois

[Translation]

heard nothing interesting on this occasion. The captain informed me  
 that he had found the English on the twenty-eighth rounding the  
 Playes Mines. They weighed anchor on the twenty-fifth for the

**News of the English**

Balise. They are making short day's  
 journeys. On the [blank in MS.] died  
 M. Pradel, formerly officer on half pay in this colony. I commis-  
 sioned for his convoy fifty men and four officers to carry his pall.

April, 1764

.....  
**Deputation of the Tunica**

On the fourth I received a deputy from  
 the Tunica chief, who demanded per-  
 mission to come and see me. I sent an answer to the chief that I was  
 angered that he had rejected my talk, that I had told him to be peace-  
 ful and to receive the English, our friends, with kindness. The deputy  
 answered that this was true, but that the English had bad hearts and  
 that at Pointe Coupée they had heard them speak with scorn of the  
 savages, and that this had decided the latter to strike a blow, but that  
 they had not done this on French territory. I answered the deputy



mes ordres au chef de la pointe Coupée pour les faire descendre lorsque je le jugerois a propos, qu'il Leur dit que mon Coeur Seignoit de Leurs Sotises.

**Arrivée des Pacanas et Tunicas** Le 6 Les Sauvages Pacanas et Tunicas établis aux environs de La Mobile arriverent ici Pour me demander des Etablissements Sur nos possessions, je n'ai Pû encore descider ou je les placerois en attendant je les ay fait Etablir au Colapisse a 3 lieües d'ici ou ils Camperont jusqu'à cet autône, ou jessayrai de les placer aux Environs de La Riviere Rouge ils composent en tout 80 Personnes.

**Depart du Salomon** Le 10 La flute Le Salomon demara pour deriver a la Balise d'ou elle partit Pour france Le 15 avril 1764.

**Etablissement des Pacanas et Tunikas a la fourche des chetis Muchas** Le 15 les Sauvages Tunikas et Pacanas Partirent dans deux voitures que je Leurs fis fournir pour aller S'Etablir a La fourche des chetis, j'ai été Tres content de la douceur des Tunicas, mais les Pacanas yvrognés

[Translation]

that I would give my orders to the chief at Pointe Coupée to come down when I judged it fitting, and that he should tell them my heart was bleeding for their wickedness.

**Arrival of the Pacana and Tunica** On the sixth the Pacana and Tunica savages, established in the environs of Mobile, arrived here to demand of me establishments on our possessions. I have not been able as yet to decide where I should place them. Meanwhile, I have established them at Acolapissa, three leagues from here, where they will camp until autumn, at which time I shall try to find them places in the environs of Red River. They number in all eighty persons.

**Departure of the Salomon** On the tenth the transport boat *Salomon* cast off to return to the Balise, where it departs for France, April 15, 1764.

**Establishment of the Pacana and the Tunica at the forks of the Chetimaches** On the fifteenth the Tunica and Pacana savages departed in two boats, which I furnished them, to establish themselves at the fork of the Cheti-

fiéfés m'ont Causé bien de L'Embaras voyès mès reflexions au ministre Sur L'Emigration de ces Sauvages.

Le 17 je reçûs une députation de 7 chactas qui vinrent m'assurer de Leur attachement Pour les francois quoy que je n'y compte Pas beaucoup je les reçûs bien et les Carressai de même et je leur donné un petit present comme cest la maniere.

Le 18 j'appris l'arrivée a La Balise du Na<sup>re</sup> particulier Le Missouri chargé de Marchandises de Traite pour cette Colonie il étoit Parti de Bord<sup>x</sup> Le *[blank in MS.]* arriva à la Balise Le *[blank in MS.]* après avoir Relaché 4 jours a s<sup>t</sup> Domingue je reçûs par cette Occasion différentes lettres particulieres mais pas une interressente du ministre, les bruits de la Cession de Cette Colonie a L'Espagne, ce renouvellement avoit assés de vraisemblance.

.....  
Le 19 j'Expedié un Convoy Pour les ilinois il etoit composé de 4

[Translation]

maches. I have been very content with the gentleness of the Tunica, but the drunken Pacana have caused me much embarrassment: see my reflections to the minister upon the emigration of these savages.

**Deputation of the Choctaw** On the seventeenth, I received a deputation of seven Choctaw, who came to assure me of their devotion to the French, although I do not count much upon it. I received them kindly and caressed them; I gave them a little present, as is customary.

**Arrival of the ship *Le Missouri*** On the eighteenth I learned of the arrival at the Balise of the private ship, *Le Missouri*, loaded with merchandise of trade for this colony. It set out from Bordeaux the *[blank in MS.]*; arrived at the Balise, the *[blank in MS.]* after having delayed four days at Santo Domingo. I received on this occasion several private letters, but no interesting one from the ministry. Rumors of the cession of this colony to Spain; this renewal has sufficient probability.

.....  
On the nineteenth I sent a convoy to the Illinois. It was com-

**Expedition d'un Convoy Pour les ilinois.**

Batteaux et d'une Pirogue armée et chargée Par les Particuliers et Par les Traiteurs des ilinois, j'y fis charger quelques approvisionnement pour le Compte du Roy. J'ai donné le Commendement de Ce Convoy au S<sup>r</sup> La Soudraye Cap<sup>ne</sup> de Milice avec ordre de le bien garder contre les attaques des Sauvages, et de Contenir Son monde dans la plus grande Subordination à ses ordres.

**Mort de M<sup>r</sup> de Macarty et les honneurs que je lui fis rendre**

Le 20 M<sup>r</sup> de Macarty<sup>1</sup> ancien Lieut<sup>t</sup> de Roy mourut, je fis donner pour son convoy funebre toutes les Troupes de la Garnison, environ 80 hommes et on lui tira 3 Coups de Canon, Lorsque Le Corps sortit de La maison, on nomma 4 off<sup>s</sup> Pour porter la Brunette. quoy que ces honneurs ne fussent Pas dûs a M<sup>r</sup> De Macarty je lui a fait rendre Par Consideration pour Sa memoire et Pour Sa famille.

[Translation]

**The sending of a convoy to the Illinois**

posed of four bateaux and one pirogue, armed and loaded by private individuals and Illinois traders. I had some provisions for the account of the king placed on board. I gave command of this convoy to M. de la Soudraye, captain of militia, giving him orders to guard it well from the attacks of the savages, and to keep his people in the greatest subordination to his orders.

**Death of M. de Macarty and the honors which I ordered paid him**

On the twentieth M. de Macarty,<sup>1</sup> former lieutenant, died. I ordered out for his funeral a convoy of all the troops of the garrison, about eighty men, and a cannon was fired three times when the body left the house. Four officers were named to carry the pall. Although these honors were not due to M. de Macarty, I have had them rendered out of consideration for his memory and his family.

<sup>1</sup> This is M. de Macarty Mactique, commandant at Fort de Chartres until 1760. He was born in 1706, sent as captain to Louisiana in 1731, where he rose to the rank of major. Bienville wrote of him: "He is of good conduct, attentive to discipline, is attached to the service, and does well." Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane française*, 103 n. 4.

May 1764.

.....

**Les Anglois envoient a la balise  
pour prendre une partie de leur  
monde**

Le 3. une lettre de la Balise m'apprit qu'une fregatte angloise de 40 Canons avoit mouillé a 3 Lieües de la Pense [sic] elle étoit venue pour chercher une partie des troupes du Convoy des ilinois avec le Brigantin qui en avoit desja Tremsporté La p<sup>re</sup> partie le 29 du mois d<sup>er</sup> Les vents Contraires les avoient empechés de partir Peut être le sont ils a present, il Est reste a la Balise 10 hommes et un off<sup>r</sup> Pour y garder les batteaux de ce Convoy qu'ils doivent envoyer Chercher je ne sçai quand n'y comment.

**Je mets les Troupes et les  
rationnaires a la 1/2 Ration**

La rareté de farine m'a obligé de mettre a la demie Ration de Ris les soldats et les Rationnaires, je n'ay pû retirer de la mobile qu'environ 200 quarts et il n'y en a plus. le Missouri le soeul Vaisseau qui soit arrivé ici d'Europe depuis le Commencement de L'année n'en a point apporté.

[Translation]

May, 1764

.....

**The English send to the Balise  
to take part of their people**

On the third a letter from the Balise informed me that an English frigate of forty cannon had anchored at three leagues from La Pense. It had come to seek a part of the troops of the convoy to the Illinois, in company with a brigantine, which had already transported the first part of them on the twenty-ninth of last month. Contrary winds had hindered them from setting out; perhaps they are there now. There remains at the Balise ten men and an officer to guard the bateaux of this convoy which they are going to send for; I know not when nor how.

**I put the troops and the half-  
rationers on half rations**

The scarcity of flour has compelled me to place upon half rations of rice the soldiers and the half-rationers. I have been able to obtain from Mobile only about two hundred quarters, and there is no more of it there. *Le Missouri*, the only vessel which has arrived here from Europe since the commencement of the year, did not bring any.



**Députation des Sauvages chetis  
Machats**

Le 12 je reçûs une députation des Sauvages chetis Machas, ils m'assurent de Leur attachement Sinceres Pour les françois ils me dirent qu'ils avoient entendu Beaucoup de parolles lorsque les Anglois étoient montés qu'on avoit même voulû les angager a fraper, mais qu'ils Etoient restés Tranquiles n'ayant Point d'ordres de leur chef, J'applaudis a Leur façon de Penser, et je leur dis que j'avois vû avec peine les sotises que les hommes Rouges avoient fait contre les anglois qui estoient a present nos amis, que c'étoit Par les ordres de leur grand Empereur qu'ils avoient été ingrats du Sang des hommes Rouges et qu'il avoit mieux aimé dessendre que de repousser La force par la force, que Selon toute aparence quelques jours ils remonteroient encore et que j'engageois les hommes Rouges a etre Tranquiles.

**Expedition pour les Nachitoches  
et la pointe Coupée**

hier les traiteurs expedierent une Voiture Pour les Nachitoches je profité de cette occasion Pour y faire monter, M<sup>r</sup> de la Porine que j'ai destiné a y commander a la Place du Ch<sup>er</sup> de Macarty, par la même occasion je fis monter a La Pointe Coupée Le

*[Translation]***Deputation of the Chitimacha  
savages**

On the twelfth I received a deputation of the savages Chitimacha; they assured me of their sincere attachment to the French, and told me that they had heard much talk when the English ascended, and that some had even wished to engage them to strike a blow but that they had remained peaceful, having no orders from their chief. I applauded their manner of thinking, and told them I had seen with pain the mad deeds which the red men had committed against the English, who were now our friends, that this was by the orders of their great emperor, that they had been ungrateful for the blood of the red men, that it had been preferable to descend than to repulse force with force, that in all probability some day the English would yet ascend, and I should engage the red men to be peaceful.

**Expedition to Natchitoch and  
Pointe Coupée**

Yesterday traders sent a boat to Natchitoch, and I profited by this occasion to send there M. de la Parine, whom I have appointed to take the command there in place of M. de Macarty. By the same occasion I have sent to Pointe Coupée M.

s<sup>r</sup> Sircé Pour y tenir garnison Sous les ordres de M<sup>r</sup> de La Mazeliere.

#### Nouvelle des ilinois

Je reçû des n<sup>lles</sup> de M<sup>r</sup> De Neyon qui me dépêcha une voiture de 3 hommes<sup>1</sup> il m'apprit que Pondiac étoit aux ilinois sans me rien dire de sa Suite; il me marque Seulement que les Sauvages mêmes les Domiciliaires des ilinois Sont aussi animés que les autres contre les Anglois, il informe le Major Loftus des Difficultés qu'il Trouvera pour monter 1500 anglois ont été défaits assiagara [*sic*] Par les Sauvages. un Coup de Vent ayant fait Poin [*sic*] dans le Lac Errié 22 Berga ceux qui se sont réchapés du naufrage, ont Eté massacrés Par les sauvages et dans le nombre il S'est trouvé 5 françois. les N<sup>lles</sup> que j'attens me donneront de plus grand détail sur ce qui regarde Pondiack.

#### Il m'arrive de la farine de la Mobile

Le 21 il arriva un Batteau de La Mobile chargé chargé [*sic*] de 70 quarts de farine angloise, j'avois prié le Commandant anglois de m'en prêter des magasins Anglois 300 quarts, mais au lieu de me les faire remettre directement il les a donnés a un marchand anglois

#### [Translation]

Sircé to take charge of the garrison there under the orders of M. Desmazellieres.

#### News from the Illinois

I received news from M. de Villiers, who sent me a boat with three men.<sup>1</sup> He informed me that Pontiac was at the Illinois, without telling me anything about the results. He informed me only that the savages living near the Illinois are as hostile as the others to the English. He informs Major Loftus of the difficulties which he will find in ascending. Fifteen hundred English have been defeated at Niagara [?] by the savages. A windstorm has overturned in Lake Erie twenty-two barges; those who escaped the shipwreck have been massacred by the savages, and in the number were five Frenchmen. The news that I am awaiting will give me the greatest detail as regards Pontiac.

#### There arrives flour from Mobile

On the twenty-first there arrived a bateau from Mobile loaded with seventy quarters of English flour. I had asked the English commandant to lend me three hundred quarters of it from the English

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 242.

pour me les vendre, lequel Profitant de La nécessité ou je Suis m'en a demandé 90<sup>ll</sup> enfin Par composition j'en ai donné 80<sup>ll</sup> mais au Lieu de prendre a ce prix les 300 quarts je me suis Contenté de ces 70. qui entretiendront L'hôpital et la Troupe a La demie Ration pendant 2 mois.

Le 23 et le 24 il arriva 2 Batteaux chargés de farine angloise, voulant Profiter de la Circonstance ils Porteront le pris de cette farine a 90<sup>ll</sup> mais en ayant Sufisament Pour deux mois et pensant bien que pas un Particulier ne pouroient L'apayer a Ce prix je n'ay Pas voulu la prendre Esperant par la d'en faire le prix.

.....

Juin 1764

**Les farines tombent de Prix** Du 4 par les arrangemens que j'ai pris Pour les farines j'en ai fait tomber le prix a 60<sup>ll</sup> et Successivement a 45<sup>ll</sup> j'en ai Passé un marché a ce prix avec le s<sup>r</sup> Maxant.

.....

[Translation]

warehouse; but in place of having it sent to me directly, he has given it to an English merchant to sell to me, who, profiting by the necessity in which I am, demanded ninety *livres* for it; finally by a compromise I gave him eighty *livres*, but in place of taking at this price the three hundred quarters, I have been content with seventy, which will support the hospital and the troops on half rations for two months.

On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, there arrived two bateaux loaded with English flour. Wishing to profit by the conditions, they raised the price of this flour to ninety *livres*, but since I had sufficient of it for two months, and thinking indeed that no individual would be able to buy it at this price, I did not wish to take it, hoping by these means to make the price for it.

.....

June, 1764

**The price of flour falls** On the fourth by the arrangement that I took in regard to the flour, I caused the price of flour to fall to sixty *livres* and then to forty-five *livres*. I made a contract for it at this price with M. Maxent.

.....

**Départ de 3 Batteaux pour les ilinois**

Le 12 Trois Batteaux du Roy Expédiés  
 Par les traiteurs des ilinois et missouris  
 Partirent de la N<sup>elle</sup> Orleans ils étoient  
 commandés Par le s<sup>r</sup> Berard a qui je donné mes ordres Pour la Sureté  
 et le bon ordre du Convoy et a son deffaut au S<sup>r</sup> Du Breuïl S<sup>te</sup> Croix  
 qui commandoit le 2<sup>e</sup> Batteau. je profité de Cette occasion Pour  
 envoyer des approvisionnement[ents] aux arkancas et aux ilinois. ce  
 convoy étoit composé de 77 Personnes 3 command[ants] de Batt<sup>x</sup> 4  
 patrons 65 rameurs, et 5 Passagers.

**Deputation Sauvage**

Du 13 je reçus une députation de deux  
 villages des Sauvages Chitimachas, il  
 me chanterent Le Calumet, et nous nous renouvelames reciproque-  
 ment Les protestations d'atachemens. je les engagé à être Tranquiles  
 si les anglois remontoient Par le fleuve aux ilinois que le grand Em-  
 pereur des françois leur avoit donné, ils me promirent d'Etre tran-  
 quiles et de Nagir que par mes ordres je Leur fis faire leur presens  
 ord<sup>res</sup> et ils s'en allerent bien Contens.

## [Translation]

**Departure of three bateaux for the Illinois**

On the twelfth three royal bateaux  
 sent by the traders of the Illinois and  
 Missouri set out from New Orleans.  
 They were commanded by M. Berard, to whom I gave my orders con-  
 cerning the safety and the good order of the convoy, and in default  
 of him to M. du Breuil Ste. Croix, who commands the second bateau.  
 I profited by this occasion to send some provisions to the Arkansas  
 and the Illinois. This convoy was composed of seventy-seven per-  
 sons, three commanders of bateaux, four patrons, sixty-five rowers,  
 and five passengers.

**Deputation of the savages**

On the thirteenth, I received a deputa-  
 tion from two villages of Chitimacha  
 savages. They chanted the calumet and we renewed mutual protesta-  
 tions of attachment. I engaged them to be peaceful if the English  
 ascended the river to the Illinois, in accordance with the orders which  
 the great emperor of the French had given to them. They promised to  
 be peaceful and to act only in accordance with my orders. I had the  
 ordinary presents given to them, and they went away very contented.



arrivée de M<sup>r</sup> Pitinan offer  
 anglois pour monter aux ilinois

M<sup>r</sup> Pittinant Ingenieur Anglois se  
 rendit ici de La Mobile Pour Passer  
 aux ilinois mais il arriva trop tard, le  
 convoi pour Ce Poste étoit Parti du 12 un dernier Batteau étoit Parti  
 depuis le 2, mais il auroit falû le retarder de 4 jours et on L'auroit mis  
 dans L'Impossibilité de rejoindre les autres,<sup>1</sup> d'ailleurs pour y faire  
 embarquer M<sup>r</sup> Pittinan 2 Domestiques et les Vivres necessaires pour  
 ces 3 personnes il auroit falû décharger le Batteau d'autant Outre La  
 Difficulté de cette operation elle auroit Eté Tres a charge au proprie-  
 taire.

.....

Juillet 1764

Arrivée de la garnison des ilinois

Le 2 M<sup>r</sup> De Neyon arriva des Ilinois  
 dont il Evacua le poste le 15 juin<sup>2</sup> a  
 la reserve de 40 hommes que j'avois pris a ce Sujet et il en a remis le

[Translation]

Arrival of Mr. Pittman, English  
 officer, for the purpose of as-  
 cending to the Illinois

Mr. Pittman, an English engineer,  
 came here from Mobile in order to pass  
 to the Illinois but he arrived too late.  
 The convoi for that post set out on the  
 twelfth. The last bateau set out on the twenty-second [?], but it  
 would have been necessary to delay it four days, and that would have  
 made it too late for it to join the others.<sup>1</sup> Besides, in order to embark  
 on it Mr. Pittman, two servants, and the necessary provisions for these  
 three persons, it would have been necessary to unload the bateau.  
 Moreover, beyond the difficulty of this operation, it would have been  
 very expensive to the proprietor.

.....

July, 1764

Arrival of the garrison from  
 the Illinois

On the second, M. de Villiers arrived  
 from the Illinois, which post he evacu-  
 ated June 15,<sup>2</sup> with the exception of  
 forty men, whom I have picked for this purpose; and he has delivered

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 265, 270.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, 271.

Commendement a M<sup>r</sup> De s<sup>t</sup> Ange le Convoy qui est dessendû étoit Composé de 21 Batt<sup>x</sup> 7 Pirogues ou estoient un [*blank in MS.*] 6 off<sup>rs</sup> 63 Soldats [*blank in MS.*] habitans qui ont voulû Se replier Sur les Possessions françoises.

Le 3 un Batt[eau] de La Balise signala  
 arrivée d'un Na<sup>re</sup> Espagnol de a la Pointe [*blank in MS.*] deux Bat-  
 Campeche teaux espagnols un venû de Campeche,  
 L'autre de L'havane, ici l'un n'y L'autre n'ont rien raporté de descisif  
 Sur Le sort de La Colonie, Leurs N<sup>lles</sup> vagues et incertaines ne disoient  
 rien cependant on on [*sic*] infere ici Sur leur raport que la Cession de  
 Cette Colonie a L'Espagne N'aura Pas Lieu.

#### Deputation des Chactas

Du 14 je reçûs une députation le matin  
 de 12 Chactas qui me temoignerent le  
 plus Sensible regret de ne plus voir les françois dans leurs Village  
 je les reçûs en Presence du s<sup>r</sup> Pitinan off<sup>r</sup> anglois Je mis tout  
 en Usage Pour les Tranquiliser les assurant que les anglois pour-

#### [Translation]

the command of it to M. de St. Ange. The convoy which descended was composed of twenty-one bateaux, seven pirogues, in which were a [*blank in MS.*] six officers, sixty-three soldiers, [*blank in MS.*] inhabitants who wished to seek refuge in the French possessions.

#### Arrival of the Spanish ship from Campeche

On the third a bateau from the  
 Balise signalled at the Pointe. [*Blank in MS.*] two Spanish bateaux, one of  
 which came from Campeche, the other from Havana. Neither of  
 them has reported anything decisive on the lot of the colony. Their  
 vague and uncertain accounts told nothing; nevertheless the inference  
 here, on the strength of their report, is that the cession of this colony  
 to Spain will not take place.

#### Deputation of the Choctaw

On the morning of the fourteenth, I  
 received a deputation of twelve Choc-  
 taw, who expressed to me the greatest regret at no longer seeing the  
 French in their villages. I received them in the presence of M.  
 Pittman, English officer. I did everything to tranquillize them and

voiroient a Leurs besoins leur donneroient aussi des marques de Leur amitié.

Députation des Tunicas que  
j'avois demandé

Le même Jour je reçûs une députation des Tunicas que J'avois demandé a La pointe Coupée, les chefs Peniquins, Latanache, Bride les Boeuf y étoient accompagnés de 30 Guerriers, voici ce que je Leur dis et Ce qu'ils me repondirent en presence de M<sup>r</sup> Pittinan off<sup>r</sup> anglois.

Mes Enfants

"J'ai dit a vôtre Pere M<sup>r</sup> De La mazeliere de vous envoyer ici, je vous aurois vû Plus tôt, mais vous avés Rougi La Terre, et mon Coeur a Seigné Parceque vous avés rejetté ma parolle, Pourquoi avés vous frapé Sur nos amis les anglois qui ne vous faisoient rien et qui alloient aux ilinois prendre Possessions des Terres que Le grand Empereur Leur a donné."

Perruquié a repondû. Mon Pere Les anglois ont toujours gâté les chemins dans toutes les nations ils leurs ont donné a boire des liqueurs qui les ont fait mourir, quand j'ai Sçû qu'ils venoient Sur nos

[Translation]

assured them that the English would provide for their needs and would also give them marks of their friendship.

Deputation of the Tunica which  
I had demanded

On the same day I received a deputation of the Tunica settled at Pointe Coupée which I had demanded. The chiefs Perruquier, Latanache, Bride le Boeuf were accompanied by thirty warriors. Here follows what I said to them and what they answered me in the presence of M. Pittman, English officer:

"My children: I told your father M. Desmazellieres, to send you here. I would have seen you sooner, but you have reddened the earth. My heart has bled because you have rejected my talk. Why have you struck at our friends, the English, who have done nothing to you, and are going to the Illinois to take possession of the territory which the great emperor has given them?"

Perruquier answered:

"My father: The English have always enjoyed the roads of all the nations; they have given them liquor to drink which has made them die; when I knew that they were coming to our lands, I said that

terres, j'ai dit ils nous feront mourir il Vaut mieux les tuer, je Sçais bien que tu L'avois deffendû, mais comme J'avois dans mon Coeur qu'ils nous feroient Esclaves je N'ai Pû M'Empecher de fraper sur Eux, s'ils avoient mis a terre avec leur garnison nous les aurions tous tués, mais ils ont fui et ils ont bien fait, enfin mon Pere je viens a Toy comme un enfant honteux, chatie moy Si tu veux, mais aye pitié de nous.<sup>1</sup>

Mes Enfants je vous Porte toujours dans mon Coeur, mais Si vous ne Suivés Pas mes Conseils et que vous rejetsiés ma parolle ne comptés plus Sur mes bienfaits, Je vous repete que L'intention du grand Empereur est que les chemins soient blancs Par toute la terre pour le bonheur des hommes Rouges et des Blancs. Peruquier, Puisque tû L'Ordonne mon pere nous resterons Tranquiles et les anglois peuvent venir, qu'ils ne soient Pas Ingrats et qu'ils nous donnent quelque chose.

Reponse. Je Suis bien aize de vous voir dans Ces dispositions vous soulagés mon Coeur mais il faut garder la parolle que vous me donnés, vous voyés Ce chef anglois c'est mon ami, Je lui Serre la main. les anglois vous en feront de même Partout ou ils vous rencontreront.

[*Translation*]

they will make us die and it is better to kill them. I know well that you had forbidden it; but as I thought in my heart that they would make us slaves, I could not prevent myself from striking at them. If they had touched land with their garrison, we should have killed them all, but they fled and they did well. Finally, my father, I come to you as a shamed child; chastise me if you will, but have pity upon us."<sup>1</sup>

"My children: I cherish you always in my heart, but if you do not follow my advice and if you reject my talk, count no longer upon my kindnesses. I repeat to you that it is the intention of the great emperor that all the roads be white throughout all the land for the welfare of the red men and the white."

Perruquier answered: "Since you order it, my father, we shall remain peaceful and the English can come. Let them not be ingrates, and let them give us something."

"I am very glad to see you in this disposition. You relieve my heart, but it is necessary for you to keep the talk which you give me. You see this English chief, he is my friend; I take his hand. The English will do the same to you everywhere where they meet you."

<sup>1</sup> Compare with *post*, 230, 236.



**Les Tonikas donnent la main au Chef anglois** Tous les Chefs Sauvages ont donné la main au s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan qui leur a Promis de la Part des anglois, les mêmes bontés et la même amitié que les françois.

Les Sauvages me chanterent Le Calumet et se retirerent.

Le 18 je fis faire un Present annuel aux Tonikas, et ils Partirent, M<sup>r</sup> Pittinant leur tint Parolle et avec du vin et de L'Eau de vie qu'il leur distribua il leur fit quelques galanteries en marchandises.

**Depart du s<sup>r</sup> Pitinant Pour la Mobile** Le s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan Persuadé des difficultés qu'il rencontreroit dans L'Execution de son voyage, d'aller Seul Par le fleuve aux ilinois Partit d'ici Le 19 Pour retourner a La Mobile.

**Nouvelle des Ilinois** Le 26 je reçûs des nouv<sup>les</sup> des ilinois,<sup>1</sup> on me marque L'arrivée du Convois parti d'ici Le 19 avril, et que les Sauvages sont toujours en grande

[Translation]

**The Tunica give their hand to the English chief** All the chiefs of the savages gave their hands to M. Pittman, who promised them on the part of the English the same gifts and the same friendship as the French. The savages chanted the calumet and withdrew.

On the eighteenth I had the annual present given to the Tunica and they departed. M. Pittman too had a talk with them; and with some wine and brandy which he distributed to them, he made them some presents of merchandise.

**Departure of M. Pittman for Mobile** M. Pittman having been persuaded of the difficulties which he would meet in the execution of his task in going alone by the river to the Illinois, set out from here on the nineteenth and returned to Mobile.

**News from the Illinois** On the twenty-sixth I received news from the Illinois.<sup>1</sup> I was informed of the arrival of the convoy that set out April 19, and that the savages are always in great excitement. All the nations have betaken them-

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 289.

fermentation, toutes les nations Sont rendües au dètroit dont elles font le siege, on ne sçait que par les Raports des sauvages la Prise du fort du Quesné.

.....

[aout, 1764]

**Retour a la N<sup>lle</sup> Orleans du S<sup>r</sup>  
Pittinan**

Le 12 Le s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan qui Etoit allé a La Mobile pour Consulter son command<sup>t</sup> Sur Son Entreprise de monter seul aux ilinois étant de Retour depuis quelques Jours vint me demander mes Conseils, Je lui repondis que je N'avois rien a ajouter a tout Ce que je lui avois dit et Ecrit ainsi qu'au Command<sup>t</sup> De la Mobile, que S'il Trouvoit quelqu'un qui voulut lui donner passage pour les ilinois qu'il en Profitat et que je me prêterais de tout ce qui Lui Seroit agreeable, Le s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan se Crut Par la autorisé a assembler ches [lui] Plusieurs Canadiens qui Se Disposoint a Monter aux Ilinois et a Leur faire un grand Discours sur L'objet de Son voyage,<sup>1</sup> il Donna

[*Translation*]

selves to Detroit, which they are besieging. It is only by the report of the savages that one knows about the capture of Fort Duquesne.

.....

August, 1764

**Return to New Orleans of M.  
Pittman**

The twelfth, M. Pittman, who went to Mobile to consult his commandant concerning his enterprise to ascend alone to the Illinois, returned some few days since and came to seek my advice. I told him that I had nothing to add to what I had told him and had written also to the commandant of Mobile, that if he found some one who wished to give him passage to the Illinois that he should profit by the opportunity, and that I should give him such assistance as would be agreeable to him. M. Pittman believed himself authorized by these words of mine to assemble at his house several Canadians who were preparing to ascend to the Illinois and to make a grand address to them on the purpose of his journey.<sup>1</sup> He even gave them a copy of this discourse, in order that the Canadians might make

<sup>1</sup>See *post*, 297.

même Par Ecrit ce discours, afin que les Canadiens lui fissent reponse, J'appris ces arrangemens Par le Public Le Lendemain et j'envoyé chercher le s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan a qui je témoignés combien j'étois surpris de Cette assemblée faite chés lui sans mon agrement est encore plus du Discours peu reflechi qu'il avoit tenu aux gens assemblés, leur donnant Pour Certain le bruit de La Cession de cette Colonie a L'Espagne, je dis au s<sup>r</sup> Pittinan tout ce que Son peu de reflexion me mit dans le Cas de lui dire, il me fit beaucoup dexcuse, massura des meilleures Intentions, il est facheux de parler dans une Langue dont on ne Connoit Pas la force des Termes. Les choses en Sont restées la.

**Arrivée du s<sup>r</sup> Campbelle son  
Projet Pour le debouchement de  
la Riviere d'Iberville**

Le s<sup>r</sup> Campbelle off<sup>r</sup> anglois, arrivé aussi ici depuis que Joon [?] a formé le Projet D'ouvrir le Bayou ou la Riviere d'Iberville pour Communiquer du fleuve au Lac Maurepas, il me demanda pour y Travailler de lui permettre de Rassembler quelques deserteurs anglois et même des françois de bonne Volonté, et de Trouver bon que les nommés Du planti et Brasillier qui Parroissoient avoir envie d'Entreprendre Cet

[Translation]

response to him. I learned of this arrangement the next day by public rumor and sought out M. Pittman to whom I told how greatly surprised I was at this assembly which met at his house without my consent, and still more at the thoughtless discourse which he had delivered to the assembled people, giving out as a certainty the rumor of the cession of this colony to Spain. I told M. Pittman his lack of deliberation made it necessary for me to speak to him. He made many excuses, assured me of the best intentions, and said it was troublesome to talk in a language of which one does not understand the force of the terms. The affair stopped there.

**Arrival of M. Campbell; his  
project for opening the river  
Iberville**

M. Campbell, English officer, has also been here since June[?]. He has formed a project of opening the bayou or river Iberville, in order to make connection from the river to the Lake Maurepas. In order to continue the work, he asked my permission to bring together some English deserters and some French volunteers and also to give my approval that certain men, Du Planti and Brassiliers, who appeared to be willing

Ouvrage le pussent faire Je donné mon agrement a toutes ces demandes d'autant plus Volontiers qu'elles n'ont rien de Contraire a Nos avantages, et qu'au Contraire nos Domiciliés y Trouveroient leur Compte Par l'argent que les anglois rependeront, cet off<sup>r</sup> doit Partir Pour aller [*sic*] ses entrepreneurs reconnoitre la Scituation du lieu, je ne Sçaurois encore rien dire de positif sur Cette Entreprise, les uns la regardent tres difficile les autres Tres aisée, mais il me Paroit que Personne ici aye une Connoissance bien Certaine de L'Etat de Cette Riviere.

.....

**Observation Sur la Crüe du fleuve**

et il S'est Constamment Soutenû dans Son plain Jusqu'au 20 de ce mois qu'il avoit même Pas diminué d'une Maniere bien Sensible.

**Expedition Pour les Illinois**

On a remarqué comme une chose très extraordinaire la Crüe du fleuve au dela de ce qu'elle a Coutume d'aller

Les Bateaux destinés Pour les Illinois expédiés Par differens particuliers par-

[*Translation*]

to undertake this work, be enabled to do it. I gave my consent to all these demands, the more willingly that there was nothing in them contrary to our advantage and, on the contrary, our citizens would receive their pay in cash, as the English pay. This officer is going to set out in order that his contractors can reconnoiter the situation of the place. I am not yet able to have a positive opinion on this enterprise. Some look upon it as very difficult, others as very easy; but it appears to me that no one here has a very certain knowledge of the conditions of this river.

.....

**Observation on the increase of the river**

It maintained itself at its level until the twentieth of this month, and even then it had not lowered in a manner very perceptible.

**Expedition for the Illinois**

The bateaux destined for the Illinois, sent by private parties, set out successively from here to reassemble at Pointe Coupée. I gave the



tirent Successivem[ent] d'ici pour Se rassembler tous a la pointe Coupée, Je donné Le Commendement de Ce Convoys au S<sup>r</sup> Dervis qui est monté aux illinois Pour ses affaires Particulieres, il Etoit composé de 7 Batteaux et d'une Pirogue et d'un Batteau destiné Pour les arkenças, il y avoit dans Ce Convoy 113 Personnes engagés ou passagers et 19 Negres, le dernier Batteau Expedié partit de la N<sup>lle</sup> Orleans le 24 de Ce mois.

.....

[septembre, 1764]

**Nouvelles du général gages** Le 5. je reçûs des nouvelles du general gage en reponse a L'Expedition de M<sup>r</sup> Loftus Sur le Mississipi, le général Se plaint Sur les raports qu'on lui a fait de la poudre que L'on donne aux Sauvages, mes deffences a Ce Sujet ont été reiterées et on S'est Conformé a mes ordres, mais les Traiteurs françois et anglois Portent malgré ces deffenses de la poudre aux Sauvages, Je ne crois cependant pas que les Sauvages en aient eu une aussi grande quantité que Le dit le general gage. il me Parle

[Translation]

command of this convoy to M. Dervis who has gone to the Illinois on account of his private business. It was composed of seven bateaux, one pirogue, and a bateau destined for the Arkansas. There were in this convoy one hundred and thirteen *engagés* or passengers, and nineteen Negroes. The last bateau sent set out from New Orleans on the twenty-fourth of this month.

.....

[September, 1764]

**News from General Gage** On the fifth, I received news from General Gage in regard to the expedition on the Mississippi of M. Loftus. The general complains concerning the reports that had been made to him about the powder that has been given to the savages. My prohibition in this matter has been repeated, and the people have obeyed my orders, but French and English traders, in spite of my prohibition in regard to powder, carry it to the savages. Moreover I do not believe that the savages have such a great quantity of it as General Gage says. He speaks to me

d'une Seconde Tentative Sur le Mississipy Je feray comme dans la p<sup>re</sup> tout ce qui dependra de moy sans répondre du Succés dont on ne Pourra bien augurer que Sur les nouvelles qu'on recevra des dispositions des Sauvages des Illinois.

**Nouvelles de france par la Voye de s<sup>t</sup> Domingue** Le 9 Par le Depart du Na<sup>re</sup> L'angelique Cap<sup>ne</sup> Ejarielle allant au Cap je rendois Compte au Ministre de Ce qui Ce passoit ici a L'occasion des Anglois, voyés ma Correspondance,<sup>1</sup> le même Jour par l'arrivée a Balise du Na<sup>re</sup> La Medée venant du Cap je reçûs des paquets du Ministre Contenant des ordres pour la Cession de cette Colonie aux Espagnols. on presumoit qu'ils devoient être arrivés et que je devois partir pour france dans le Courant de Ce mois les Ordres du Ministre Sont du 13 de May et C'est assurément mal Combiné et N'avoir Aucune Connoissance de la Navigation et du Local de Cette Colonie que de penser que les

[Translation]

of a second attempt by the Mississippi; and I shall do, as in the previous attempt, all that depends on me without being responsible for the success, concerning which one can foretell only from news about the disposition of the savages of the Illinois, which will be received.

**News of France via Santo Domingo**

On the ninth on the departure of the ship *L'Angelique*, Captain Ejarielle commanding, en route to the cape, I rendered an account to the minister of what had taken place here in regard to the English: see my correspondence.<sup>1</sup> On the same day by the arrival at the Balise of the ship *La Medée* coming from the cape, I received packets from the minister containing orders for the cession of this colony to Spain. It was presumed that they [*the Spanish*] ought to have arrived and that I ought to set out for France during the course of this month. The orders of the minister are dated May 13; and it is assuredly badly planned and shows no knowledge of navigation and the location of this colony to assume that if the Spaniards were to arrive according to this plan only on

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 308.

Espagnols n'ayant pû arriver Suivant Cette Datte que le 13 Aoust. j'us fait évacuer les Postes et je fus en Etat de partir en 7<sup>bre</sup>

.....  
**Nouvelles des Illinois**

Le 21 Je reçûs des nouvelles des illinois qui m'apprirent que le Convois du S<sup>r</sup> Lasouvraye y étoit arrivé tres hureusement.<sup>1</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> ange N'entre dans aucun détail.

il me marque Seulem<sup>t</sup> que les sauvages Temoignent toujours le plus grand éloignement toujours le plus grand éloignement [*sic*] pour les Sauvages [*sic*].

.....  
[octobre, 1764]

**Arrivée du s<sup>r</sup> Linde off<sup>r</sup> anglois pour une n<sup>lle</sup> Expedition pour les Illinois**

Le 10 une voiture des Illinois arriva ici les lettres que je reçûs ne me faisoient aucun détail sur ce qui Se passe relativement aux Sauvages et je ne reçûs de Lettres n'y de M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Ange n'y du s<sup>r</sup> Lefevre. Le 14 je reçûs une

[*Translation*]

August 13, I should have evacuated the post and be ready to depart by September.

.....  
**News from the Illinois**

On the twenty-first I received news from the Illinois which informed me that the convoy of M. de la Soudraye had arrived there very successfully.<sup>1</sup> M. de St. Ange does not enter into any detail; he only informs me that the savages show always the greatest estrangement from the English [?].

.....  
October, 1764

**Arrival of M. Lind, English officer, for a new expedition to the Illinois**

On the tenth, a boat from the Illinois arrived here. The letters which I received give no detailed information of what is taking place in regard to the savages. I received no letters either from M. de St. Ange or M. Lefebvre. On the fourteenth, I received a letter from the command-

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 292.

Lettre du commandant de La Mobile par le Cap<sup>ne</sup> Linde destiné  
a Suivre ici les dispositions du nouvelle Expéditions pour les Illinois.

.....  
un autre Batteau arrivé de la Mobile à amenné ici Les S<sup>rs</sup> Stuard,  
neveu de L'Intendant des Sauvages et Maclellan Lieutenant qui  
me Sont l'un et l'autre tres recommandés par M<sup>r</sup> Jonston, ils viennent  
ici pour S'informer de Ce qu'il Sera facile de faire pour le Succès de  
leur entreprise de monter aux Illinois. Je les ay acceuilli Comme  
je le devois et je leur donneray avec autant de plaisir que de Sincerité  
tous les Eclaircissemens et toutes les facilités qui dépendront de  
moy.

Decembre 1764

.....  
il m'arriva une députation de 33 chactas que J'avois envoyé  
chercher a la passe a christiane.

Le 11 je parlé au Chactas en presence du Ch<sup>r</sup> Linsay chef des cadre  
Britannique et de M<sup>r</sup> Stuard et Maclollan mes Parolles aux Sauvages

[Translation]

ant of Mobile by Captain Lind, who has been sent here to make  
arrangements for a new expedition to the Illinois.

.....  
Another bateau arrived here from Mobile and brought M. Stuart,  
a nephew of the superintendent of Indians and Lieutenant McClellan,  
who have both been recommended to me very cordially by M. John-  
stone. They come here in order to find out what will be best to do  
for the success of their undertaking, the ascent to the Illinois. I  
received them, as I was in duty bound to do, and shall give them with  
as much pleasure as sincerity all the enlightenment and assistance  
which may depend on me.

December, 1764

.....  
There arrived a deputation of thirty-three Choctaw whom I had  
sent for at Pass Christian.

On the eleventh, I spoke to the Choctaw in the presence of M. Lind-  
say, British commodore, and MM. Stuart and Maclellan. My talk  
to the savages tended only to recommend to them the peace and union



ne tendirent qu'a leur recommander [*sic*] la paix et union qui devoit reigner entre les hommes Rouges et Blancs, les Sauvages M'assurent de leur attachement pour les françois, ils firent amitiés aux officiers Anglois. et ils Se plaignoient amèrement a eux des mauvais Traittemens qu'ils éprouvoient des Traiteurs Anglois répendus ches eux, leurs Prenoiens leurs pelteries et leurs donnoient des Coups de Bâtons voloient leurs chevaux et debauchoiens leurs femmes, le S<sup>r</sup> Stuard particulièrement chargé de ce qui regarde les Sauvages leur promit de faire parvenir leur plaintes au grand chef anglois qui feroit chasser Ces Traiteurs de la nation et les feroit Punir, et leur dit a Ce Sujet tout Ce qui pouvoit les Tranquiliser, ils lui temoignerent leurs inquietudes Sur le retardement des presents que les Anglois leurs avoient promis, il leur répondit qu'on étoit toujours dans L'Intention de leur donner, que le grand Chef anglois devoit assembler les Nations a la Mobile au mois de fevrier prochain pour la distribution de ces presents et qu'ils Pouvoient y Compter, tout cela les Tranquilisa, un Consideré de la Troupe reprocha aux Anglois qu'il étoit informé par des Personnes qui disoient vray, qu'ils devoient empoisonner et détruire la

## [Translation]

that ought to reign between the red and white men. The savages assured me of their attachment to the French. They made friends with the British officers and complained bitterly to them of the bad treatment received from British traders sent among them. These took their peltries and gave them blows with their sticks; they stole their horses and debauched their wives. M. Stuart, who is particularly intrusted with all that concerns the Indians, promised to send their complaints to the great English chief, who would have these traders chased from the nation and have them punished; and he told them on this subject everything that could tranquillize them. They told him of their anxiety over the delay of the presents which the English had promised them. He answered them that the English always had the intention of giving them, that the great English chief was going to assemble the nations at Mobile in the month of February next in order to distribute these presents, and that they could count on it. All this quieted them. A beloved man in the group reproached the English, saying that he was informed by truthful persons that they were going to poison and destroy the Choctaw nation. I took up

Nation chactas je relevé Ce Propos et je temoigné a ce concideré combien j'avois de peine de voir qu'il parla ainsi devant moy quand il voyoit Lunion et la bonne amitié qui reignoit entre les chefs Anglois et françois, que C'étoit de mauvaise parolles qu'il auroit du rejeter cet homme par entêtement voulut Soutenir Ce qu'il avoit avencé il tint a ce Sujet beaucoup de propos les off<sup>rs</sup> Anglois ne parurent inquiets Cependant les marques D'amitiés Se Continuerent de la Part des Sauvages et des anglois les les [*sic*] premiers tres Satisfaits de tout ce qu'on leur avoit dit et Permis.

Le 14 Je fis un present au Parti chactas qui partit tres Comptant De moy. La veille je fis mettre en prison Le s<sup>r</sup> Caud Commis de Bureau pour mavoir manqué quoy que j'usse preuve en main de Ses malversations.

Le 15 je reçûs des nouvelles des illinois<sup>1</sup> ce que M<sup>r</sup> de St Ange me marque des dispositions des Sauvages et du Chef Pindiack n'est Nullement avantageux aux Anglois pour leur projet de Monter par le fleuve aux Illinois j'en fis part a M<sup>r</sup> stuard a M<sup>r</sup> jononh a Pensan-

[*Translation*]

this statement and told this beloved man how it pained me that he spoke in this way before me, when he saw the union and good feeling which reigned between the English and the French chiefs; that it was bad talk which he should reject. This man wished to maintain stubbornly what he had advanced, and said much to the purpose on this subject. The English officers did not appear to be anxious, however. The marks of friendship continued on the part of the savages and of the English. The former were very well satisfied with all that had been said and permitted to them.

On the fourteenth, I made a present to the party of Choctaw who departed very well pleased with me. In the evening I had M. Caud, the office clerk, put in prison for having failed me, although I had proof in hand of his embezzlement.

On the fifteenth, I received news from the Illinois.<sup>1</sup> What M. de St. Ange informs me of the disposition of the savages and of Chief Pontiac is in no way favorable to the English in their project to ascend the river to the Illinois. I sent word of this to M. Stuart and M. Johnstone at Pensacola and to the English officers who are still here.

<sup>1</sup> See *post*, 354.

cole et aux off<sup>ers</sup> Anglois qui étoient encore ici, le 17 ils partirent pour pensacole porteur de mes lettres avec le S<sup>r</sup> Lagauterois off<sup>er</sup> a qui j'ai donné mon agrem<sup>t</sup> pour Suivre leur exp<sup>on</sup>.

Le 20 les no<sup>lles</sup> de la Balise nous apprirent l'arrivée de plusieurs Batimens d'Europe et des Colonies françoises ils Sont Successivem<sup>t</sup> entrés dans le fleuve.

Le même Jour je parlé a Charlot Casqué, Consideré de la Nation des Chavouanons que M<sup>r</sup> de St Ange m'avoit annoncé voici Ce qu'il me dit<sup>1</sup> et Ce que le [*sic*] lui répondis en réponse de M<sup>rs</sup> Aubry grand maison Aubert, autres off<sup>ers</sup> de la garnison et Plusieurs habitans et Neg<sup>ts</sup> qui Se trouverent ches moy.

Discours du Sauvage chavanon, Charlot Casqué a M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie.

Je viens de bien Loin, le M<sup>e</sup> de la Vie [*blank in MS.*] que je me rendis Jusqu'ici et mon Coeur et Satisfait de le voir quoi que je Suis Sans Suite je n'en suis pas moins un Consideré de La Nation Chavanon député du grand chef pour te voir et te parler voila un Colier a cinq Branches qu'il m'a chargé de te remettre il Contient les noms de 47

[*Translation*]

On the seventeenth, they set out for Pensacola. The bearer of my letters goes with M. de la Gauterais, the officer to whom I have given my consent to accompany their expedition.

On the twentieth, news from the Balise informed us of the arrival of several vessels from Europe and the French colonies. They have successfully entered the river.

On the same day I spoke to Charlot Kaské, beloved man of the Shawnee nation, whom M. de St. Ange had announced to me.<sup>1</sup> Here is what he told me, and what I told him in reply [in the presence of] MM. Aubry, Grandmaison, Aubert, and other officers of the garrison, and several inhabitants and merchants who were present at my house.

Discourse of the Shawnee chief, Charlot Kaské, to M. Dabbadie:

"I come from very far away. The Master of Life [permits] that I come hither, and my heart is satisfied with seeing you. Although I am without a following, I am, nevertheless, a beloved man of the Shawnee nation, deputy of the great chief, sent to see you and to talk with you. Here is a belt of five branches which he has intrusted to me to give to you. It contains the names of forty-seven villages

<sup>1</sup>For a fuller account of this talk see *post*, 444.

villageois qui veulent mourir attachés aux françois en deffendant leur terre jusqu'a la d<sup>re</sup> goutte de leur Sang, ils esperent que tû les secoureras et ne les abandonneras jamais. je Suis venû ici autrefois tout le monde paroissoit gay et Contant aujourd'hui tout est Triste, je vois beaucoup de personnes que je ne Connois pas je Suis Triste moy même, Cependant puisque je Te vois mon Coeur et Contant et mes Yeux vont S'eclaircir je diray dans ma nation Comme je t'ay vû et comme tû m'as reçû.

[*Translation*]

that desire to die attached to the French, while defending their lands up to the last drop of their blood; they hope that you will succor them and will never abandon them. I appeared here once before, and all the world appeared good and happy; today all is sad. I see many people whom I do not know, and I am sad myself. However, since I see you, my heart is content, and my eyes are becoming clear. I will tell my nation I have seen you and how you have received me."



## CHAPTER V

MAJOR LOFTUS ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE ILLINOIS,  
DECEMBER 5, 1763 — APRIL 9, 1764

THE BRITISH ASK FOR CANNON — DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLINOIS — OFFICIAL CENSUS FIGURES — BRITISH DECIDE TO GO UP THE MISSISSIPPI — LETTERS FROM DE VILLIERS — LOFTUS' PREPARATIONS — GEORGE CROGHAN VISITS LONDON — ASSISTANCE BY THE FRENCH — THE INDIAN ATTACK — LOFTUS SENDS AN ACCOUNT TO GAGE.

ROBERTSON TO DABBADIE, December 5, 1763

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A43:397-399 — A.C.]

Traduction de la Lettre de M. le Colonel Robertson Commandant les Troupes de sa M<sup>te</sup> Britannique à la Louïsianne, á M. Dabbadie Directeur général y Commandant pour sa Majesté Très Chretienne.

MOBILE, ce 5. Decembre 1763.

.....  
à l'égard de la partie des ilinois, les Sauvages sont en armes, et les Forts qui sont dans cette partie, exposés à leurs insultes, et incapables de pouvoir se defendre sans Canon avec le peu de Troupes que j'y envoie.

Les Troupes qui sont venuës à la Louïsianne n'ont point amené d'artillerie avec elles, attendu que nous avons toujours entendu

[*Translation*]

Translation of the letter of Colonel Robertson, commanding the troops of his Britannic majesty at Louisiana, to M. Dabbadie, director general commanding there for his very Christian majesty.

MOBILE, December 5, 1763

.....  
In regard to the territory of the Illinois, the savages are in arms, and the forts which are in this country are exposed to their insults and are, without cannon, incapable of being defended with the few troops that I am sending there.

The troops which came to Louisiana have not brought any artillery with them, because we always understood that the cannon in

que le Canon qui étoit dans ces forts suffisoit pour leur défense, et qu'il étoit compris dans la cession.

Dans des circonstances pareilles j'ai tout lieu d'espérer qu'une personne telle que vous propre par son bon exemple et par ses manières à resserrer les noeuds de l'amitié entre les deux nations, aura égard aux justes demandes que je lui Fais.

Quand même le Sens du Traité paroîtroit douteux, je vous prie d'ordonner que le Canon qui est dans ces Parties ou dans les autres où on auroit pû l'enlever, soit rendu immédiatement.

Les circonstances des affaires dans ce Pais, et dans la saison où nous sommes me pressent également d'envoyer des garnisons dans les Postes placés sur le Mississipi, sans attendre aucune reponse décisive d'Angleterre ou de la Nouvelle York et je m'engage moi-même à renvoyer les Canons à la Nouvelle Orléans en bon état si la Cour d'Angleterre juge qu'ils ne sont point compris dans la cession faite par le Septième article du Traité définitif.

j'ai l'honneur &<sup>a</sup>

signé ROBERTSON

Pour Copie DABBADIE

[Endorsed:] 5 x<sup>bre</sup> 1763 N<sup>o</sup> 18

[Translation]

these forts were sufficient for their defense and were included in the cession.

In such circumstances I have every ground to hope that such a person as you will, by his good example and by directing his acts towards rebinding the knots of friendship between the two nations, have regard for the just demands which I am making.

Even if the sense of the treaty appears doubtful, I ask you to order that the cannon which are in these territories or in others where one may have removed them be given up immediately.

The condition of affairs in this country and the lateness of the season in which we are equally compel me to send garrisons to these posts situated on the Mississippi, without waiting any decisive answer from England or New York; and I pledge myself to return the cannon to New Orleans in good condition if the court of England judges that they are not included in the cession made by the seventh article of the definitive treaty.

I have the honor, etc.

True copy DABBADIE

signed ROBERTSON

[Endorsed:] December 5, 1763. No. 18.

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, January 10, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:21-33—L.S.]À LA N<sup>LE</sup> ORLÉANS le 10. janv<sup>er</sup> 1764.

MONSEIGNEUR,

.....

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint, Monseigneur, la traduction d'une Lettre en Forme de Mémoire que m'a écrite M. le Colonel Robertson en interpretation du septième article du Traité définitif, par laquelle il me représente que l'Artillerie et les munitions de guerre doivent etre comprises dans la cession des Postes que le Roi a faite à sa Majesté Britannique. vous verrés par ma reponse que je joins pareillement ici, les raisons que j'ai eues de ne pas interpreter comme lui le sens de cet article; et pour suivre les ordres que vous m'avés donnés, j'ai fait enlever du Poste de la Mobile toute l'Artillerie et les munitions de guerre qui y etoient mais je n'ai pû le faire dans les Postes de Tombekbé et des Alibamons par les difficultés du local, et par la nécessité de contenir les sauvages, tant pour les garnisons françoises que pour les garnisons angloises qui devoient les y remplacer, et j'ai cru devoir insister uniquement sur cette derniere raison dans ma re-

[Translation]

NEW ORLEANS, January 10, 1764

MY LORD:

.....

I have the honor to send you herewith, my lord, the translation of a letter in the form of a memorial which Colonel Robertson has written me, giving his interpretation of the seventh article of the definitive treaty, in which he represents that the artillery and munitions of war should be included in the cession of the posts which the king has made to his Britannic majesty. You will see by my answer, which I likewise join herewith, the reasons which I have had for not interpreting as he has the sense of this article; and in order to follow the orders which you have given me I have had removed from the post of Mobile all the artillery and munitions of war which were there; but I have not been able to do it in the posts of Tombigbee and of the Alibamu on account of the difficulties of the locality, and the necessity of controlling the savages both for the sake of the French garrisons and of the English garrisons which are to replace them; and I believed it my duty to insist only on this last reason in my reply to Colonel Robertson.

ponse au Colonel Robertson. A l'égard des Postes dépendans des Illinois, j'ai donné ordre lors de mon arrivée dans la Colonie d'en enlever toute l'artillerie; mais si j'en dois croire quelques personnes plus instruites que moi de la situation de ces Postes, cela ne sera praticable qu'avec beaucoup de peine, surtout dans les Forts Vincennes et Massiac; cependant pour me prêter aux circonstances où se trouvent les Anglois relativement à la guerre qu'ils ont avec les sauvages de cette partie du Continent, j'ai consenti qu'on laissât, si cela étoit absolument nécessaire à la sûreté de leur établissement, seulement six Pièces de Canon au Fort de Chartres, deux au Fort Vincennes, et deux au Fort Massiac sur les engagemens que le Colonel Robertson a pris de les faire remplacer à la Nouvelle Orléans s'il est décidé que l'artillerie ne doit pas faire partie de la cession des Forts.

j'avois, Monseigneur, vos ordres à suivre, et à concilier la bonne intelligence que vous m'avez recommandée pour l'avantage des deux nations voila le parti que j'ai jugé le plus conforme à vos intentions.

.....

[*Translation*]

At the time of my arrival in the colony, I gave orders in regard to the posts dependent on the Illinois that all the artillery be removed from them; but if I am to believe some persons better instructed than I am in regard to the situation of these posts, that would be practicable only with great difficulty, especially at forts Vincennes and Massac; in order to lend myself, however, to the circumstances in which the English are, relative to the war which they have with the savages of this part of the continent, I have consented, providing it be absolutely necessary for the safety of their establishment that there be left only six pieces of cannon at Fort de Chartres, two at Fort Vincennes, and two at Fort Massac upon the understanding which Colonel Robertson has made of having them replaced at New Orleans, if it is decided that the artillery ought not to form a part of the cession of these forts.

I have, my lord, your orders to follow and to use the good understanding, which you have recommended to me, for the advantage of the two nations; the above is the part that I have judged the most conformable to your intentions.

.....



je terminerai cette Lettre, Monseigneur, par quelques réflexions sur les Postes que nous abandonnons.

Suivant le dernier dénombrement des ilinois il doit y avoir 1400. habitans compris les femmes et les enfans;<sup>1</sup> la beauté de ce climat et la fertilité des terres le rendoient susceptible de toutes les productions, celle du bled qu'on y cultivoit avec succès étoit d'une très grande ressource pour la Colonie de la Louïssanne. La plus grande partie du Commerce des Pelleteries s'y faisoit avec le Canada, parcequ'elles sont sujettes à se gâter par les Chaleurs qu'on éprouve en descendant le Fleuve, cependant elles ne laissoient pas de faire un objet de Commerce à la Nouvelle Orléans; mais les établissemens des ilinois trop éloignés de cette Capitale ont occasionné des dépenses excessives au Roi, je crois même que quand on en auroit supprimé tout ce qu'il y avoit d'abusif, elles auroient toujours été considérables par les difficultés d'y faire parvenir des secours, il faut remonter le fleuve à force de Rames à plus de quatre cens Lieües. ce trajet est ordinairement de

[*Translation*]

I shall close this letter, my lord, with some reflections on the posts which we are abandoning.

According to the last census of the Illinois there are fourteen hundred inhabitants including women and children there;<sup>1</sup> the beauty of this climate and the fertility of the land render it capable of raising every kind of product; the corn which is cultivated successfully there is a very great resource for the colony of Louisiana. The greatest part of the commerce in peltries is carried on with Canada, because the peltries are subject to decay from the warmth experienced in descending the river; yet they are not failing as an object of commerce at New Orleans. But the too great distance of the settlements of the Illinois from the capital has occasioned excessive expenses to the king; I believe, even if there had been suppressed every abuse in the colony, that the expense would always have been considerable on account of the difficulties of sending assistance there; it is necessary to ascend the river for more than four hundred leagues by means

<sup>1</sup> Pittman estimates the population as "about 2000, of all ages and sexes." This estimate was made about 1766. (Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 102.) Hutchins estimates, in 1771, that the population of the region, including slaves, was about one thousand. Hutchins, *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina* (Hicks ed.), 100, 111.

trois mois, les hommes étoient excédés de fatigue, et les approvisionnemens très souvent gatés avant d'y parvenir. Ce Poste ne pouvoit subsister que par l'augmentation de la population qui l'auroit mis dans le cas de se suffire á lui-même en y etablissant des métiers.

De tous les etablissemens des ilinois il ne nous reste aujourd'hui par les conditions du Traité de paix que le Village de s<sup>te</sup> Geneviève sur la Rive droite du Fleuve, où il y a environ Cent personnes en tout.<sup>1</sup> Ce País seroit riche par les productions des Mines, et surtout celles de Plomb, placé à quinze lieües du Missouri il peut etre avantageux à la Colonie par le Commerce des Pelleteries qui sont belles et très abondantes; mais il faut l'abandonner entierement aux Traiteurs, il est trop éloigné de la Capitale pour qu'on puisse s'occuper d'y faire des etablissemens militaires.

Les sauvages des différens Postes des ilinois sont reduits aujourd'hui á un très petit nombre, la guerre et le Taffia les ont presque détruits; il y a plusieurs autres nations placées entre les ilinois et le Canada qui paroissent très attachées aux François; elles continuent

[*Translation*]

of oars. This voyage ordinarily takes three months, the men are worn out by their labor, and the provisions very often ruined before arriving there. This post could be maintained only by the increase of the population which would put it in the position of being self-supporting even to the extent of establishing handicrafts there.

Of all the Illinois establishments there remains to us today, by the conditions of the treaty of peace, only the village of Ste. Genevieve on the right bank of the river where there are about one hundred persons in all.<sup>1</sup> This country is rich in the production of mines, particularly that of lead; situated fifteen leagues from the Missouri River it can be made advantageous to the colony through the commerce in peltries which are beautiful and very abundant; but it is necessary to abandon the village entirely to the traders, since it is too far removed from the capital to attempt to maintain military establishments there.

The savages of the different posts of the Illinois are reduced today to a very small number; war and tafia have almost destroyed them. There are several other nations situated between the Illinois and Can-

<sup>1</sup> St. Louis was founded in the spring of this year.

une guerre cruelle contre les anglois, et leur donnent beaucoup d'inquiétudes. M. de Neyon m'a marqué que depuis les nouvelles de la paix il a fait tout ce qui a dépendu de lui pour les tranquiliser.

Les Natches distans de la Nouvelle Orléans de 100. Lieües, sont restés sans habitans depuis les événemens malheureux arrivés en 1729.<sup>1</sup> Tout le monde sçait quels avantages on auroit pû espérer de l'établissement de ce Pais, susceptible, comme celui des ilinois, de toutes les productions et principalement de celles de Tabac. Le Poste qu'on y avoit établi ne servoit que d'entrepôt pour les Convois qui montoient aux ilinois; par une suite de mauvaise administration et d'abus dans les dépenses du Roi, il a couté dans ces derniers tems des sommes très considérables. il y avoit aux environs de ce Fort, quelques sauvages, reste de la Nation des Offogoulas, qui se sont retirés sur les Possessions françaises.

Je ne chercherai point, Monseigneur, les raisons qui ont donné lieu á l'établissement de Tombékbé et des Alibamons, il a été question

[Translation]

ada which appear very attached to the French; they continue a cruel war against the English and give them much difficulty. M. de Villiers has told me that, since the news of the peace, he has done everything dependent on him to quiet them.

The Natchez, distant from New Orleans one hundred leagues, has remained without inhabitants since the unhappy events which happened in 1729.<sup>1</sup> Everybody knows what advantages could be expected from the settlement of this country capable, like that of the Illinois, of raising every kind of product and principally tobacco. The post which has been established there serves only as an *entrepôt* for the convoys ascending the Illinois. On account of bad administration and abuses in the expenditures for the king, the post has cost during the last years very considerable sums. There were in the environs of the fort some savages, remains of the tribe of Ofogoula, who have retired to the French possessions.

I shall not seek, my lord, for the reasons that have brought about the establishment of Tombigbee and the Alibamu. There has been a question at times of abandoning this first post; by everything that I

<sup>1</sup> The massacre of the garrison and villagers of Natchez on November 29, 1729, by the Natchez Indians.

autrefois d'abandonner ce premier Poste, par tout ce que j'ai vû jusqu'ici l'interêt des particuliers me paroît avoir plus de part à leur conservation que les vûes Politiques. Pour soutenir ces Postes situés au centre des nations sauvages Tchaktas et Alibamons, il a falu se les concilier, ils ont abusé de la nécessité qu'on avoit d'eux, et les Commandans des Postes ont ensuite pretexté toutes leurs demandes et les dépenses excessives qu'ils ont faites, sur les besoins des sauvages: des Traiteurs choisis et qui auroient été assujettis à des Reglemens de police entr'eux, auroient pourvû aux besoins des sauvages, et profité de l'avantage de la Traite; et par les Présens que le Roi faisoit on auroit formé et soutenu dans les nations des partis de guerre: mais des Forts établis chés elles que nous ne pouvions ni relever ni munir sans leur consentement, étoient autant d'Otages par lesquels ils nous mettoient à contribution.

il est cependant très essentiel, Monseigneur, à la sureté et à la tranquillité de nos Possessions de nous concilier les Sauvages, et on ne peut le faire que par des Présens. Les François par la douceur de leur caractere auront à cet égard vis-à-vis des indiens plus d'avantage

[*Translation*]

have seen up to the present time, the interest of individuals appears to have had more weight in preserving the post than political expediency. In order to maintain these posts situated in the midst of the savage tribes of the Choctaw and Alibamu, it was necessary to conciliate them; they abused the need which was felt for them, and the commandants of the posts have consequently given as a pretext for all their demands and excessive expenses the needs of the savages: some favored traders who should have been subjected to police rules among themselves have provided for the needs of the savages and profited by the advantage of the trade; and by the presents which the king made, there has been formed and maintained among the nations war parties: but forts established among them which we could neither relieve nor garrison without their consent were only hostages by means of which they placed us under contribution.

It is, however, very essential, my lord, for the safety and peace of our possessions to conciliate the savages, and this can be done only by presents; on account of the sweetness of their character the French will have in their relation to the Indians more advantage than the



que les anglois; à Dieu ne plaise que je voye les circonstances où on pourroit les faire valoir contr'eux, mais si elles se présentent, avec quelques secours de Troupes et de marchandises propres aux sauvages, on pourroit faire ici de très grandes entreprises.

je n'aurai rien á désirer, Monseigneur, si vous etes satisfait de tous les arrangemens que je viens de déterminer à la Mobile; ce Poste et ceux qui en dépendoient ont été évacués sans aucun événement facheux de la part des Sauvages; on n'auroit pas osé s'en flater; je les ai conciliés avec les Anglois qu'ils ne voyoient pas avec plaisir, mais ce n'a pas été sans peine et sans embarras. M. Aubry qui m'a accompagnés [*sic*] pendant mon séjour à la Mobile, les a partagés avec moi.

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonie N° 24. Evacuation de la Mobile et des Costes en dépendans

[*Translation*]

English; may it please God that I shall not see the conditions in which we can make the Indians of value against the English; but, if such are presented, we can undertake here some very important enterprises with some succor from the troops and with merchandise fitted for the savages.

I shall have nothing to desire, my lord, if you are satisfied with all the arrangements that I have just determined upon for Mobile; that post and those that depend upon it have been evacuated without any trouble from the savages; one would not have dared to flatter one's-self upon that. I have conciliated the natives with the English whom they did not look upon with pleasure, but this has been accomplished not without difficulty and embarrassment. M. Aubry who was with me during my sojourn at Mobile has shared these difficulties with me.

I am with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and obedient servant,

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colony No. 24. Evacuation of Mobile and the coast dependent thereon

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, January 15, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:133-136 — L.S.]

[*Ministerial notation.*] 15. Janv. 1764 a N<sup>o</sup> 25. M accaron  
MONSEIGNEUR,

Par le compte que Monsieur Dabbadie a l'honneur de vous rendre sur son voyage de la Mobile ou je l'ai accompagné, vous verrés toutes les difficultés et embarras qu'il a éprouvés de la part des anglois et sauvages par rapport á l'évacuation des Postes de Tombekbé et des alibamons. il a été heureusement dédommagé de ses peines par la satisfaction qu'il a eue de pouvoir Faire replier à la Nouvelle Orléans les garnisons de ces Postes, ainsi que les habitans des Alibamons sans le moindre accident. Cette operation étoit d'autant plus difficile qu'il étoit presque impossible de persuader aux Sauvages de cette partie les arrangemens que les Rois de France et d'angleterre ont pris pour regler les Limites de leurs Possessions, et qu'il étoit fort á craindre qu'étant accoutumés à nous depuis longtems, desesperés de nous perdre et enragés de voir l'anglois occuper notre place, ils ne se portassent á quelque parti violent. Tout s'est terminé selon le

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial notation.*] January 15, 1764. a No. 25. M. Accaron.  
MY LORD:

From the account which M. Dabbadie has the honor to render you concerning his journey from Mobile in which I accompanied him, you will learn all the difficulties and embarrassments which he has experienced on account of the English and savages in regard to the evacuation of the posts of Tombigbee and of the Alibamu. There has been, happily, compensation for his trouble through the satisfaction that he has had in being able to make the garrisons from these posts return to New Orleans, as well as the inhabitants of the Alibamu, without the least accident. This operation was much more difficult because it was almost impossible to persuade the savages of that territory concerning the arrangements which the kings of France and England have taken to regulate the limits of their possessions; and it was greatly to be feared that they would act in some violent way since they had been accustomed to us for a long time, were made desperate at losing us, and were enraged at seeing the English occupy our place. All has been terminated according to the desire of M.

desir de M. Dabbadie, et il seroit bien à souhaiter qu'il en pût etre de même pour le Poste des ilinois. Les anglois ne pouvant y penetrer par le Canada et le Fort du Quesne, attendu la cruelle guerre que les Sauvages de ce Continent leur Font, ont pris le parti d'y aller par le Mississipi au nombre que quatre Cens Cinquante hommes que nous attendons ici de jour en jour. il est fort à craindre que si les Sauvages des Pais d'en haut, persistent dans les mêmes sentimens á leur egard, ils ne leur fassent eprouver dans leur Chemin quelque grand echec; cinquante hommes déterminés etant capables d'en détruire trois cens qui monteroient le Fleuve; cela seroit d'autant plus malheureux que Monsieur Dabbadie a Fait l'impossible á la Mobile pour engager les Sauvages á les recevoir, et a ecrit á Monsieur de Neyon Commandant aux ilinois, d'en Faire de même dans cette partie; ce qu'il a parfaitement bien executé. Si malheureusement les Anglois etoient défaits en montant aux ilinois, ils seroient assés injustes pour nous l'imputer quoique nous n'ayions rien á nous reprocher. je ne m'etendrai pas, Monseigneur, davantage sur ce Sujet, attendu que Monsieur Dabbadie ayant Fait tout ce qui étoit en lui pour executer avec la plus grande

[*Translation*]

Dabbadie, and it is to be hoped that he can have the same success in regard to the posts of the Illinois. Since the English cannot reach it via Canada and Fort Duquesne on account of the cruel war which the savages of this continent are making upon them, they have decided to send via the Mississippi about four hundred and fifty men whom we are expecting daily. It is very much to be feared that if the savages of the upper country continue to harbor the same sentiments towards them, they will make the English experience some great misfortune on this route, for fifty determined men are capable of destroying three hundred who are going up the river. This would be much more unfortunate, since M. Dabbadie has accomplished the impossible at Mobile in persuading the savages to receive the English and has written M. de Villiers, commandant at the Illinois, to do the same thing in that country, a thing that he has extremely well accomplished. If unfortunately the English should be defeated while going up to the Illinois, they would be sufficiently unjust to charge us with acts concerning which we should have nothing to reproach ourselves. I will not enlarge, my lord, more upon this subject, seeing that M. Dabbadie

exactitude les articles du Traité de paix, et contribuer autant qu'il pouvoit au bonheur et á la tranquillité des deux nations a l'honneur de vous envoyer un détail circonstancié de tout ce qu'il a Fait pour cela, lequel ne laisse rien à desirer.

Je suis avec le plus grand respect, Monseigneur, Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur.

AUBRY

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS le 15. j<sup>er</sup> 1764.

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies

[*Translation*]

is taking every care to carry out with the greatest exactitude the articles of the treaty of peace and to contribute as much as he can to the welfare and the tranquillity of the two nations. He has the honor of sending you a detailed account of all that he has done in the case, which leaves nothing to be desired.

I am with the greatest respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, January 15, 1764

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies

# REPORT<sup>1</sup> FROM ROBERTSON, March 8, 1764

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 159 — C.]<sup>2</sup>

The Iberville being stop'd up by trees & rubbish so as to be unpassable even by Canoes, and the French Governor, having refused me leave to bring the troops destined to occupy the posts on the Mississippi from Lake Pontchartrain thro' N. Orleans to embark there.

I was under a necessity of transporting the 22<sup>d</sup> reg<sup>t</sup> to that place in Ships — and to provide boats there fit to row against the Stream to carry them to the places of their destination.

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this long report, endorsed, "Of Florida," treats of both East and West Florida, the soil, country, coast, forts, Indians, etc. On the twenty-second page it proceeds as above.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, I n. 1.



I bought or contracted for a sufficient number of these to be ready by the 15<sup>th</sup> of January.

The influence of Mons<sup>r</sup> Daubray, the Commandant of the troops, and the Judgement & Industry of Capt. Bayne of the Stag man of war, who both went with me from Mobile to assist in this Service enabled me to make better bargains than had been made for the French King, and the Security given leaves no doubt about the performances.

The acco<sup>t</sup> I afterwards rec<sup>d</sup> of the Cannons being in part at least withdrawn from the upper posts obliged me to send an Officer to N. Orleans to provide two more boats for the transportation of the Artillery necessary for these.

The season for going up begins about the 20<sup>th</sup> of January. The voyage to Illinois which lyes in the 40<sup>th</sup> degree of Latitude and is 500 leagues by water and 350 by land from N. Orleans, commonly employs three months.

The troops should set out from N. Orleans by the beginning of Feb<sup>r</sup> at farthest, they will then have the waters high, and get up with greater ease than when they are low, and as the Country is overflow'd they'll be less exposed to attacks from the enemy.

The boats being large & cover'd with tarpaulins, the Soldiers may generally pass the nights in their boats at anchor in the stream, and only encamp when they see advantagious ground on the West<sup>1</sup> Side of the river.

Major Loftus is furnish'd with many useful informations from Mons<sup>r</sup> Daubray,<sup>2</sup> who has perform'd this voyage with a body of troops under his command.

A good french Pilot attends M<sup>r</sup> Loftus, and a reduced french Officer who acted as an Engineer, built most of the posts and is perfectly acquainted with every considerable Indian, their interests, and with all the inhabitants of Illinois — has given me hopes that he will accompany & inform the Major of all he knows. L<sup>t</sup> Pittman attends him as an Engineer, this last has orders to make observations & take plans for your further information.

<sup>1</sup> It is written "west" but a pencil note in the margin reads: "Should it not be East?" The word "West" is copied from the French account of the journey, printed *ante*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, 168.

The posts and settlements which the French surrender on the east side of the Mississippi (besides Natchez which is taken notice of in the Acco<sup>t</sup> I give of the disposition of the Troops) are,

Thirteen leagues from the Mississippi on the left of the river Ohio is Fort Massiac, it is a stockade with four bastions & eight pieces of Cannon & can contain a hundred men.

Fort Vincenne, the last post belonging to Louisianne, is on the river Ouabach 60 leagues from where this river falls into the Ohio, & from their Junction to the Mississippi is 60 leagues — this is a little stockade in which there used to be about twenty soldiers, and a few inhabitants the ground is extremely fertile & produces Corn & Tobacco.

The Indians near this post are called Peanquichia, they have about Sixty warriors.

This post is too distant to be possess by us at present, hereafter it will be useful making a necessary part of the communication with Canada.

Thirty leagues from the mouth of the Ohio in going up the Mississippi, is the river Cascaquias, two leagues up this on the left hand side is the settlement of Cascaquia, the most considerable in the Illinois; on the other side of the river is a fort on a heighth which (the river being narrow) commands and protects the town.

Here are about four hundred french inhabitants, who will as well as all the rest of the Illinois become Brittish Subjects.

The Savages called Illinois live within half a league of the fort, these are about a hundred warriors, lazy and fond of liquor.

Six leagues from Cas on the banks of the Mississippi is Fort Chartris, this is built of Stone & can contain three hundred men, here the french had about twenty cannon.

There are about a hundred french inhabitants near Fort Chartris and some Indians called Metchis, who can furnish forty men.

Between the Cas & fort Chartris is a considerable village call'd la prairie du roche.

And Six leagues above the Fort is another with about 120 inhabit<sup>s</sup> The Savages near this last are about Sixty warriors.

The inhabitants of the Illinois have about four hundred negroe Servants.

The Country of Illinois is fertile produces plenty of wheat cattle

& provisions of all kinds. the European fruits succeed to a wonder, there are plenty of wild vines of which they make very tolerable wine. they make very good beer, they have plenty of Sugar from the Mapple tree, there are several very rich lead-mines & some Salt-pitts, they receive no supplies but afford many to N. Orleans.

These happy circumstances make it unnecessary to send more than four months provisions with the reg<sup>t</sup>, as they can be supply'd at less than four pence a ration at Illinois.

Indeed the boats c'd not have held a greater quantity nor could the number of men have rowed more boats.

A Dep: Commissary supplies the troops with these provisions at four pence a ration he is directed at the mens expence to keep up a stock equal to this which he is to take care of & serve out.

Tho' they pay for their provisions on the passage up, as their fatigues require and the practise in other parts of America in favor of those who work in the water justifies it, I have given them an allowance of a Jill of rum a day at the expence of the Crown during the voyage.

That I may not render this too general report more perplex'd, I shall do myself the honor, to give you particular reports of the provisions & Artillery, and of the things immediately wanted for the troops in Louisianne & Florida.

I can't end this without informing you, that by the precautions taken, the assistance of the Officers & the good disposition of the Soldiers the Order for the stoppage of four pence for a Soldiers provisions was received and is now executed, the mutinous Spirit that broke out in other places, was prevented from appearing or did not exist in Florida & Louisianne.

The Provisions of all species sent from New York, was intended to serve the troops to the 30<sup>th</sup> of August next, The ninth regim<sup>t</sup> is provided for to that time, but the 22<sup>d</sup> reg<sup>t</sup> taking with them no more than four months provisions, has left a greater proportion than was intended for the 34<sup>th</sup> & 35<sup>th</sup> reg<sup>ts</sup>.

Since the order for the stoppage for provisions the men being at liberty to draw any part of the ration they please made greater demands for flour than any other species. The future supplies should consist principally of this Article, as the troops provide themselves with fresh meat.

Disposition of His Majesty's ninth, twenty second, thirty fourth and thirty fifth regiments of foot. . . .<sup>1</sup>

The twenty second regiment consisting of 351 rank and file are order'd up the Mississippi and were about to embark on the first of January last from Mobile.

A Captain and Sixty men, are to releive the french garrison at Massiac,<sup>2</sup> 35 leagues up the Ohio, on the left side from the rivers mouth opposite to the Cherokee River.<sup>3</sup>

Such a detachment as Major Loftus shall find proper is to be left by him at Fort Caskaskias.

The remainder of the regiment is to be at Fort Chartris.

The possession of these posts in a great measure cuts off all communication between the french and Indian Nations living in the vast Countrys water'd by the rivers Ouabache, Ohio, and Illinois, and destroy all the hopes the last had of being succured or supply'd by the first.

The Indians finding themselves inclosed will be more intimidated by this motion & sooner reduced to reason, than if a much greater number was advancing against them from a country from whence they expected to be attack'd.

To strengthen this regiment I draughted into it all the men of the 3<sup>d</sup> battalion of the Royal American regiment, who I found at Pensacola, that were not entitled to their discharge, and as many of those who were, as could be perswaded to re-enlist. I directed eighteen of the first battalion, who had been taken prisoners by the Indians on the lakes, and are now resideing among the inhabitants of Illinois to join the 22<sup>d</sup> and I continued an order of General Kepple's to Capt. Thorn formerly in that regiment but now reduced to continue acting with the Corps, as almost all the Captains are absent.

The third battalion of R: Americans gave Arms to compleat those left serviceable in the 22<sup>d</sup> As the establishment.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The sections dealing with the Ninth Regiment which was stationed at St. Augustine, companies being distributed at Apalachee, Providence and Bermuda, have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Massac had been already abandoned by the French. The British never occupied it.

<sup>3</sup> Tennessee River.

<sup>4</sup> The remainder of the report is omitted since it treats of the Thirty-fourth Regiment which was stationed at Mobile and Pensacola.







[*Endorsed:*] Disposition of the 9<sup>th</sup>—22<sup>d</sup>—34<sup>th</sup> & 35<sup>th</sup> Regiments. State of Florida, Pensacola, Mobile &c<sup>a</sup> In Lt Col: Robertson's Letter to Major General Gage, of the 8<sup>th</sup> March 1764. (Copy sent to the Board of Trade the 20<sup>th</sup> April 1764.) Report referred to in Inclosure 3. Inclosure 4. Bundle A in N<sup>o</sup> 8.

CROGHAN<sup>1</sup> TO JOHNSON, March 10, 1764

[Johnson MSS., 8:202 — A.L.S.]

LONDON March 10<sup>th</sup> 1764

HON<sup>D</sup> SIR

after my ARivel hear Last Month I Wrote you<sup>2</sup> all the News then hear & Inclos<sup>d</sup> you two papers of Co<sup>ll</sup> Lees prefermance Respect-

<sup>1</sup> George Croghan came to Pennsylvania from Ireland in 1741, and entered the Indian trade. He was the first of Pennsylvania traders to penetrate the Northwest, and soon was regarded as having great influence among the Indians in that region, and was employed by Pennsylvania in her negotiations with the natives. He was repeatedly in the West, at Logstown and elsewhere, between the close of King George's War and the outbreak of the French and Indian War. In 1754, it was written that "Croghan and others had stores on the Lake Erie, all along the Ohio from Bar[?], and other store-houses on Lake Erie, all along the Miami River, and up and down that fine country watered by the Branches of the Miamis, Sioto, and Muskingham Rivers . . . an extent of 500 mile on one of the most beautiful rivers in the world, and they traded all along the River." By 1755 George Croghan and William Trent, with whom he was in partnership, were in financial difficulties, but were relieved from the pressure by the generosity of their creditors. Shortly after Sir William Johnson was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs, he made Croghan his deputy. The latter held this position for a number of years. In 1763 Croghan went to London to look after his own affairs, to represent Indian traders who had suffered losses by the outbreak of the Indian war, and also to represent Sir William Johnson who was attempting to free the Indian department from the supervision of the military. On his return to America, Croghan was sent to the Illinois to make peace with the Indians in that country. He was stopped by the natives before reaching his destination, but succeeded in making the peace which finally ended in the occupation of Fort de Chartres by Captain Stirling. The next year he was again sent by General Gage to treat with the Illinois Indians. On this journey he was accompanied by Harry Gordon, Ensign Thomas Hutchins, and George Morgan (for journals of this expedition see *post*, 2: 1, 23, 38). Upon his return Johnson and Croghan planned the colonization of the Illinois country, and a company was formed for that purpose, the documents of which are printed in this series. Croghan was a large speculator in Indian lands and, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, received from the Iroquois a large grant in Cherry Valley, New York. Previous to this he had purchased a large tract on the Allegheny River, four miles above Pittsburgh. At the outbreak of the Revolution he appears to have sided with the colonies, but later was subject to suspicion and, in 1778, he was declared a public enemy by Pennsylvania. He died at Passyunk in 1782. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2: 1-88; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1: 47 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This letter was dated February 24, 1764, and is found in Johnson MSS., 8: 169, a volume that was badly burned in the Albany fire. A correct and complete copy is possessed by the Illinois State Historical Library.

ing Ginerall Amherst whos Conduct in aMerrica is Much Condem<sup>d</sup> hear by Every Rank of pople with Respect to my Reception hear on my aRiveal and what M<sup>r</sup> Pownal Desier<sup>d</sup> me to Write you about y<sup>r</sup> Indian Deed att or Near the uper Mohock Castle I must Refer you to my first Leter.

tho I have been hear Now a Month Nothing has been Don Respecting North aMerrica — the pople hear Spend thire Time in Nothing butt abuseing one aNother & Striveing who Shall be in power with a view to Serve themselves & thire frends, and Neglect the publick itt was butt yesterday that your State of Indian affairs<sup>1</sup> was Read att the Board of Trade tho I Deliverd itt the 13<sup>th</sup> of Last Month Lord Halifax & Lord Hillsborrow<sup>2</sup> boath have Read itt and M<sup>r</sup> penn Tould me yesterday that Lord hallifax<sup>3</sup> aproves Much of Every thing you have Recommended, Lord Hallifax Talkt with Me about a boundrey with the Indians<sup>4</sup> and I Menshon<sup>d</sup> to him your Honours thoughts on itt, which we Talkt of before I Left Johnson Hall & there is a Talk of Setleing a Colony from the Mouth of the

<sup>1</sup> This is printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:572.

<sup>2</sup> Wills Hill, Viscount Hillsborough, is a typical politician of the era of George III, his characteristics fitting him more for performing the social duties of the court than administrating the functions of a public office; but his success in the former led to his rapid promotion in the service of the state. His first employment that brought him in touch with colonial affairs was in the autumn of 1763 when through the influence of Lord Halifax, he was made president of the board of trade. Thus it became his duty to formulate the policy that was to be followed towards the Indians and the fur trade. The important document on this subject printed later (*post*, 273) was largely the result of his labor. In January, 1768, Hillsborough was placed in charge of the new secretaryship for the colonies, a position he held until August, 1772. During this critical period he was largely responsible for the development of a reactionary colonial policy. He finally resigned because his colleagues insisted upon the establishment of a colony west of the Alleghenies. He died October 7, 1793. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> George Montague Dunk, Lord Halifax, became an important factor in politics under the patronage of the Duke of Bedford, through whose influence he was appointed president of the board of trade in 1748. He immediately set himself the task of re-establishing the power of that body which had become moribund. So efficiently did he work that the board of trade became one of the most important factors in the development of the colonies for the next twenty years. His energy in aiding the founding of Nova Scotia was such that its capital was named for him. As a minister he is best known as president of the board of trade. His administration of more important offices such as secretary of state with Lord Bute and, afterwards, George Grenville was not such as to add to his reputation. Halifax must be regarded, after the accession of George III, as a devoted follower of the king, from whom he received many favors. The best accounts of the activities of Halifax in the board of trade are to be found in Dickerson, *American Colonial Government, 1696-1765*. For his life consult *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of the boundary see *post*, general index.



ohio to the Ilonies which I am Tould Lord Hallifax will Desier My opinion of in a fwe [*sic*] Days<sup>1</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> pownal<sup>2</sup> Tould Me yesterday that I wold be Soon Sent for to attend the board of Trade what Meshurs they will Take the Lord knows butt Nothing is Talkt of Except oconemy I hope in About Ten Days to be able to aquaint you of the Meshurs which will be Taken for the futer in Indian affairs Lord hallifax is of opinion that you Should have a fund Subject to y<sup>r</sup> own Draffts for the Seport of y<sup>r</sup> Department Independent of the Commander in Cheeff. he is your Great Frend and he has Great Influence with the king att present Butt he has Nott So Good a Carrector with the publick as he formerly had, (Butt this I Blive is oweing to his being a Minister of State) I am Sick of London & wish To be back in a Merrica & Setle<sup>d</sup> on a Litle farm where I May forgett the Mockery of pomp & Greatness I See Governor pownal Several Times & Just before I Wrote you Last he Tould Me that he thought M<sup>r</sup> Harriss Made two free with your Conversation which I gave you a hint of in My Leter, which I am Now presweaded M<sup>r</sup> pownal had No Right to Say I find M<sup>r</sup> Harriss to be a very Senceable Man & one that Spakes of you with the Greatest Respect.

I find M<sup>r</sup> Pownal Cant Bear any body to pretend to know any thing in North aMerrica So well as himself & M<sup>r</sup> Harriss being aquainted with a Gentelman of the Board of Trade M<sup>r</sup> Pownal I Suppose Did Nott Like M<sup>r</sup> harrises Saying any thing to this Gentelman as himself is often Consulted by the Board his Brother Secetary pownal Seems to be a very Good kind of a Man and has a Much Beter

<sup>1</sup> This opinion was given by Croghan in June (see *post*, 261). The idea of founding a colony in the Illinois country seems to have arisen first in Great Britain, as this remark of Lord Halifax seems to prove. That the project was being discussed is also shown by the appearance of a pamphlet in Edinburgh in November, 1763, wherein the subject is discussed at considerable length. The full title of the pamphlet is: *The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies by Settling the Country adjoining the River Mississippi*.

<sup>2</sup> John Pownall was a son of William Pownall, bishop of Lincoln, and brother of Governor Thomas Pownall. He was made secretary of the board of trade by Lord Halifax in 1748, which position he held for twenty years. He then became under-secretary of state for the colonies, when that department of state was created. Undoubtedly Pownall was one of the most influential of the minor officials connected with the government, since his knowledge of American affairs was very broad. Some ministers, like Halifax and Hillsborough, relied very greatly upon his advice. Unlike his brother the governor, John Pownall believed in coercive measures towards the colonies. Pownall's hand is very evident in most of the papers concerning the colonies during the period; for it was he who generally wrote the first draft. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*, 77; Pownall, *Thomas Pownall*, *passim*.

Carrector then the Governor who is Counted won of the knowing ones.  
 Pray Make My Compliments Agreeable to M<sup>r</sup> Johny Cap<sup>t</sup> Clause &  
 Cap<sup>t</sup> Johnson & the Ladys and Blive Me with Greatt Esteem & Regard  
 your Honours Most Humble Servant GEO: CROGHAN

P S: itt is nott known yett who is to Comm<sup>d</sup> in aMerrica<sup>1</sup>  
 TO THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Barr<sup>t</sup>

[Endorsed:] London March 10<sup>th</sup> 1764 M<sup>r</sup> Croghans Letter

DE VILLIERS<sup>2</sup> TO DABBADIE, March 13, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:92 — A.C.]

Extrait d'une lettre de M. de Neyon Commandant aux ilinois à  
 M. Dabbadie, du 13 Mars 1764.

Sans etre privé de voir des sauvages, je n'en apprend pas davan-  
 tage de leurs nouvelles. ceux qui viennent ici sortent de leur hiverne-  
 ment, et ne viennent que pour faire raccomoder leurs armes, et  
 demander des secours.

j'ai actuellement ici une bande de Ouyatanons, et une de Péan-  
 guichias qui m'ont appris que les iroquois étoient plus animés que

[Translation]

Extract of a letter of M. de Villiers, commandant at the Illinois,  
 to M. Dabbadie, March 13, 1764.

Although I am not deprived of seeing the savages, I no longer  
 learn any news from them. Those who come here are on their way  
 from their winter quarters and come only to have their arms repaired  
 and to demand assistance.

I have now here a band of Ouiatanon and one of Piankashaw who  
 have informed me that the Iroquois were more hostile than ever, and

<sup>1</sup> General Amherst had been recalled in 1763 and no successor had been ap-  
 pointed, General Gage being only acting as commander in chief at this time.

<sup>2</sup> He was not a member of that De Villiers family which was so conspicuous in  
 the affairs of Canada. The Chevalier Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers, to give him  
 his full name, was born in Lorraine of a family more noble than rich. In 1735 he  
 was ensign in the regiment of Choiseul and rose rapidly in his profession. In 1749  
 he was sent to Louisiana and in 1755 was appointed major commandant at Fort de  
 Chartres. In 1759 he was made Chevalier de St. Louis. On his return to France  
 he continued to follow the military profession and became brigadier general in 1775.  
 He died in 1779. Abbé Amédée Gosselin, *Notes sur la famille Coulon de Villiers*, 21.

jamais, et desquels ils ont reçu un Colier noir et deux Chevelures anglaises qu'ils m'ont apportées, que je n'ai pas voulu accepter, et qu'ils ont laissées dans ma salle. quant à eux ils me paroissent disposés à ne faire aucun mouvement; mais il y a lieu de craindre que M<sup>rs</sup> les anglais usant avec ces indiens de leur hauteur et mépris ordinaires, ils ne trouvent encore bien des difficultés pour penetrer jusqu'ici joint à ce que l'hiver de cette année a été fort rude, et qu'il continue encore dans cette partie. cela donne lieu de croire que les Rivieres des Pais d'en haut ne sont pas encore navigables.

Pour Extrait DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joint à la lettre de M. Dabbadie du 29 Juin 1764.

[*Translation*]

from whom they have received a black belt and two English scalps which they brought me, but which I have not been willing to accept, and which they left in my hall. As to them, they appear to me disposed to make no other movement, but there is ground to fear that the English by using with these Indians their ordinary pride and contempt will find still many difficulties in penetrating as far as here. To this must be joined the fact that the winter, this year, has been very cold and so continues in this region. This gives reason for believing that the rivers of the upper country are not yet navigable.

True extract DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to the letter of M. Dabbadie of June 29, 1764

# LOFTUS ATTEMPTS TO ASCEND THE RIVER<sup>1</sup>

[A.N., C., F<sup>3</sup>25 : 211 — C.]

Depuis la cessation des hostilités, MM. de Kerléréc<sup>2</sup> et Dabbadie n'ont cessé de Faire porter des parôles aux Sauvages, pour les engager

[*Translation*]

After the cessation of hostilities, MM. de Kerléréc<sup>2</sup> and Dabbadie did not stop sending talks to the Indians to induce them to be peaceful

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 177, *post*, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Louis Billonart, Chevalier de Kerléréc, was governor of Louisiana from 1752 until his recall in 1764. He showed during his administration much integrity, but the accusations made against him by his enemies were believed by the French government and he was exiled in 1769. Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane française*; Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel*.

a être tranquilles et à recevoir les anglois qui alloient nous remplacer dans les possessions cedées à Sa M<sup>te</sup> B<sup>que</sup> par le traité de paix.

Ce changement de Gouvernement a été mal pris de la part des Sauvages qui Se rappellent les mauvais traitemens quils ont recus en différens tems de la part des anglois. Quelque chose qu'on ait pû Faire, rien n'apû arrêter le feu de la guerre du Nord qui a pénétré jusque chés les Nations voisines de la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans par les Coliers que les sauvages du Nord leur ont envoyés, enfin la conspiration paroît aujourd'hui générale et rien ne peut l'appaiser.

La guerre actuelle que les Anglois ont dans le Nord avec les différentes Nations Sauvages les ayant empêché de monter aux Illinois par le Canada, ils ont Formé le dessein d'y aller par le Missicipi; cet arrangement Fut concerté par M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie avec le Commandant anglois pendant son séjour à la Mobile, et il a fait tout ce qui a dependu de lui, pour leur procurer les moïens d'achepter des bateaux à la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans, de les munir, et de les approvisionner: il permit à un officier anglois de venir ici pour en suivre l'expédition. Les troupes angloises destinées à monter aux Illinois sont venu de la Mobile ici par la Balise.

[*Translation*]

and receive the English who were going to replace us in the possessions ceded to his Britannic majesty by the treaty of peace.

This change of government was received badly by the Indians, who recalled the ill treatment that they have received on different occasions from the English. Whatever might be done, nothing was able to stop the spark of war in the North which has penetrated as far as the nations around New Orleans by means of the belts which the Indians of the North have sent them. Now at last the conspiracy seems general, and nothing can appease it.

Since the present war which the English have in the North with the different Indian nations has prevented them from reaching Illinois by Canada, they have planned to go there by the Mississippi. This arrangement was agreed to by M. Dabbadie with the English commandant during his stay at Mobile, and the former did all that was within his power to procure for them the means of buying boats at New Orleans, and of furnishing and provisioning the same. He permitted an English officer to come here to expedite this work. The English troops, detailed to go to the Illinois, came from Mobile



M. Dabbadie leur permit de camper sur la Rive droite du fleuve un peu au dessus de la Ville, elles ont resté trois semaines occupées des dispositions de leur convoi. Quoiqu'elles y aient observé la discipline la plus exacte, cela n'a pas empêché qu'il ne soit déserté trente hommes. M. Dabbadie occupé de tout ce qui pouvoit interesser ce convoi, a prevenu tous les Commandants des Postes François situés sur le Missicpi du depart de ces troupes, les a engagés à leur donner tous les secours dont elles auroient bésoin, et à ne rien négliger pour tranquiliser les Sauvages. Pour éviter les différens qui auroient pû survenir de la part des habitans de la Côte, de fournir à ces troupes les vivres et les rafraichissemens qui leur seroient nécessaires, il a destiné le S. Baurand officier réformé, Interprète de la langue angloise, pour les accompagner jusqu'à la Pointe Coupée.

Le convoi composé de dix bateaux, deux Pirogues, quatre officiers, trois cens vingt soldats, trente Femmes et dix sept enfans, faisant en tout trois cents quatre vingt une personnes, partit de la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans le vingt sept de février sous les ordres de M. Loftus Command<sup>t</sup> les troupes de sa M<sup>te</sup> Britannique, et arriva à la Pointe Coupée sans aucun

[*Translation*]

by way of the Balise. M. Dabbadie permitted them to camp on the right bank of the river, a little above the city, where they remained three weeks busy with the arrangement of their convoy. Although they observed the most rigid discipline, that did not prevent thirty men from deserting. M. Dabbadie, interested in all that pertained to the convoy, warned all the commandants of the French posts located on the Mississippi of the departure of these troops, and ordered that all assistance of which they might have need be given; and he has also commanded the commandants that they neglect nothing to quiet the Indians. In order to avoid the misunderstandings which might arise on the part of the inhabitants on the river refusing to furnish the troops the provisions and supplies that they would need, he has sent with them to Pointe Coupée M. Baurans, an officer on half pay and an interpreter of English.

The convoy, composed of ten boats, two pirogues, four officers, three hundred and twenty soldiers, thirty women, and seventeen children, making three hundred and eighty-one persons, left New Orleans the twenty-seventh of February under the orders of M. Loftus,

événement le quinze de Mars. Ces Troupes ont été tenües avec une discipline très exacte et très Sévere; pendant ce trajet, néantmoins il en est déserté plus de cinquante hommes; ce qui fait quatre vingt déserteurs au moins, et sept Soldats qui sont morts, compris un au quel on a Fait casser la tête.

Un événement arrivé à la Pointe Coupée mérits de trouver place ici, parce qu'il Fera connoître l'esprit de despotisme anglois, et celui de M. Loftus: Nous avons dans la Colonie plusieurs Sauvages esclaves qui sont comme les Nègres sujets à être vendus; Un Sauvage de cette espèce appartenant à un habitant de la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans a quitté son maitre et a été joindre le Convoi anglois; M. Loftus a donné azile à cet homme qui s'est dit Sauvage libre; cet esclave qui a demeuré à la Pointe Coupée sous un autre maitre, à l'arrivée du convoi anglois, est allé au Fort François où il Fut reconnu de plusieurs personnes; on demanda au Commandant François de le faire arrêter; il en donna l'ordre et en prévint M. Loftus; mais cet officier, loin d'écouter les raisons qu'on lui donnoit, protesta contre le droit qu'on avoit d'arrêter cet esclave; disant qu'il étoit sauvage libre, Se porta jusqu'a vouloir l'en-

[*Translation*]

commandant of troops of his Britannic majesty, and without accident arrived at Pointe Coupée, the fifteenth of March. These troops were kept under a very severe and rigid discipline during this passage; nevertheless, more than fifty men deserted; which makes eighty deserters at least, and seven soldiers who died, including one whose head they had broken.

An event which took place at Pointe Coupée merits a place here, because it will show the despotic English spirit and that of M. Loftus. We have in the colony many Indian slaves who, like the Negroes, are subject to sale. An Indian of this kind belonging to an inhabitant of New Orleans had left his master and had joined the English convoy. M. Loftus gave shelter to that man, who called himself a free Indian. That slave, who had lived at Pointe Coupée under another master until the arrival of the English convoy, went to the French fort where he was recognized by many persons. The French commandant was asked to have him arrested. He gave the order and notified M. Loftus; but this officer, far from listening to the reasons that were given him, protested against the right to arrest that slave, saying that he

lever de force, et commanda pour cela un détachement de cinquante hommes. Le Commandant françois ne voulant point repousser la Force par la Force, relacha cet esclave. Le Commandant anglois va contre le droit des gens: il donne azile a une esclave fugitif, parcequ'il se dit libre, les représenta[ti]ons qu'on lui Fait sont inutiles, et il n'oppose à cela que sa volonté et la Force.

Le S<sup>r</sup> Baurand conduisit le Convoi anglois jusqu'au dessus des d<sup>res</sup> habitations de la Pointe Couppée; il le quitta là, et représenta au Command<sup>t</sup> anglois combien il étoit essentiel de se garder, crainte d'attaque de la part des Sauvages. Le convoi continua sa route, jusqu'à l'endroit qu'on appelle la Roche à Davion<sup>1</sup> distant de vingt quatre lieües de la pointe Couppée, et de quarante de la Riviere d'Iberville. Le 19. de Mars à neuf heures du matin les Sauvages placés à droit et à gauche Sur les Rives du fleuve tirèrent sur deux Pirogues de découverte qui marchaient en avant du Convoi, y tüèrent six hommes et en blessèrent Sept; dans l'instant ces voitures Se replierent

[*Translation*]

was a free Indian. He went so far as to want to take him by force and ordered for that purpose a detachment of fifty men. The French commandant, not wishing to repulse force by force, released the slave. The English commandant acts contrary to the laws of nations; he gives shelter to a fugitive slave because he calls himself free; the representations that are made to him are useless; he simply opposes that by his will and by force.

M. Baurans conducted the English convoy above the last habitations of Pointe Coupée where he left it; he told the English commandant how essential it was to be on his guard for fear of an attack by the Indians. The convoy continued its way to a place called the Roche à Davion,<sup>1</sup> twenty-four leagues from Pointe Coupée and forty from the Iberville River. The nineteenth of March, at nine o'clock in the morning, Indians, located on each bank of the river, fired on two unprotected pirogues which were in advance of the convoy, killing six men and wounding seven. These vessels at once fell back on the bateaux and, without replying to the Indians by a single gunshot, the

<sup>1</sup> Roche à Davion was situated just below the present site of Fort Adam's Landing, Wilkinson County, Mississippi. Here was stationed the mission of Father Antoine Davion which was abandoned in 1708. Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 10, 75 n.

sur les batteaux, et Sans répondre aux Sauvages d'un Seul coup de Fusil, ils se mirent en dérive pour revenir à la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans, où ils arrivèrent le 22. du même mois. Les premières nouvelles de la Pointe Coupée annoncèrent que ce Convoi avoit été attaqué par les arkanças, et les Tonikas;<sup>1</sup> mais par une lettre plus détaillée du Commandant françois dont on joint ici copie, ce sont les ofogoulas,<sup>2</sup> Tchactas, Avoyelles et Thoinkas au nombre de trente hommes. Ce nombre n'étoit pas assés considérable pour qu'on ne tentât pas de les repousser: quelques coups de pierriers et de fusils tirés sur les écors, en auroient imposé au Sauvages.

Nous avons plusieurs exemples de Convois françois qui ont essuïe de plus fortes attaques et qui ont monté malgré cela. Le convoi anglois n'étant qu'à dix huit lieües du fort des Natzchés, auroit pû y pénétrer et s'y établir. Les anglois auroient vû les Chefs sauvages et auroient Fait des partis; mais il auroit fallû pour

[Translation]

convoy began to return to New Orleans, where they arrived on the twenty-sixth of the same month. The first news from Pointe Coupée announced that the convoy had been attacked by the Quapaw and the Tunica,<sup>1</sup> but by a more detailed letter from the French commandant, of which a copy is inclosed, they were the Ofogoula,<sup>2</sup> Choctaw, Avoyelles and Tunica, to the number of thirty men. This number was not so large that one should not have attempted to repulse them. A few shots from swivel guns and small arms fired from the canoes would have overawed the Indians.

We have had many examples of French convoys which have suffered severer attacks and have gone on in spite of them. The English convoy, being only eighteen leagues from Natchez, should have gone there and established itself. The English should have seen the

<sup>1</sup> The Tunica form a distinct linguistic family, known as Tonikan, and dwelt at this time on the Mississippi north of Pointe Coupée. They were always most faithful to the French. *American Indians.*

<sup>2</sup> The Ofogoula lived at this time with the Tunica.

The Choctaw were one of the most important tribes in the lower Mississippi; their hunting grounds extended at their greatest extent as far east as Georgia. They belonged to the Muskogean stock and were always faithful to the French.

The Avoyelles were a small tribe of the Caldoan family, living at the mouth of the Red River, within what is now Avoyelles County, Louisiana. By the end of the eighteenth century the tribe was practically extinct.

The Thoinkas are the Tunica. *American Indians.*



cela plus de connoissance de leur gouvernement que n'en a le Commandant Loftus, et un caractere plus liant que le Sien; d'ailleurs S'il n'eut pas été possible de gagner les Natchés, on pouvoit dériver quelques lieües et mettre à terre au dessus de la Riviere d'Iberville sur les possessions angloises; alors on auroit pû dépêcher une voiture à M. Dabbadie, et il auroit tenté de nouveaux moyens pour détourner les Sauvages; plusieurs officiers avoient proposé ce d<sup>er</sup> parti à M. Loftus mais il n'a pas jugé à propos de le prendre.

A son retour ici le Commandant Loftus dépêcha à M. Dabbadie un officier pour lui apprendre ce facheux événement, il lui en témoigna toute sa Sensibilité et lui offrit tous les secours qui dépendoient de lui; mais cet officier au lieu de répondre à Ses procédés avec la reconnaissance qu'il en devoit avoir, a dit que M. Dabbadie étoit l'auteur de son désastre, que c'étoit par Son ordre que les Sauvages l'avoient attaqué et qu'il avoit vû le Chef des Tonikas qui étoit venu lui rendre compte de cette expédition. Jamais calomnie n'a été plus noire, ni plus atroce. On voit clairement tout ce que M. Dabbadie a fait pour engager les sauvages à être tranquiles, et le Commandant ang-

[*Translation*]

Indian chiefs and made some friendly parties, but Commandant Loftus would have needed for that purpose more knowledge of their government than he had, and also a character more pliant than his. Besides, if it were not possible to reach Natchez, one could have drifted down a few leagues and landed on the English possessions above the river Iberville; then one could have sent a boat to M. Dabbadie, and he would have tried new methods of warding off the Indians. Many officers proposed this last plan to M. Loftus, but he did not see fit to undertake it.

At his return here, Commandant Loftus sent an officer to M. Dabbadie to tell him of the unfortunate occurrence. The latter showed his sympathy and offered all the assistance dependent on him. But that officer, instead of replying to his proposals with a fitting appreciation, said that M. Dabbadie was the author of his misfortune, that it was by his orders that the Indians had made the attack, and that he had seen the chief of the Tunica who had come to tell him about the expedition. Never was there slander blacker or more atrocious. All that M. Dabbadie did to induce the Indians

lois cherche inutilement à Se justifier de Sa foiblesse et du peu de tête qu'il a eu dans cette occasion. Il partit d'ici avec les batteaux de Son convoi le vingt cing de Mars, et descendit à la Balize où un Brigantin anglois qui S'est trouvé dans le Fleuve, doit le transporter avec Sa garnison à la Mobile.

Extraits des lettres de M. Dabbadie aux différens Commandans des Postes François situés Sur le Mississipi.

A M. DESMAZELIERES à la P<sup>te</sup> Coupée du 4. J<sup>er</sup> 1764.

Comme les circonstances vont mettre les anglois dans le cas d'aller et venir Sur le fleuve, vous leur procurés à titre d'amitié les Secours dont ils pourront avoir besoin: ils les payeront aux habitans. Lorsque le convoi destiné pour les Illinois passera à la Pointe Coupée; vous représenterés au Commandant combien il est interessant qu'il contienne Sa troupe; car S'il y avoit à ce sujet la moindre negligence de Sa part, vous pourriez Faire tout ce qu'il conviendrait pour maintenir le bon ordre dans le Poste où vous commandés.

[*Translation*]

to be peaceful is clearly seen, and the English commandant seeks uselessly to justify himself for his weakness and the little judgment that he used on that occasion. He left here with the boats of his convoy the twenty-fifth of March, and went down to the Balise, where an English brigantine, which is on the river, is to carry him with his garrison to Mobile.

Extracts from M. Dabbadie's letters to various commandants of French posts situated on the Mississippi:

To M. DESMAZELIERES at Pointe Coupée, January 4, 1764: As circumstances will cause the English to be going and coming on the river, you will secure for them, by right of friendship, all the assistance they may need; they will pay the inhabitants for it. When the convoy sent to the Illinois shall reach Pointe Coupée, you will inform the commandant how important it is that he control his troops; but if in this matter there is the least negligence on his part, you will do all that may be necessary to maintain order at the post where you command.

A M. DE CABARET DE TREPI aux Arkansas du 25. J<sup>er</sup> 1764.

Je vous préviens de l'arrivée des anglois ici où ils se disposent à monter aux Illinois. Leur Convoi doit être de 8. ou 9. batteaux qui porteront 450. hom[m]es pour relever la garnison Française. Je vous recommande de leur procurer les Secours dont ils pourroient avoir besoin, Surtout de les avertir des entreprises des Sauvages dont vous pourriez avoir connoissance. Prévenez vos Sauvages que les Anglois sont actuellement nos amis, et que l'intention des grands Empereurs est que nous vivions en paix.

A M. DE NEYON aux Illinois du 30. J<sup>er</sup> 1764.

Je vois avec peine que la position où se trouvent les anglois vis à vis des Sauvages, ne leur permettra pas d'aller prendre possession des Postes des Illinois avec la tranquillité que nous désirons dans les circonstances présentes. Ce n'est point par le Détroit que vous devés vous attendre à être relevé, c'est d'ici où on fait des dispositions pour faire monter une garnison angloise de 450. hommes avec les approvisionnementns nécessaires. Vous avez Fait tout ce qui a dependu de vous pour tranquilliser les sauvages dans la partie du Continent

[*Translation*]

TO M. DE CABARET DE TREPI, at the Arkansas, January 25, 1764: I notify you of the arrival of the English here, where they are preparing to ascend to the Illinois. Their convoy is to be of eight or nine boats which will carry four hundred and fifty men to relieve the French garrison. I recommend that you procure them the assistance they may need, especially warning them of the activities of the Indians of which you may have knowledge. Warn your Indians that the English are now our friends and that the intention of the great emperors is that we live in peace.

TO M. DE VILLIERS, at the Illinois, January 30, 1764: I see with regret that the relation, in which the English are with the Indians, will not permit them to take possession of the posts of the Illinois with the tranquillity that we desire in the present circumstances. It is not by way of Detroit that you are to expect to be relieved, but from here where preparations are being made to send up an English garrison of four hundred and fifty men with the necessary equipment. You have done what you could to tranquillize the Indians in the part

où vous commandés; M. de Kerlerec et moi en avons Fait autant dans celle cy. Voilà, je crois, tout ce qu'on pouvoit faire. Je Sens tout vôtre embarras si le chef Pondiac exécute le projet qu'il a Formé de vous aller voir. Vous avés très bien fait de lui Faire connoître, l'impossibilité où vous etiés de lui fournir des munitions. Refusés vous toûjours aux demandes qu'il vous Fera à cet égard.

A M. DESMAZELLIERES à la Pointe Coupée du 20. f<sup>er</sup> 1764.

Je vous ai prévenu par ma lettre du 4. J<sup>er</sup> d<sup>er</sup> de la façon dont il convient que vous agissiés avec le Command<sup>t</sup> anglois et Sa garnison qui doivent monter d'ici aux Illinois: ils vont partir au premier jour. Comme il m'a parû nécessaire tant pour eux, que pour nos habitans qu'il y ait avec eux pendant leur route jusqu'à la Pointe Coupée, un françois de confiance, j'y ai destiné le S. Baurand Lieutenant réformé Interprète de la langue angloise.

Extrait de la lettre de M. Desmazellieres à M. Dabbadie du 14. Mars 1764.

On m'avoit dit que les Arkancas etoient avec les Tonikas, lorsque ceux cy ont Frappé Sur les Anglois, mais j'ai Scû que c'étoient des

[Translation]

of the continent where you command. M. de Kerlérec and I have done as much in this part. That, I believe, is all one could do.

I appreciate all your embarrassment, if Chief Pontiac carries out his intention of going to see you. You have done very well to inform him of the impossibility of furnishing him supplies, situated as you are. Always refuse the demands he makes of you in this matter.

To M. DESMAZELLIERES at Pointe Coupée, February 20, 1764: I have told you by my letter of January 4, last, the way you should act toward the English commandant and his garrison who are to go up from here to the Illinois. They are going to leave soon. Since it has seemed to me necessary, as much for them as for our subjects, that there should be a reliable Frenchman with them during their voyage to Pointe Coupée, I have detailed for that purpose M. Bau-rans, a lieutenant on half pay and an interpreter of English.

Extract from the letter of M. Desmazellieres to M. Dabbadie, March 14, 1764: I was told that the Quapaw were with the Tunica



offogoulas, Tchactas et avoyelles, et que le parti de ces quatre Nations n'étoit que de trente hommes.

Ces Sauvages Sont venu me voir chés moy hier, et j'ai fait aux nommés Perruquier, et Brideboeuf Chefs de ce parti les demandes cy après.

Demande,

Qu'est devenu la parôle que vous m'avés donnée de ne point Frapper sur les Anglois nos amis?

Réponse,

Nous trouves-tu coupable? Fais nous mettre aux fers, et envoie nous au grand Chef; nous verrons s'il nous Fera mourir.

Demande,

Ne m'avez vous pas promis de les laisser passer paisiblement faire leur route? pourquoi avés vous Frapé?

Reponse,

Les Terres qu'ils veulent avoir ne Sont-elles pas à nous, et ne sommes nous pas les maitres de les empêcher de s'y établir?

Demande,

Ne vous ai-je pas dit qu'ils n'alloient pas S'établir sur vos terres, qu'ils montoient aux Illinois?

{*Translation*}

when they attacked the English, but I have learned that they were the Ofogoula, Choctaw, and Avoyelles, and that the party of these four nations was only thirty men.

These Indians came to see me at my house yesterday, and I asked the chiefs of this party, called Perruquier and Bride le Boeuf, the following questions:

Question: "What has become of the promise you made me not to attack the English, our friends?"

Reply: "Do you find us guilty? Have us put in irons and send us to the great chief; we shall see if he will have us put to death."

Question: "Did you not promise me to let them pass peacefully on their journey? Why did you attack them?"

Reply: "Is not the land they wish to have ours, and are we not the owners to keep them from settling there?"

Question: "Did I not tell you that they were not going to establish themselves on your lands, but that they were going to the Illinois?"

Reponse,

Les terres des Illinois leur appartiennent-elles plus que les autres? les hommes rouges de cette partie ne les laisseront jamais passer: Les François nos frères ne nous ont jamais donné aucune maladie; mais les Anglois ne font que d'arriver, et ils ont fait mourir presque tous nos enfans par la picotte qu'ils ont apportée. Tiens, mon Pere, si nous les laissons s'établir sur le Fleuve, ils Feroient Forts sur forts et lors qu'ils Seroient établis, ils tueroient nos frères les françois, et nous empoisonneroient; Mon Pere, faches toy si tu veux, nôtre dessein est d'aller les attendre sur les Ecors blancs; et S'ils veulent révenir, nous aurons la gloire de les chasser encore.

Les Anglois ont tiré plusieurs coups de pierriers Sur le Village des Tonikas, en revenant à la N<sup>lle</sup> Orléans; ce qui a ranimé les Sauvages au point qu'ils se sont mis en foule dans leurs voitures, et à coups de Fusils ont pour suivi les Anglois jusques aux premières habitations; Sans perdre aucun homme. Voilà le détail qu'ils m'ont fait de cette affaire. [Endorsed:] Détail de ce qui s'est passé a la Louïsiann[e] a l'occasion de la prise de possession des Illinois que les Anglois ont

[Translation]

Reply: "Do the lands of the Illinois belong to them more than the others? The red men of that territory will never let them pass. The French, our brothers, have never given us any disease, but the English have scarcely arrived, and they have caused nearly all our children to die by the smallpox they have brought. Notice, father, if we were to let them settle on the river, they would build forts and forts; and as soon as they were established, they would kill our brothers, the French, and poison us. Father, become angry if you will; our plan is to go and await them on the Point aux Ecors; and if they wish to return, we shall have the glory of driving them away again."

The English fired several shots from swivel guns on the village of the Tunica, when returning to New Orleans, which so aroused the Indians to the point that they crowded in great numbers into boats and with gunshots pursued the English to the first habitations, without losing a single man. These are the details they gave me of this affair.

[Endorsed:] Details of what happened in Louisiana at the time of the occupation of the Illinois, which the English wished to

voulu tenter par le Missicipi. Joint a la lettre de M D'abbadie du 30 Mars 1764.

[Translation]

attempt by the Mississippi. Joined to M. Dabbadie's letter of March 30, 1764.

LOFTUS TO GAGE,<sup>1</sup> April 9, 1764

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 315 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major Loftus, Commanding His Majesty's 22<sup>d</sup> Regiment of Foot, to His Excellency Major General Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Gage, Dated at Pensacola, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1764.

I Beg leave to Inform you, that we left New Orleans the Twenty Seventh of February But I am Sorry to Acquaint You, We could not Proceed to Our Intended Destination at the Illinois;<sup>2</sup> The Savages having been Determined to Oppose Us, Posted themselves at an Advantageous place, Called the Roche D'Avion, on the East Side of the River, about Seventy Leagues from New Orleans, & at a Convenient Point on the West side; we had certain Intelligence several Days before, of our being Attacked at that Place, or near it; So that You may Imagine, we took all the Care we Could, both on Shore, & in our Boats. The only precaution we could take in the Boats, was keeping them One a head of the other, as Close as they Conveniently could, and to have their Arms ready beside them, while they Rowed; As we had not men Enough to Supply the Oars, it made it very Fatiguing to them; this was Occasioned by the great Desertion we had, & Death & Sickness; The Twentieth of

<sup>1</sup> General Thomas Gage was the second son of Thomas Gage, first Viscount Gage in the peerage of Ireland. At the age of twenty he entered the army and finally rose to the highest rank. His first appearance in America was with the unfortunate General Braddock. He served throughout the French and Indian War and, in 1763, succeeded Amherst as commander in chief in North America, a position which he held until 1774, when he was superseded by General Howe. General Gage is a very important man in the history of the West since he was the highest officer concerned with the administration of that territory, his subordinates at the various forts being forced to act in the capacity of civil governors as well as military commanders. Gage was not a man of strong personality although it is evident from his correspondence that he attempted to inform himself regarding the West. The impression one gains from reading his letters is that he was ready to trim his opinions in accordance with what he thought was the desire of the minister in charge of the colonies at the time. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> For a French account of this failure see *ante*, 227.

March, about Seven in the Morning, the two light Boats which I always Sent a head to look out, were attacked on the West side, all our Boats being on the Same Side, I had given Orders to the Boats in case any of them were Attacked, to Cross over to the other side; But these two Boats were Entirely Disabled the first Fire, for out of Fifteen men that was in both Boats, there was Six Killed and Four Wounded, so that they could not Cross over, but falling down the Stream to Us, we took them in tow, & Crossed over to the Other side; But finding the Savages were possessed of both Sides of the River, I Apprehended it was in Vain to proceed; for We could not See One of them, nor could we get on Shore, for the River was so high, that it Overflowed it's Banks, So that in many places the Trees were as thick in the River Fourteen or Twelve Yards from its Banks, as they were on the Land, besides, we Could not keep out of the reach of their Shot, the River not being Wide enough, & if it had, we could not Row against the Stream in the middle of it. I Therefore Ordered the Boats to Retire, & this was the Unanimous opinion of Every Officer with me; If the Savages had not fired on the first Boats, but have let them pass, & not attacked until our last Boat had come within their Party, they would have Killed one half of us, as by that means every Boat would have Received a fire, & we had not the least Cover, and were Obligated to keep as near the Shore as the Trees would allow us, to avoid the Strength of the Current; by a general fire they made on Seeing Us Retire, I Judged there could not be less, than Two Hundred<sup>1</sup> of them, which was Enough to Stop Two Thousand Men in open Boats; I Returned to New Orleans, where, I was in hopes of getting all our Boats & Stores, overLand to the Bayou, in the Lake Portchartrin, a thing Commonly done there, and I had agreed with a Merchant there to Carry them over; in which Case, we could have proceeded to Mobile where I Intended to go, without danger, or any further Expence; But M<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie the Governour would not Allow it; Indeed I did not Expect any great favor here; For while we Remained before Orleans, Several of the Savage Chiefs who had Attacked Us, made their Publick Entry into the Town; I was therefore Obligated to find Some other Way, & fortunately One of the Transports that brought us from Mobile, was in the River; I sent an Officer down to Stop her, & take her into the

<sup>1</sup> The French information was that there were only thirty. See *ante*, 230.



Service; and I went down the River to the Belire with all our Boats & Stores, and putting as many Men & Stores on Board the Vessel, as She could Carry, Proceeded to Pensacola, as the most likely place to get Assistance.

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter from Major Loftus Commanding His Majesty's 22<sup>d</sup> Regiment of Foot to His Excellency Major General Hon<sup>ble</sup> Thomas Gage, Dated at Pensacola; 9<sup>th</sup> April 1764 Giving an Account of their Repulse by the Indians on the Mississippi & their return to Pensacola. in Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's of 21<sup>st</sup> May 1764. Inclosure in N<sup>o</sup> 4 Bunde B

## CHAPTER VI

ACCOUNTS FROM THE ILLINOIS, APRIL 14, 1764—JUNE 29, 1764

GAGE REPORTS TO HALIFAX — DE VILLIERS SENDS NEWS OF PONTIAC —  
HE WARNS LOFTUS — GAGE ASKS ABOUT THE NAVIGATION OF THE  
OHIO — THE NEWS OF THE FAILURE OF LOFTUS REACHES THE  
EAST — CROGHAN TELLS THE LORDS OF TRADE ABOUT THE WEST  
— PROPOSAL TO PLANT A COLONY — PITTMAN'S MISSION.

GAGE TO HALIFAX, April 14, 1764<sup>1</sup>  
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 289 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK April 14<sup>th</sup> 1764.

MY LORD,

Since my letter to your Lordship of yesterday, a Vessel is arrived from New-Orleans, which has brought me a letter from Major Loftus of the 26<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> acquainting me that the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, under his Command did not arrive at New Orleans till the 12<sup>th</sup> of that Month, and that notwithstanding the Delays He had met with in his Voyage thither from Mobile, the Boats were not ready on his Arrival, to transport Him up the Mississippi: But applying to the Governor Mons<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie, for his Assistance; He very civilly ordered the French King's Carpenters to work on his Boats and He hoped to set out for the Illinois immediately. Mons<sup>r</sup> D'abadie gave Him a very bad Account of the Disposition of the Indians toward us; and assured Him, unless He carried Some Presents to distribute Amongst them, that He would not be able to get up the River. Mons<sup>r</sup> D'Abadie has taken the Opportunity of this Vessel to write to Colonel Robertson; in which he intended to inclose a Copy of a Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> Neyon, Commandant of Fort-Chartres at the Illinois, but by Some Accident the Inclosure was omitted. Mons<sup>r</sup> d'Abadies letter shews that it contained some particulars of the bad Intentions of the Savages; that

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:619.

Pondiac,<sup>1</sup> the famous Chief of the Detroit, had declared his Designs to recommence Hostilities, and had made a Demand of supplies of Ammunition from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Neyon. From a Paragraph of Mons<sup>r</sup> D'Abadie's Letter, there is Reason to Judge of Pondiac, not only as a Savage, possessed of the most refined Cunning and Treachery natural to the Indians, but as a Person of extraordinary Abilities. He says, that Pondiac keeps two Secretarys, one to write for Him, and the other to read the Letters He receives, and He manages them so, as to keep each of them ignorant, of what is transacted by the other. I propose to send Advice to Major Gladwin of Pondiac's Designs, that He may be upon his Guard, but I hope Mons<sup>r</sup> de Neyon has not given Him much Ammunition; He says that he had but a small Quantity in his Garrison. I am with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord Your Lordship's Most obedient, and most humble servant,  
THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE.

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HALIFAX.

[Endorsed:] New York April 14<sup>th</sup> 1764. Major General Gage. R May 16<sup>th</sup> Acquainting of the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> being at New Orleans to proceed up the Mississippi. Letter received from Mon<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie concerning the Indians & Pondiac. Bundle B N<sup>o</sup> 1

<sup>1</sup> Pontiac was an Ottawa chief born about 1720 probably in the valley of the Maumee River. He rose rapidly to prominence among the Ottawa and it is supposed that he led the Ottawa and Chippewa at the defeat of General Braddock. He first appears prominently at his meeting with Major Robert Rogers in 1760, when the latter was on his way to take possession of Detroit. At this conference Rogers persuaded Pontiac to make no opposition to the British occupation of the lake region. There were many causes for the Indian war associated with his name, which broke out in 1763; but the principal reason was the fear entertained by the Indians that the Americans would extend their settlements westward and in the course of time drive the Indians from their hunting-grounds. Unquestionably the French traders did everything in their power to foster this belief. The Indian confederacy that was formed to drive the British from the West seems to have been principally the work of Pontiac. Almost simultaneously the various detachments of British troops scattered in the small French forts were attacked, but the uprising was unsuccessful because the principal forts, those at Detroit and at Fort Pitt, were not captured. The British campaign of 1764 easily brought the war to a close and peace was made in 1765. *American Indians*, art., "Pontiac."

DE VILLIERS TO DABBADIE, April 20, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:92 — A.C.]

Copie d'une lettre de M. de Neyon á M. Dabbadie.

FORT DE CHARTRES ce 20. avril 1764.

MONS<sup>R</sup>,

J'ai l'honneur de vous rendre compte que le 14. du présent mois est arrivé le s<sup>r</sup> de volsey qui m'a remis les Paquets dont il étoit chargé, par lesquels vous m'apprenés le parti que M<sup>rs</sup> les Anglois ont pris de venir ici par la voye du fleuve. j'en étois prévenu deux jours auparavant par l'arrivée de Pondiak. Les occuppations qu'ils me donnent ne me laisse [*sic*] ni jour ni nuit, il a sçu dans une heure détruire dans l'esprit de nos domiciliés ce que je croyois leur avoir inculqué en huit mois.

Plusieurs pauvres habitans avant ces nouvelles se préparoient á descendre, mais la crainte qu'ils ont d'être arrêtés soit par les anglois, ou les sauvages, a fait qu'ils ont pris le parti d'attendre l'arrivée des premiers.

Suivant les nouvelles que j'ai reçues dernièrement du Detroit, les

[Translation]

Copy of a letter from M. de Villiers to M. Dabbadie

FORT DE CHARTRES, April 20, 1764

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that on the fourteenth of the present month there arrived M. de Volsey who has given me the packets with which he was intrusted, by which you inform me of the decision that the English have reached of coming here by way of the river. I was informed of this two days before by the arrival of Pontiac. The business which the Indians cause me leaves me in peace neither day nor night. He has succeeded in an hour in destroying in the hearts of our domestic Indians what I believed I had inculcated in eight months.

Before the arrival of this news, several poor inhabitants were preparing to descend the river, but the fear, that they have, of being stopped either by the English or the savages has brought it about that they have decided to await the arrival of the former.

According to the last news that I have received from Detroit,



anglais ont perdu 15. cens hommes au Portage de Niagara, 22. Berges sont peries d'un coup de vent à la Pointe au pain dans le Lac Errié; les anglois qui s'étoient sauvés du naufrage sont tombés entre les mains des sauvages qui les ont massacrés, et dans le nombre des morts il y avoit cinq Français.

je joins ici copie de la Lettre que j'écris à M. Loftus Commandant anglois. Pour lui faire parvenir j'ai été forcé de faire Commander un Caporal et deux soldats ne trouvant personne, pas même les chasseurs les plus déterminés, disposés à essuyer le même sort que plusieurs de leurs semblables ont subi comme vous voyés ci dessus.

je n'aurai point l'honneur de répondre aux différents articles de vos Lettres; je me bornerai simplement à vous assurer par celle ci que je ne negligeraï rien pour executer les ordres que vous me donnés au sujet de l'évacuation du Païs; en consequence de ce [*sic*] j'ai expédié des Courriers au S<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Ange, pour se replier ici.<sup>1</sup>

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> &<sup>a</sup>

Pour Copie. DABBADIE.

Signé NEYON DEVILLIERS.

[*Translation*]

the English have lost fifteen hundred men at the Niagara portage. Twenty-two barges were upset by a wind storm at Point au Pain on Lake Erie. The English who were saved from the ship wreck fell into the hands of the savages who massacred them. Among the dead were five Frenchmen.

I join herewith a copy of a letter which I wrote to M. Loftus, English commandant. In order to warn him, I have been forced to send a corporal and two soldiers since I did not find any person, even the boldest hunters, disposed to try the same fortune that several of their kind have experienced as you see above.

I shall not have the honor of answering the different articles of your letters. I shall limit myself simply to assuring you by this that I shall neglect nothing in the execution of the orders that you give me on the subject of the evacuation of the country. In consequence of it, I have sent couriers to M. de St. Ange to withdraw here.<sup>1</sup>

I have the honor, etc.

True copy DABBADIE

signed NEYON DE VILLIERS

<sup>1</sup> From Vincennes. See *ante*, 189.

DE VILLIERS TO LOFTUS, April 20, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44: 94 — A.C.]

Copie de la Lettre de M. de Neyon à M. Loftus Commandant anglois destiné pour les ilinois, du 20 avril 1764.

MONS<sup>R</sup>,

J'ai reçu celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en datte du 29. janvier, qui m'est parvenuë par le Convoi le 14. du présent, par laquelle vous me donnés avis du parti que vous prenés de venir prendre possession de cette partie par le Fleuve. j'en etois prévenu par le Chef Pondiak qui s'étoit rendu ici quelques jours auparavant.

M<sup>rs</sup> Dabbadie et Aubry vous ont informé, comme vous me le marqués, de la disposition des sauvages à vous rendre difficile votre prise de possession.

Je n'avois jamais regardé la conspiration comme générale, j'en exceptois seulement la nation ilinoise, laquelle j'avois disposée à vous recevoir, mais l'arrivée de Pondiak a détruit dans une nuit ce que j'avois fait en huit mois, et suivant les Comptes qu'on m'en a rendu ils me paroissent aussi acharnés à s'opposer à votre arrivée ici, que tous ceux du Continent le sont à n'y point souffrir d'anglais.

[*Translation*]

Copy of letter from M. de Villiers to M. Loftus, English commandant sent to the Illinois, April 20, 1764.

SIR:

I have received the letter which you did me the honor to write me under date of January 29 which has reached me by the convoy the fourteenth of the present, by which you inform me of the decision you have made to come by the river and take possession of this territory. I was informed of this by Chief Pontiac who came here some days before.

MM. Dabbadie and Aubry have informed you, as you tell me, of the disposition of the savages to render the taking possession difficult for you.

I had never looked upon the conspiracy as general; I excepted from it only the Illinois nation which I had persuaded to receive you; but the arrival of Pontiac has destroyed in one night what I had accomplished in eight months, and according to the accounts which have been rendered to me they appear as bitterly determined to oppose your arrival here as all the Indians of the continent are united in not suffering the English.

je vous expedie seulement une voiture avec deux soldats et un Caporal pour vous donner cet avis.

j'ai convoqué les habitans du Païs le 23 du présent, à une assemblée pour leur faire part de vos intentions. je ne negligerais rien de tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour les disposer à se rendre à votre demande, et vous donner cette première marque de leur obéissance.

je ne manquerai pas de vous faire part successivement de tout ce qui vous regardera qui viendra à ma connoissance, si il est possible.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> &<sup>a</sup>

signé NEYON DE VILLIERS.

Pour Copie. DABBADIE.

[*Translation*]

I send you only a boat with two soldiers and a corporal to give you this information.

I assembled the inhabitants of the country the twenty-third of the present month to inform them of your intentions. I shall not neglect anything of all that depends upon me to persuade them to submit to your demands and to give you this first mark of their obedience.

I shall not fail to inform you successively of everything coming to my knowledge which concerns you, if it is possible.

I have the honor, etc.

signed NEYON DE VILLIERS

True copy DABBADIE

DABBADIE TO FARMAR, May 16, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:80 — A.C.]

autre Lettre de M. Dabbadie à M. Farmar. Du 16 mai 1764.  
MONS<sup>R</sup>,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint une Lettre<sup>1</sup> que j'ai reçue il y a quelques jours des ilinois, pour M. Loftus; c'est une reponse

[*Translation*]

Another letter of M. Dabbadie to M. Farmar. May 16, 1764

SIR:

I have the honor of sending to you herewith a letter<sup>1</sup> that I received some days ago from the Illinois addressed to M. Loftus. It is an answer to the letter which he wrote, before his departure from New

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 244.

à celle qu'il avoit écrite avant son départ de la Nouvelle Orleans á M. de Neyon Commandant pour sa M. T. C. au Fort de chartres des ilinois. Cet officier marque á M. Loftus par un Exprés qu'il lui envoyoit, les difficultés qu'il auroit trouvées de la part des sauvages.

il avoit appris par le chef Pondiak avant l'arrivée du Bateau François, que les anglois devoient monter par le Fleuve. Ce chef s'est rendu aux ilinois où il a entraîné dans son parti les naturels de ce quartier lá que M. de Neyon avoit contenus jusqu' alors, et même engagés à vous recevoir.

Les nouvelles des ilinois nous apprennent que les sauvages continuent leurs hostilités avec la même Fureur. C'est avec peine, Monsieur, que je vous entretiens de ces détails dans des instans où nous ne devrions goûter que les douceurs de la paix qui nous unit; ce n'est pas la premiere Fois que j'ai l'honneur de vous le dire, et il n'y a que des mechans et des ames viles qui puissent me soupçonner de penser autrement.

je vous prie de vouloir m'accuser la reception de la Lettre que je vous envoie ci joint á l'adresse de M. Loftus.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> etc<sup>a</sup>

signé DABBADIE.

[*Translation*]

Orleans, to M. de Villiers, commandant for his most Christian majesty at Fort de Chartres at the Illinois. This officer informs M. Loftus, by an express which he sent to him, of the difficulties on the part of the savages which he had discovered.

Before the arrival of the French bateau he was informed by Chief Pontiac that the English were going to ascend by the river. This chief went to the Illinois where he drew to his party the natives of that quarter, whom M. de Villiers had restrained up till then and had even persuaded to receive you.

The news from the Illinois apprises us that the savages continue their hostilities with the same furor. It is with pain, sir, that I entertain you with these details at moments when we ought to be enjoying the sweets of the peace which unites us. It is not the first time that I have the honor to say it to you and they are only evil and vile souls who can suspect anything different.

I pray you to acknowledge the receipt of the letter addressed to M. Loftus which I am sending herewith.

I have the honor, etc.

signed DABBADIE



GAGE TO BOUQUET,<sup>1</sup> May 21, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 319 — A.L.S.]

NEW-YORK May 21<sup>st</sup> 1764

SIR,

Your Favor of the 5<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> from Carlisle has been received, and I have no objection to M<sup>r</sup> Burent's Succeeding to the Adjutancy of your Battalion; but as Gentlemen so often change their Minds, and repent after Commissions are Signed, I would first of all desire to have the Resignation under Lieu<sup>t</sup> Potts's Hand, and at the same to know, whether He would purchase, or Exchange his Half-Pay Lieutenancy for whole Pay. As you tell me, He is the Second in Rank of the Reduced Lieutenants, I would in Justice make Him this Offer; and at the same Time acquaint Him, that His Commission shall be dated next to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Carre's, which I have just made out, and dated before those of Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Prevôt and Hutchinson.

Colonel Reid has given me a Copy of the Acc<sup>ts</sup> made out at Carlisle, and I hope those agreed upon to have been just and equitable Demands, by all Parties, have been acquitted. I observe one Article is left open to the first of June, and another for Acc<sup>ts</sup> uncollected at Forts-Pitt & Cumberland, which it's supposed can't amount to less than £1000 is left to no determined Time. I must beg the Favor of you to get all this finally closed, for it is Time to Settle every thing with Mess<sup>rs</sup> Plumsted and Franks, with whom I will finish every thing at once, and leave nothing open; or allow any Article of the last Campaign to come into the Expences of this. The Pay-Master General has often represented to me that the Transactions with those Gentlemen have been left in a loose Way, for too long a Time, and is very uneasy to have his Warrant for the whole Disbursement, which I can not have made out, till every thing is finally closed.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Bouquet was a Swiss soldier of fortune who served under the flag of Holland and Sardinia before fate brought him into the British service in America. The occasion for this last change was the creation of the Royal American Regiment by act of parliament (29 Geo. II C. v). Fifty of the members of this regiment might be foreign Protestants but the enlisted men were to be raised chiefly from the German settlers in America. This act of parliament brought into the service of America two foreigners of great ability, Bouquet and Haldimand. Henry Bouquet's life in America is closely connected with the development of the West. He was second in command of the expedition that captured Fort Duquesne, and at the death of General Forbes assumed command. When the conspiracy of Pontiac broke out in 1763, Bouquet was sent by General Amherst to relieve Fort Pitt, and it was Bouquet's later brilliant victory over the Indians in Ohio that brought the war to a close. Fisher, "Brigadier-General Henry Bouquet," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 3:121 et seq.

I shall be obliged to you for any Intelligence you have been able to collect, which you can in any shape depend upon, about the Navigation of the Ohio, Particularly what you have learnt about the Depth of Water at the Rapids whether they can be passed up and down without the Necessity of making a Portage.

Major Loftus was attacked on the Mississippi, but received no great Damage; He is returned to Pensacola, but I hope after taking better Precautions, previous to his setting out, that He will be able to succeed better in a Second Attempt. I am, with great Regard Sir, Your Most obedient, humble Servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

COLONEL BOUQUET.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from General Gage May 21<sup>st</sup> Received 23<sup>d</sup> 1764 (entered).

GAGE TO HALIFAX, May 21, 1764

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 311 — A.L.S.]

NEW-YORK, May 21<sup>st</sup> 1764.

MY LORD

An Officer arrived here on the 18<sup>th</sup> Inst from Pensacola, having been detached from thence by Major Loftus of the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to inform me of his Return to that Place from the Mississippi, after having failed in his Attempt to proceed up to the Illinois, thro' the Determination of the Savages to oppose his Passage; and an actual Attack made upon his Boats, at a Pass called the Roche d'Avion. I refer your Lordship to the Copy of an Extract from Major Loftus's Letter, which I have the Honor to transmit you herewith, for the Relation He has given of this Affair.<sup>1</sup>

As the taking Possession of the Illinois must be again attempted, and as Address and proper Management will contribute as much to our Success in this Enterprize, as open Force, and much more to our Interest; I have taken the Opportunity of a Vessel just sailing for Mobile, to write to Major Loftus to get his Reg<sup>t</sup> in Readiness to move again up the Mississippi, and likewise to send Orders to Major Farmar, who commands at the Mobile, to take the Precautions which seem absolutely necessary, previous to every undertaking of this Nature, where a Country inhabited by barbarous Nations is to be explored, under every disadvantage and to Assemble the Chiefs of the Tribes,

<sup>1</sup> For other accounts of this attempt by Major Loftus see *ante*, 226, 237.

whom by flattering Speeches and Presents, He may gain over to our Interest, and obtain their free Consent to our passing up and down the Mississippi without Interruption. The Major will likewise as he shall find there is occasion for it, make use of Threats, and the Assistance of Some of the Chactaws and Chickesaws, who I am informed are ready to embrace our Quarrell, and by their Help may be able, if forced to it, to chastize some of the most obstinate Tribes, without bringing on a general War; which He will take every Precaution to avoid. But it is to be hoped, that by working properly upon their Interests and their Fears, that we may gain our Point, without further Trouble. When Major Farmar shall have taken the Measures previously necessary, He will immediately endeavor to push up a Detachment of the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to the Natchéz; a Post of Consequence to prevent the French from having an Intercourse with the numerous Nations on the East Side of the Mississippi, and to give us a Footing on that River which we now want, to become acquainted with Tribes to whom we are unknown; and be enabled to conciliate their Affections, and remove the Prejudices they have conceived against us. I have likewise given Directions for the clearing of the Ibberville,<sup>1</sup> which work, I should hope, was already begun, and that we may soon have another Communication with the Mississippi, without the Obligation of passing New-Orleans. Some Parts of that River have been visited, and it is Judged that it may be cleared with much less Labour than was at first imagined. In the mean Time Supplys will be provided here for the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> who must have nearly consumed their Stores; and Such Recruits as can be raised shall be sent them to replace the Men they have lost by Death and Desertion.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble Serv't,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HALIFAX

[Endorsed:] New York. May 21<sup>st</sup> 1764. Major General Gage. R July 2<sup>d</sup> Informing of the Difficulties in taking possession of the Illinois — Measures to be taken with the Indians — The Ibberville to be cleared. with an Inclosure Bundle B N<sup>o</sup> 4

<sup>1</sup> The subject of clearing the Iberville River so that it might be made navigable is constantly referred to in the letters of the period. A complete survey of the river was made and much work done, but the passage was never made practicable.

GAGE TO HALDIMAND,<sup>1</sup> May 27, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 22.662, f. 140 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK May 27<sup>th</sup> 1764.

SIR,

As I hear there is a Chance of catching the Canada Post at Albany, I take the Opportunity to thank you for your Letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> which I received this Day, with the Return of the Troops in your Government. Colonel Maunsell has sent me a List of the Officers of the 27<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>. I am sorry the reduced Officers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> do not purchase. Augustin Prevôt has bought in the first Battalion. The reduced Officers have all a Right to Lands, I suppose those of your late Battalion choose to have their Lands in Canada, as none of them have demanded them in this Province.

Major Loftus with the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> was attacked going up the Mississippi at the Roche d'Avion about Seventy Five Leagues from New-Orleans. He lost about six Men killed, & as many wounded. He could not force his Way, which was well known before He set out, and nobody took the Precaution to pave the Way with Presents, which the French have always done. No sure Communication can be had without following that Method; Small Partys will be constantly going up and down, and you can't be always in a Condition to force your Way.

The Assembly of Pensylvania seem at length disposed to grant an aid of Troops. I am with great Regard, Sir, Your Most Obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGECOL<sup>o</sup> HALDIMAND[Endorsed:] Ge<sup>l</sup> Gage du 27<sup>e</sup> May 64 le 26. Juin

<sup>1</sup> Sir Frederick Haldimand was a Swiss officer who joined the Sixty-second Royal Americans which was formed in 1756 for service in the French and Indian War. He distinguished himself in several campaigns and was present at the surrender of Montreal in 1760. In 1766 he was made general of the British forces in the southern colonies; and when General Gage was recalled to England, in 1773, to give information on conditions in the colonies, Haldimand became acting commander in chief. In 1778, he was appointed governor and commander in chief in Canada, a position which he held until the close of the Revolutionary War. Haldimand was very methodical in his methods and had the habit of preserving all papers that came into his hands. These records, bound in two hundred and thirty-two volumes, have been presented to the British Museum by his grand-nephew and are one of the best sources of information on colonial affairs during the period of Haldimand's active service. *Dictionary of National Biography*; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 8: 440 n., 461.



BOUQUET TO GAGE, May 27, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 323 — C.]

PHILADELPHIA 27<sup>th</sup> May 1764

SIR

I have the honor to acknowledge your Excellency's Letters<sup>1</sup> of the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>.

I acquaint Lieu<sup>t</sup> Potts with the favour you are pleased to grant him, to send his resignation for the Adjutantcy in behalfe of M<sup>r</sup> Burent, and giving him the offer of a purchase, with his Rank in the Batt<sup>n</sup> next to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Carre.

By the three Exchanges already made Lieu<sup>t</sup> Blane can now be spared, and with your leave proposes to go home. The difference from half pay to full is due to him from the 24<sup>th</sup> of Febr<sup>y</sup> last to the 24<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> for which I beg you will grant him a Warrant, and Certificate to draw his half pay at home.

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gallot I find has contracted Debts to the amount of upwards of £100 therefore I request, that the exchange money be not paid him till those Debts are discharged.

It is certainly not for want of pressing the Contractors that their Accompts against the Crown have been kept open so long, But I shall take Care at M<sup>r</sup> Plumsteads Return from Carlisle (where he is gone to pay the Money due on the first of June, for Acc<sup>ts</sup> settled by the Commissioners) to have the whole Acc<sup>ts</sup> of last Campaign finally Closed and transmitted to you, that a Warrant may Issue to the Pay master General.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Ourry will lay before you the actual State of those Acc<sup>ts</sup>.

To prevent the delays I experienced last year, I have required that one of the Contractors Should reside for the ensuing Campaign in Cumberland County, to receive and execute the orders he would receive for provisions, and Carriages for the Troops, or that they do appoint a proper Person to transact their Business on that Frontier, fully authorized to act imediatly without waiting for further orders or Instructions from them.

Doctor Mallot will send a list of the Hospital stores he will want.

As the Provincials will have Troops to raise it would not be worth while to recruit for the Regulars as the People will prefer the Provincial Pay but as we have a large number of our Deserters in the

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 247.

County, and no doubt several of them in the Provincial Troops, If you thought proper to empower me to offer their Pardon to such as would imediatly return to their Colours That might perhaps procure us some of our old Soldiers who for actual service are worth three times their number of Recruits.

We have only twenty three Batteaus at Fort Pitt built before this War by order of Sir Jeffry Amherst to embark 400 Men, which he destined to take possession of the French Forts ceded to Great Britain on the Ohio, Wabache, and the Mississipy.

They are 34 feet long and hold about twenty Men each and fifteen Barrells of Provisions.

That is not the third part of what would be necessary for the Expedition down the River, unless the Men, and some necessary empty Horses could have marched along the Shore, which is allways difficult on account of the high Hills, and Swamps, but from what I hear is impracticable in Summer, when the Weeds are high. I cannot give you a Satisfactory Information of the Navigation of the Ohio below Fort Pitt. The Acc<sup>ts</sup> I could collect from the Traders and the French being very imperfect, partly founded upon hearsay, and often contradictory concerning the Falls, or Rapids.

In general it seems that from the midle of March to the beginning of July, and ocasionaly in Summer and the Fall, in case of great Rains, the Navigation is good up and down, and without Portage.

That when the Waters are low a Portage becomes necessary at the Rapids to go against the Stream.

The River is full of Islands and Banks, very troublesome unless the Water is high.

We are well acquainted with the River above the Fort as far as Venango and Le Boeuf, and have found by Constant experience that there is no going against the Stream unless the Water is middling high and occasions thereby an Eddy which facilitates the Passage of Batteaux along the Shore.

The difficulty of navigating all those Rivers against Stream appear to me almost insurmountable if the Savages will oppose you.

Major Loftus's repuls has many bad Consequences any trifling success swells the pride of the Enemy and that attak, proves clearly that the Delawars & Shawanese have prevailed with the Illinois & Mississipy Indians to join them, and together they will make it equally

difficult to take possession of our new Forts in Louisiana and to support them during a War.

It appears plainly that the Savages have bought Powder at the French Villages near Fort charters, and that they will continue to supply them in hopes to keep us out of that Country and exclude us from their extensive trade.

As from your Inquiries concerning the navigation of the Ohio, I presume you would compare both Communications to the Illinois, and in case you should determine for this you would want more Batteaux I have enquired into the expence, and enclose you an estimate for 40 upon which less or more may be built.

each Batteau would come to near £50 this Curr<sup>y</sup> a monstrous price.

To that must be added the Land Carriage to Fort Pitt for the Provisions, Baggage of Troops &c.<sup>1</sup>

The Bill is not yet passed but will I hope in very few Days

I have the honor to be &c

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL GAGE

[Endorsed:] Copy of a Letter to General Gage the 27<sup>th</sup> May 1764  
(entered)

GAGE TO BOUQUET, June 5, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 329 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK June 5<sup>th</sup> 1764

SIR,

I have received both your Letters of the 27<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> of May, what you have desired in Favor of Lieu<sup>t</sup> Blane shall be done, and I must beg of you, if there are any more Officers on Half-Pay, that are serving with you, they may be ordered away. I hear that Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gallot has discharged some of his Debts, and that the rest will likewise be paid off.

The Acc<sup>ts</sup> with the Contractors can not be finished too soon, those of Cap<sup>t</sup> Ourry will occasion Trouble, as they contain Articles which belong to all Departments, mixed together. And with which, as A:D:Q:M:G: he could have no Concern whatever.

The Stores demanded by Doctor Mallet will be sent to him except such as must be provided afresh, with which He must supply Himself.

<sup>1</sup> For cost of the land carriage see general index.

I have ordered the Camp Equipage and 500 stand of Arms to be forwarded to Philadelphia immediately. The Arms may lie in Store there, to be used as you shall find occasion.

What you propose, to bring in your Deserters, may have a very good Effect, and your old Soldiers will doubtless be preferable to Recruits.

I am obliged to you for the Acc<sup>t</sup> you sent me of the Navigation of the Ohio, which agrees with some Acc<sup>ts</sup> I had before received.

It's plain that the Delawares & Shawnese have got supplies from the Illinois, and that they have no Doubt endeavored to stirr up those Savages against us. The Indians who attacked Major Loftus, are far down the Mississipi, and I believe have no Connection with them. The French will under Hand give us all the Trouble they can, and endeavor to keep us from the Illinois in order to keep the Trade in their own Hands.

The Calculation you send me, of the Price of a Batteau, comes very high. The Communication from Fort Pitt to the Illinois is I believe, the most costly, tho' the shortest.

The Intelligence you have sent me of the Murders lately committed on the Heads of the Swetard must probably have been done by some of the Susquehanna Indians, lately drove from the Cayuga Branch.

I now come to your Favor of the 31<sup>st</sup> May; by which I perceive the Bill so long depending, has obtained the Governor's assent. The Time required to put the Troops in Motion, will I fear, take up some weeks, which could be better employed.

Of the two Methods you propose for annoying the Enemy, that of Marching to the lower Shawnese Town, is, as you observe putting all to the Hazard, as you would leave all the rest of the Enemies Villages in your Rear. That of annoying Them by sending Partys from a Camp near Fort Pitt, is seemingly at too great a Distance, and the Parties having so far to return may run too great a Risk as the Enemy, we have heard, intend to keep in Bodys. If you can move towards them, and support yourself near them, your Parties will be able to harass them to Much greater Advantage, and your approach will probably oblige them, to leave some of their Habitations entirely exposed. And seeing you in Motion towards their Country will naturally make them fear for all their Settlements, and incline them to



sue for Peace. Col<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet should, if possible, co'operate with you, and it's to be lamented, that you are not in the same forwardness, as He now is. As there can not be any Intercourse betwixt you so far, as to correspond, and regulate your Motions with each other, all that could be settled would be to Fix a Time. If you could form any Judgement of the Time you would be in Motion from Pittsburgh, He might be acquainted with it, and endeavor to act with you, His Orders are to go as far as Michillimakinak and reestablish that Post. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson is at too great a Distance to Send to Him, for Proposals of Peace, in that Case, the affair of Peace must be managed by yourself, further than the Conclusion of it formally settled by Him. This you might Manage by the Savages with your Army; and we must be aware of Deceit. I have forwarded your Letter to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, and should be glad to hear from you, on what I have Said.

I inclose you Haverstick's Acc<sup>t</sup> and should be glad you would Settle what should be allowed Him, agreeable to what has been practised, and in Proportion to what has been allowed the Pack-Horses in the like Circumstances.

The Packet is just come in, and I transmit you a Paragraph of a Letter from the Secretary of War. You will be pleased to send me the Date of the Reduction, of your Batt<sup>n</sup> The Names of the Officers who were reduced, and of those who stood, Those who were reduced & served have received the Difference of whole & Half-Pay here, so the Date of the Reduction will make no Difference, you will observe it is supposed at Home that your Battalion was not reduced to the New Establishment, because you returned it agreeable to the old. I did imagine this would create Some Confusion, and give us Trouble to set it right. Be so good to send this Return as early as possible, as the Packet will Sail, it's said, on the Ninth Ins<sup>t</sup> but may perhaps Stay here a Day or two longer.

I am with great Regard Sir, Your most obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

I hope you have given orders for the Tryal of Hicks the Spy at Fort-Pitt.

COLONEL BOUQUET, Philadelphia

[Endorsed:] Letter from General Gage the 5<sup>th</sup> June 1764, Received the 7<sup>th</sup> partly answered the same day. (entered)

CROGHAN TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, June 8, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.17, f. 305 — L.S.]

## MY LORDS

Your Lordships extensive knowledge of the true Interest of his Majesty's Plantations, and the Necessity that now appears (before a General Defection of the Indians in North America take place) of falling on some Measures to restore peace and Tranquility to his Majesty's Subjects in that rude and extensive Country & Secure Trade and Commerce with the Natives on a better regulated System than has hitherto taken place, & to prevent for the future the unhappy Effects of an Indian War which too many of His Majesty's Subjects so severely Experienced this last Summer. I beg leave to offer to your Lordships Consideration my thoughts on some Objects which appear to me of the greatest Consequence, and which can't fail, if put in Execution, of Answering the desirable and salutary Ends of giving a lasting peace to his Majesty's British Colonies in North America; and I shall think myself happy if any thing I offer on this Subject should meet with Your Lordships Approbation.

During my Residence in America I Acquired some knowledge of the Indian Customs and manners, as well as some knowledge of their Country; the Situation of which give them great advantages over us; They can with great Ease Enter our Colonies, and Cut off our Frontier Settlements, and thereby lay waste a large Tract of Country, which indeed they have Effected in the space of four Months the last Summer in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, on whose Frontiers they have not killed and Captivated less than two thousand of his Majesty's subjects, and drove some thousands to Beggary and the greatest distress, besides burning to the ground nine Forts or Block-houses in their Country and killing a number of His Majesty's Troops and Traders, whom they plundered of goods, (the Manufactories of England) to the Amount of not less than one hundred thousand pounds, amongst which were large quantities of Ammunition, which Enabled them to harrass us, I say large Quantities, for One hundred Casks of powder to them who use no Artillery must have been a great additional supply to what they had before.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:602. The date of the document has been determined from the Board of Trade Journal.

If the upper Senecas and a few other Tribes settled near Detroit and Miscelmackena with the Shewanees and Delawares Settled on some Branches of the Ohio were able to Effect this in part of a Summer, what must His Majesty's Subjects dread from a general defection of the Indians? In order to prevent such unhappy Effects for the future, I would Offer.

First, That a natural Boundary should be made between them and us across the Frontiers of the British middle Colonies from the Heads of the River Delaware to the Mouth of the Ohio where it empties into Mississippi; that the Lands west of such a Line should be reserved for the Hunting Grounds of the Six Nations, and the several Tribes dependant on them, and that a reasonable Consideration be given them as they are the original Proprietaries of that Tract of Country for all the Lands East of such Boundary;<sup>1</sup> This in all probability may be Effectuated and is the likeliest Method to remove their Suspicions of us.

The Indians before the late War, or the Conquest of Quebeck Considered us in the Light of a Counterpoize to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that Account; but since the Reduction of Canada they consider us in a very different and less favourable light, as they are now become exceeding jealous of our growing power in that Country. It is not necessary to Enter into any part of our Conduct towards them since the reduction of Canada, which might have raised their Jealousies, or whether the French used any means to spirit them up to what they have done; we know them now to be a very jealous people, and to have the highest notions of Liberty of any people on Earth, and a people, who will never Consider Consequences when they think their Liberty likely to be invaded, tho' it may End in their

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Johnson, John Stuart, and George Croghan recommended the running of a boundary line between the Indian hunting grounds and the settlements, in order that the Indians might be assured of a peaceful possession of fixed areas, and so that the frontiersmen might push their settlements westward without arousing the Indian hostility. The proclamation of 1763 created a temporary boundary line at the crest of the mountains but this did not satisfy the Indians or the white men, for some tribes of the former possessed land east of this line and many settlements had been started by white men west of the Alleghenies. After repeated efforts, a boundary line was finally established in 1768. Farrand, "Indian Boundary Line," in *American Historical Review*, 10:782 *et seq.*; Alvord, "British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," in *Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 165 *et seq.*; general index.

Ruin; so that all that can be done now is to prevent such a defection of the Indians for the future by a Boundary and good Treatment.

The Indians have discernment enough, if they see a Tract of Country Secured to them under the Sovereignty Protection and Dominion of His Majesty for their Hunting and planting Grounds, and a Trade and Commerce carried on with them to supply them with such Necessaries as they want from time to time, to see their own Interest in living in Friendship with his Majesty's Subjects in America.

'Tis true the Indians require a considerable Tract of Country for their Hunting, and that they may have West of the Boundary, I have mentioned; the several Encroachments attempted to be made on their Country contrary to our repeated promises to them and without their Consent or receiving any Consideration for it, has alarmed them much, so that now they place very little Confidence in what we tell them.

It may be thought and said by some that the Indians are a faithless and ungrateful set of Barbarians and will not stand to any Agreements they make with us; but its well known that they never Claimed any Right to a Tract of Country after they sold it with Consent of their Council, and received any Consideration, tho' never so trifling; so that on that head we have nothing to fear in fixing a Boundary with them.

This Boundary and some favours annually bestowed on them will secure to us the valuable Fur Trade, the free possession of Lakes Erie and Untarie, with as many posts in that Country as will be necessary for us to carry on Trade with them at; and I can see no use of having a Number of little posts at so great a distance, which can neither support themselves nor protect the Trade, but rather serve as a temptation to ill-minded and restless Indians to Commit Hostilities.

It may be asked, if we make a Boundary with the Indians and pay them for the Lands East of such Boundary, why we should indulge them with any favours annually? I Answer, Custom and good policy; as amongst themselves a Neglect of renewing their Treaties of Friendship, is lookt on as an open Violation of the peace of Nations, and in that light they look on our false parsimony. The



Expende of giving favours to the many additional Tribes of Indians as are now in alliance with Great Britain since the Reduction of Canada must be considerable, but I dare say, it will be found the cheapest and best method in the End to Cultivate a Friendship with them in this manner.

By Entering into a War with the Indians, we can get nothing but Fatigue and devastation of our Frontiers and load the Nation with debt, tho' they may deserve to be severely punished for their behaviour the last Summer, but I don't look on it in any ways decisive between the Indians and us, the manner hitherto taken in making war on them, marching a Army at an immense Expende into their Country, and driving a parcel of wretches before us who we know won't give us a Meeting but where they have the advantage of either beating us or running away, and then content ourselves in burning their Villages of Bark Hutts, destroying their Corn and driving them into the Woods; This can not be called Conquering Indian Nations; I Grant it is removing them, and that the removing Indians from their Villages is practicable if we will go to the Expende; but what End does it Answer? often a very fatal one; For as soon as they fly before our Troops, a Number of their Warriors in small parties make a descent on different parts of our defenceless Frontiers, and Commit the most cruel murders, and driving the Inhabitants before them, lay waste a great part of the Country while the Remainder of them are retiring over some Mountains Lakes or Rivers with the Women and Children to a place of Safety where we can't pursue them with our Carriages, and an Army of British Troops can't support themselves in the Indian Country without taking the means of Carrying on war with them.

How absurd must it appear to every person who is the least Acquainted with the manner in which Indians Carry on war, to hear of such Measures being recommended or imposed on the publick as the only Method to Chastise them, who have by Nature all the Advantages their hearts can wish for of us: When we remove them from their places of abode by Surprise, which has happened but seldom, they fly to some other part of the Country without regretting any magnificent Buildings they have been obliged to leave behind, and there in a few hours Erect a Village for the reception of their Families as commodious as they were before settled, and where they

can provide the necessary supports of life as well, and perhaps, in more plenty than they could at their former Habitations. Here they live secure from us till the next Year, when we may be able to make another Campaign to remove them from the place we drove them too last; The facility with which they can remove their Habitations whenever we may be able to penetrate them will secure them for many Years from being Exterminated by us from the face of the Earth; but their Strength does not entirely depend on the advantages already mentioned; They Cultivate no Lands of any Consequence but draw their Subsistance from Hunting and Fishing, of which their Country affords great plenty, and when they have made War upon us they carry no Artillery, nor heavy Baggage, they march light, which makes them so dangerous an Enemy to us, if they meet our Troops they will Evade them, and fall on the unprepared Inhabitants who draw their Subsistance from Cultivating the Country, which is no less than Ruin to such as fall within their Reach of which we have had too many Examples since the beginning of the late War.

Thus I have Endeavored to Explain to Your Lordships why a Boundary should be fix'd between the Six Nations and their Dependants and His Majesty's Subjects, and their Friendship Cultivated in order to regain their Confidence in this manner, rather than Enter into a general Indian War, which may be the Consequence of a Neglect on our side, And I dare say the Expence to this Nation of last Summer in order to Support the Forts Niagara Detroit and Fort Pitt, after the small outposts fell a Sacrifice to the Resentment of the Indians (whether real or imaginary it's all one) was not less than some hundred thousand pounds, the Interest of which Sum would be more perhaps than sufficient to Cultivate a lasting Friendship between them and us by annual favours for ever.

<sup>2<sup>d</sup>ly</sup> By the Cessions made his Majesty at the late Treaty of Peace the Country lying West of the Ohio to its Mouth and up the Mississippi to its Sources appears to me to be the Boundary between the French and us in that part of the Country, and of Course become our Frontiers; as the west side of the Mississippi will no doubt be settled by the French, I would offer to your lordships Consideration whether it would not be good policy at this time while we certainly have it in our power to secure all the Advantages we have got there by making a purchase of the Indians inhabiting the Country along the Mississippi

from the Mouth of the Ohio up to the Sources of the River Illenoies, and there plant a respectable Colony in order to secure our Frontiers, and prevent the French from any Attempts to Rival us in the Fur Trade with the Natives, by drawing the Ohio and Lake Indians over the Mississippi, which they have already attempted by the last Accounts we have from Detroit;<sup>1</sup> From planting this new Colony many great advantages wou'd arise to this Kingdom, as well as to his Majesty's Subjects in North America; it would Extend Trade and Commerce with the farthermost Nations of Western Indians hitherto unknown to us, which would Enable the trading people in the Colonies to import more of the Manufactories of this Kingdom, than they have heretofore done, which is an object of the greatest Consequence to a trading people; it would Extend his Majesty's Settlements in America, and make his Subjects appear more formidable in the Eyes of the Indians which is now become absolutely necessary in order to preserve the peace between them and us, it would Cut off all Connections between the French and those Nations settled over that large Tract of Country on this side of the Mississippi and give us the absolute Dominion over all the upper Lakes Huron, Mitchigan & Superior, and bid fair for giving an everlasting peace to His Majesty's Southern Colonies; Besides from this Colony in a very few Years We shou'd be able to supply with provisions of every kind the several posts or marts that may be Erected for Trade with the Natives on much easier terms than they have or can be supplied from any of our Colonies. At present it may be objected that the Establishing such a Colony so far from the Sea will be attended with too great an Expence to the Nation, which may be easily Answered; The fertility of the Country and the fineness of the Climate is now known to us, which is sufficient to Encourage industrious people to settle it in a very little time without any Expence to the Nation or hindrance to the growth of the present Colonies, and I dare say people enough will be found that will Undertake it.

Your Lordships may be Surprized that after the Conquest of all Canada, and as soon as a peace took place between England and

<sup>1</sup> After Croghan returned from England he was sent to the Illinois country by Sir William Johnson, when the plan for a colony in this region probably took more definite form, for shortly after his return, he with Sir William Johnson and several merchants of Philadelphia formed a company for the exploitation of the region. For the letters concerning this project see the general index.

France, and the Natives convinced that his Majesty's Arms have been victorious over the French, that they (the Indians) should attempt what they have done last summer, and render it absolutely necessary to make Boundaries with them in order to preserve the peace between them and his Majesty's Subjects.

From my knowledge of their Customs, Manners and Dispositions, I know them to be a proud & haughty people, who from their great love of Liberty, which they have long Enjoyed, they Entertain & flatter themselves with the highest Notions of their own Importance and Dignity, and from their Conduct this last summer we must be Convinced they don't look at Consequences tho' of ever so dangerous a Nature, in which light, their attacking our Outposts must be look't on by every body, for tho' they have great advantages of us from the manner of their Carrying on war on the unprepared, and the Situation of their Country making it so difficult for us to gain Access into it; Yet certainly were it thought to be the Interest of the British Nation to Engage in a war with them, we shou'd in the End be able to subdue them and Reduce them to a State of Servitude. As I mentioned before in this Letter, to Your Lordships the light in which they now Consider the English in North America since the Reduction of Canada, with some Breaches of Faith on our side, and mistaken Notions in not thinking it worth our whiles to Cultivate their Friendship, will I hope appear obvious to your Lordships that there is a Necessity to fix a Boundary with them and Establish a Colony on the Mississippi and Illinois to make them fear and Love us on which their own happiness depends, To treat Indians with propriety and address is perhaps of all Tasks the most difficult, and allowances must be made to those who are strangers to their Customs and Manners should they not Succeed in Acquiring their good Opinion; They are to be Governed only by Love and Fear; To Acquire the first, it requires a long Acquaintance with their Singularities, and study of their Dispositions, to know how to flatter their Vanity so as to gain their Confidence which only can fix their Love and Affection, which undoubtedly Justice, Honour, and our own Interest demand from us, and when this is done, there is no way to make them happy but by fear, for if we suffer them to Entertain too high Notions of their own Importance it will naturally lead them to think we are influenced by Dread of their power, and so beget their Contempt, then their Expectations would



be exorbitant and their Insolence beyond sufferance, which would be always productive of the worst Consequences to the prosperity and Welfare of his Majesty's Subjects and Interest in North America.

I beg leave to assure Your Lordships that nothing but sincere Zeal for his Majesty's Service and a View to Endeavour at removing Prejudices & Misrepresentations of the Natives and their little Consequence to the prosperity of his Majesty's Colonies in America, could have induced me to take up so much of Your Lordships time at present by offering those Subjects to your Lordships Consideration.

I am My Lords with great Esteem Your Lordships most humble servant

GEO: CROGHAN

[*Endorsed:*] Plan[tation]s General Letter from M<sup>r</sup> George Croghan to the Board without Date—containing his Sentiments of the proper methods to be used for giving a lasting Peace to His Majestys Colonies in North America. Read June 8. 1764. R 54.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, June 9, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 9:111 — Draft]

JOHNSON HALL, June 9th 1764.

I am sorry for the obstruction given to Major Loftus, tho' I think it was lucky the Tonicas &c attacked him before he could advance further up the River where he must unavoidably have been overpowered. The necessity of gratifying them with favours or paying some Tribute for the Possession of Illinois, as well as our more northern possessions is very clear. . . .

P.S. In order to facilitate the Establishment of the Illinois it will be necessary to send a proper person to the Indians of the Mississippi to treat with them, assure them of our pacific disposition, that they shall have a fair trade, & to back the whole with a present. The Western Indians would never have suffered us to take possession of Detroit but from the precaution I took in sending Mr. Croghan to prepare them for it.

<sup>1</sup> The original from which this extract was taken was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany. This extract, like some others in the volume, was made by Mr. Carter before the disaster took place.

FARMAR<sup>1</sup> TO DABBADIE, June 12, 1764[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:85-87 — A.C.]

autre Lettre de M. Farmar à M. Dabbadie. Du 12. juin 1764.

MONS<sup>R</sup>,

.....

Par l'empressement que votre Excellence a toujours montré à remplir les orders de sa M. T. C. dans la prise de possession de la Louïsiannie par les anglois, sans faire mention de votre politesse et bonnes façons pour tous nos officiers qui ont toujours accompagné l'exécution de ses intentions, je suis encouragé de vous demander votre assistance accoutumée et protection pour M Pittman<sup>2</sup> qui va vous voir avec cette Lettre, et qui a mes ordres, s'il est possible pour monter

[Translation]

Another letter of M. Farmar to M. Dabbadie. June 12, 1764

SIR:

.....

By the ardor which your excellency has always shown in carrying out the orders of his very Christian majesty concerning the taking possession of Louisiana by the English, without mentioning the politeness and graciousness shown to all our officers which has always accompanied the execution of his intentions, I am encouraged to demand your customary assistance and protection for M. Pittman,<sup>2</sup> who will present you with this letter and has my orders to ascend to

<sup>1</sup> Robert Farmar was the British officer who took over Mobile from the French and commanded that place for a number of years. Although charges of embezzlement were made against him by Governor Johnstone, with whom Farmar was continually in dispute, he was acquitted on all accounts by a court martial. Farmar was sent by General Gage in 1765 and relieved Captain Stirling of the command in the Illinois. He remained in the Illinois until 1767. The documents printed here give an account of his command. Farmar seems to have retired from military service in 1768, and made his home in Mobile where he married, and became an important citizen. The date of his death is given as 1780. Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives: English Dominion*, 1:7 n. 1; Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Pittman was a conspicuous figure in the West for several years after the close of the French and Indian War. More information concerning his western activities is to be found in these volumes than has ever been collected before. He is best known for his *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, published in London, 1770. For a sketch of his life see the edition by F. H. Hodder. For other information of Pittman's attempt to reach the Illinois see *ante*, 189; *post*, 265.

aux ilinois, tant pour voir la situation du païs que pour découvrir la disposition des sauvages. je sens très bien que cela ne peut pas se faire à moins que vous ne le mettiés sous la protection de votre Convoi et en même tems le recommander à l'officier Commandant là, et dans la Riviere.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> etc<sup>a</sup>

signé ROB<sup>T</sup> FARMAR.

Pour Copies DABBADIE

[*Translation*]

the Illinois, if it is possible, for the purpose both of looking over the situation of the country and of discovering the disposition of the savages. I feel very certain that this cannot be done unless you put him under the protection of your convoy, and at the same time recommend him to the protection of the officer commanding there and on the river.

I have the honor, etc.

signed ROBERT FARMAR.

True copy DABBADIE

DABBADIE TO FARMAR, June 22, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:90 — A.C.]

Copie de la Lettre de M Dabbadie à M. Farmar, Commandant pour sa M. B<sup>que</sup> à la Mobile.

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS le 22. juin 1764.

MONS<sup>R</sup>,

M. Pittman me remit hier la Lettre que votre Excellence m'a Fait l'honneur de m'écrire.<sup>1</sup> vous pouvés compter avec juste raison sur tous les secours qui dépendront de moi pour procurer à cet officier

[*Translation*]

Copy of the letter of M. Dabbadie to M. Farmar, commandant for his Britannic majesty at Mobile.

NEW ORLEANS, June 22, 1764

SIR:

M. Pittman handed me the letter which your excellency has done me the honor to write me.<sup>1</sup> You may count with just reason on all the assistance that may depend upon me to procure for this officer all

<sup>1</sup> See preceding document.

les moyens de se rendre aux ilinois; mais il est arrivé trop tard pour profiter de la dernière occasion; trois Bateaux destinés pour ce Poste étoient partis d'ici depuis douze jours, et un quatrième depuis trois jours seulement. J'aurois envoyé un Exprès pour Faire arrêter ce dernier s'il eut été possible que M. Pittman se fut embarqué dans l'instant, mais quoiqu'il fut á la Nouvelle orléans, ses Domestiques et son bagage avoient été obligés de rester au bas de la Riviere s<sup>t</sup> Jean faute d'Eau pour y entrer, il auroit falu envoyer chercher le tout avec de petites Pirogues, et cette opération auroit causé un retardem<sup>t</sup> de deux jours au moins, il en auroit falu deux autres à M. Pittman pour joindre le Bateau qui étant extrêmement chargé n'auroit pû le recevoir avec ses Domestiques, les vivres qui leur étoient nécessaires pour un trajet de trois mois, et son bagage, sans mettre á terre une partie de sa Cargaison. votre Excellence jugera aisément quelle peine, quel embarras, et même quelle dépense ces mouvemens auroient causés au propriétaire du Bateau; mais j'aurois aisément levé ces difficultés s'il ne s'en fut pas présenté une autre, c'est que ce Bateau parti huit jours après les autres, et retardé de quatre au moins, n'auroit

[*Translation*]

the means for journeying to the Illinois; but he arrived too late to profit by the last occasion; three bateaux destined for that post set out from here twelve days ago, and the fourth only three days ago. I would have sent an express to stop this last, if it had been possible for M. Pittman to embark immediately; but although he was at New Orleans, he had been obliged to leave his servants and his baggage below the river St. Jean on account of the lack of water to enter there. It would have been necessary to send for these with small pirogues, and this work would have caused a delay of two days at least; there would have been needed two others for M. Pittman to join the bateau which, since it was heavily loaded, would not have been able to receive him with his servants, the supplies which were necessary for a voyage of three months, and his baggage without putting on land a part of its cargo. Your excellency will easily judge what embarrassment and even what expense these movements would have caused the proprietors of the bateau; but I would easily have removed these difficulties if another had not been presented: it was that this bateau having set out eight days after the others and being



jamais pû les joindre et qu'il n'étoit pas prudent d'exposer cet officier à monter avec un seul Bateau par les accidens qui peuvent arriver dans un trajet aussi long et aussi difficile que celui d'ici aux ilinois. je compte que dans le courant du mois prochain il y en aura plusieurs qui monteront aux Arkanças; M. Pittman pourra en profiter, et on peut se rendre de lá aux ilinois par Terre; s'il veut préférer quelques occasions directes pour ce Poste, il y en aura á la Fin de juillet ou dans les premiers jours d'Août. Votre Excellence peut compter que je n'épargnerai rien pour Faire monter cet officier aux ilinois le plus promptement et le plus surement qu'il sera possible. cette derniere convention demande bien des précautions en cas de rencontre de quelques Sauvages vos ennemis, mais je Ferai tout cequi dépendra de moi pour qu'il n'arrive aucun événement Facheux à ce sujet.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> etc<sup>a</sup>

signé DABBADIE.

Pour Copie DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la lettre de M. Dabbadie du 29. Juin 1764

[*Translation*]

delayed four days would never have been able to join the rest, and that it would not have been prudent to expose this officer to the accidents which might happen in ascending with a single bateau during a journey so long and so difficult as that from here to the Illinois. I expect that in the course of the next month there will be several who will ascend to the Arkansas; M. Pittman can profit by these, and it is possible to go from there to the Illinois by land. If he prefers to await some opportunity to go direct to that post, there will be such at the end of July or the first days of August. Your excellency can depend upon it that I shall spare no means to assist this officer to ascend to the Illinois in the most prompt and safe manner possible. This latter obligation demands many precautions in case of meeting some savages, your enemies; but I shall do everything that depends upon me to see that there does not happen any unhappy event in this matter.

I have the honor, etc.

signed DABBADIE

True copy DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to the letter of M. Dabbadie of June 29, 1764

GAGE TO JOHNSON, June 24, 1764

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK, June 24<sup>th</sup> 1764

DEAR SIR,

I have just received your's of the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> and hope the Garrisons will be able to give you an Escort from Post to Post till you get to Oswego, where they may spare a greater Number to escort you to Niagara and that you may be furnished there, with such a Number as you shall require.

It is very proper that you should have a sufficient Guard with you, as well for Protection, as to make an Appearance amongst the Indians. As I heard nothing to the contrary, I concluded there were a sufficient Number of oil Cloaths to answer your Purpose in the stores; and I am sorry that I was not acquainted in Time of that Defect that I might have ordered some to be made.

What you observe about the Savages is certainly very just, they do not give the true Reasons for the Commission of their Acts of Hostility. I am glad those of Detroit are so well disposed. I expect the Government will soon give some Directions about the Indian Trade, in which Matter they should now be well informed, And also convinced of the Necessity of having Meetings with the Indians as heretofore practised. They expect it, and I must say that some of them deserve that Attention from us. What you represent relating to the Precautions the Gov<sup>ts</sup> should take in Granting their Passes for the Indian trade, is undoubtedly worthy the strongest Recommendation. The Misfortune is that they are fearfull of doing any thing unless backed by an Act of Assembly. I shall write to them as soon as it becomes proper to grant a Liberty to Trade. But till you have been at Niagara it will not be possible to ascertain the Nations we may Trade with in Safety. And I agree with you that it is better to let the Indians feel a want of Trade, as long as it can be avoided with them. All the Posts you mention are certainly proper for the Trade to be carried on at; nor should any Traders go anywhere but to the Posts fixed upon for their Trade. I believe this will be part of the intended Regulations from Home. Michillimakinak must be added to those you mention, or there will be complaints from the Merchants of Canada. tho' it's too much Exposed to be insulted.

From the Acc<sup>ts</sup> I have had from the Southward, they think it

practicable by other Measures than were taken before to move up the Mississippi, and I hope it will, when the Preparations are made, be tried again. I expect M<sup>r</sup> Stewart will be there, to send Belts to the Cherokees at the Mouth of the Ohio, who may be of great Service. From thence to the Illinois is the greatest Danger. M<sup>r</sup> Stewart has a good deal of Influence with those Indians. He tells me that a Body of them are gone out, against the Shawnese & Delawares. I have thought of all Means how it would be possible to get a proper Person to the Illinois to talk to, and make Friends of the Savages in those Parts. It can neither be down the Ohio, or up the Mississippi as Matters now stand. If we make a firm Peace with all the Indians of Detroit, Miamis and the Ouabache, and they are really sincere; it may be effected by their Means; and some of the best of them might be employed on such an errand. You will See soon if such a thing could be brought about. Unless the Indians of that District are joined by the Northern Tribes; they might be frightened into a Consent if they were found obstinate, for they are not a warlike People, and I was informed were reconciled to our taking Possession of their Country, till spirited up against us by some Deputys from the Shawnese & Delawares. those villains have procured Ammunition there, which they have lately shewn as they do not want, by Firing for six Hours against Fort Dinwiddie in Virginia. they have done a great deal of Mischief there, & in Pennsylvania.

Your Medals are finished, & I only wait a good Opportunity to send them to you. I think I mentioned before to Col<sup>o</sup> Bradstreet to furnish you such a guard as you shall require at Niagara, but shall do it again by this opportunity. I am with great Regard, Dear Sir,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, June 29, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:74-77 — L.S.]À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS le 29 juin 1764.

MONSEIGNEUR,

.....

j'ai eu l'honneur de vous rendre compte<sup>1</sup> par ma Lettre du 1<sup>er</sup> avril d<sup>er</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 39. que le Commandant Loftus n'ayant pû monter aux ilinois avoit pris le parti de s'en retourner à Pensacole par la Balise dans un Brigantin anglois avec une partie de ses Troupes. Ce même Brigantin est revenu quelque tems après à la Balise avec une Fregate de 40. Canons, pour y prendre l'autre partie des Troupes laquelle a été embarquée dans ces Batimens et est partie le 30. avril dernier; mais comme il ne leur a pas été possible d'emmener tous les Bateaux de leur Convoi, ils ont pris le parti d'en laisser 6. au Poste de la Balise avec un officier et 10. hommes qui y sont encore. Les anglois n'ayant pû parvenir aux ilinois, j'ai permis à quelques particuliers et aux Traiteurs d'y monter. Le premier Convoi de 4. Bateaux, est parti le 19. avril, le second de 3. Bateaux le 11. du présent mois. j'ai profité de ces occasions pour envoyer quelques petits

[Translation]

NEW ORLEANS, June 29, 1764

SIR:

.....

I have had the honor of informing you<sup>1</sup> by my letter of April 1, no. 39, that the Commandant Loftus, after his failure to ascend to the Illinois, had decided to return to Pensacola via the Balise in an English brigantine with part of his troops. This same brigantine returned some time after with a frigate of forty cannon to take from there the rest of the troops who were embarked in boats and set out the thirtieth of April last; but as it has not been possible to carry away all the boats of the convoy, they decided to leave six of them at the post of the Balise with an officer and ten men who are still there. Since the English have not been able to reach the Illinois, I have permitted several individuals and traders to ascend thither. The first convoy of four bateaux set out April 19, the second of three bateaux on the eleventh of the present month. I profitted by these

<sup>1</sup> The account Dabbadie sent the minister is printed, *ante*, 225.



approvisionnement dans nos Postes ces Bateaux seront d'ailleurs très nécessaires à M. de Neyon pour suivre les arrangemens qu'il doit prendre pour descendre à la Nouvelle Orléans avec la plus grande partie de la garnison, et quelques habitans<sup>1</sup> j'ai eu l'honneur de vous prévenir, Monseigneur, qu'il seroit seulement réservé 40. hommes de Troupes pour la garde de ce Poste, sous le commandement de M. de s<sup>t</sup> Ange.

je joins ici un Extrait et une Copie des Lettres que j'ai reçues de M. de Neyon des 13. mars et 20. avril d<sup>rs</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Tout est tranquille dans les autres Postes que nous avons sur le Mississipi.

[Endorsed:] Colonies. N<sup>o</sup> 65.

DABBADIE

[Translation]

occasions to send a small amount of provisions to our posts. These bateaux will besides be very necessary to M. de Villiers to carry out the needful arrangements for descending to New Orleans with the greatest part of the garrison and some inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> I have had the honor of informing you, sir, that there would be reserved only forty troops to guard that post under the command of M. de St. Ange.

I join herewith an extract and a copy of letters which I have received from M. de Villiers dated March 13 and April 20 last.<sup>2</sup>

All is tranquil in our other possessions on the Mississippi.

DABBADIE

<sup>1</sup> De Villiers had waited through the winter of 1763-1764 for the British to take over the fort, for which event he had made all preparations. On December 1, 1763 (*ante*, 53), he wrote Dabbadie that he had recalled the garrison from Peoria and Fort Massac, leaving at the latter place only fifteen men and an officer. The cannon were transported to Ste. Genevieve. By April 20 (*ante*, 243), he had received from his superior orders to evacuate the country without waiting for the British. Consequently he summoned St. Ange with his garrison from Vincennes and the few men remaining at Fort Massac, and he prepared for his departure. On June 15 all was ready. He left St. Ange with forty men at Fort de Chartres to await the British, and he himself set forth on the voyage down the Mississippi. In his convoy there were twenty-one bateaux and seven pirogues, which were manned by six officers and sixty-three men. Some of the inhabitants who wished to escape from the British rule left the Illinois at this time. De Villiers arrived at New Orleans on July 2. *Ante*, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 224, and 242.

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, June 29, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:89 — L.S.][*Ministerial notation:*] M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie Le Duplicata est extrait

M a[ccaron]

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 29. juin 1764

MONSEIGNEUR,

J ai l'honneur de vous informer que le Commandant de la Mobile vient d'envoyer ici le s. Pittman ingenieur anglois qui se propose de monter seul aux ilinois. il n'est pas arrivé à tems pour profiter des derniers Bateaux qui sont partis pour ce Poste. J'ai assuré ce commandant comme vous le verrez par la Copie<sup>1</sup> ci-jointe de ma Lettre, que je donnerai avec plaisir à M. Pittman tous les secours qui dépendront de moi pour le faire rendre promptement et surement aux ilinois; mais j'insiste sur cette derniere condition qui pourroit avoir des suites facheuses si cet officier etoit rencontré dans un Bateau françois par quelques partis sauvages ennemis des anglois.

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies N<sup>o</sup> 67 affaires angloises.[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial notation:*] M. Dabbadie. The duplicate is an extract.  
M. Accaron.

NEW ORLEANS, June 29, 1764

SIR:

I have the honor to inform you that the commandant of Mobile has just sent here M. Pittman, an English engineer who is purposing to ascend alone to the Illinois. He did not arrive in time to profit by the last bateau that set out for that post. I have assured this commandant, as you will see by the copy<sup>1</sup> of my letter here joined, that I will give with pleasure to M. Pittman all the assistance that depends upon me to make a prompt and safe journey to the Illinois, but I insist upon this last condition, which might have unfortunate consequences if this officer should be met in a French bateau by some parties of savages, enemies of the English.

I am with profound respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies No. 67 English affairs.<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 265.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE REGULATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, JULY 10—SEPTEMBER 30, 1764

PLAN FOR IMPERIAL CONTROL OF INDIAN AFFAIRS — LIST OF INDIAN TRIBES — GAGE MAKES FURTHER PLANS TO OCCUPY THE ILLINOIS — ST. ANGE AND DABBADIE TALK TO THE INDIANS — DABBADIE WRITES THE MINISTER — CLOSE OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY — DIFFICULTIES IN LOUISIANA — PITTMAN TALKS TO SOME ILLINOIS VOYAGEURS — DABBADIE WRITES TO GAGE — PITTMAN DISSUADED FROM GOING TO THE ILLINOIS — JOHNSON WRITES OF HIS TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

PLAN FOR IMPERIAL CONTROL OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, July 10, 1764<sup>1</sup>  
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.65, f. 683—A.D.]

#### Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> That the Trade & Commerce with the several Tribes of Indians in North America, under the Protection of His Majesty shall be free & open to all His Majesty's subjects, under the several Regulations & restrictions hereafter mentioned, so as not to interfere with the Charter to the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:637; Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 433.

<sup>2</sup> The proclamation of October 7, 1763, provided for the later publication of rules for the control of the Indian trade. The board of trade delayed taking the subject up until late spring, 1764, at which time men familiar with the Indian trade were consulted. Probably the greatest influence came from Sir William Johnson whose agent, George Croghan, was present in London for the purpose of laying before the board of trade his superior's opinions. The most important reform desired by Johnson was the creation of a department independent of the military and with sufficient number of employees to supervise carefully the Indian traders. The above plan embodies most of Johnson's ideas. On account of the proposal to raise a tax from the fur trade it would have been necessary for parliament to act upon this plan. This was never done. The superintendents of Indians were instructed, however, to put the plan into operation as far as possible. This, John Stuart of the southern department immediately did, but Johnson delayed till 1766. (General index.) It was soon perceived that the cost of this establishment would be enormous so that proposals were made to change the organization which was finally done in 1768 by placing the control of the trade in the hands of the colonies (general index). Before the plan was abandoned it was submitted to various persons for their opinion. Johnson's criticisms are printed, *post*, 321; Jackson's, *post*, general index. Benjamin Franklin's may be found in his *Writings* (Smyth ed.), 4: 467.

2<sup>nd</sup> That for the better Regulation of this Trade & the Management of Indian affairs in general, the British Dominion in North America be divided into two Districts to comprehend & include the several Tribes of Indians mentioned in the Annexed Lists A & B.

3<sup>rd</sup> That no Trade be allowed with the Indians in the Southern District, but within the Towns belonging to the Several Tribes included in such District & that in the Northern District, the Trade be fixed at so many Posts & in such Situations as shall be thought necessary.

4<sup>th</sup> That all Laws now in Force in the Several Colonies for regulating Indian affairs or Commerce be repealed.

5<sup>th</sup> That there be one general Agent or Superintendant appointed by His Majesty for each District.<sup>1</sup>

6<sup>th</sup> That the Agent or Superintendant for the Northern District shall be allowed Three Deputies to assist in the administration of affairs within his District, and that the Agent or Superintendant for the Southern District shall be allowed Two Deputies.

7<sup>th</sup> That there shall be a Commissary, Interpreter & Smith, appointed by His Majesty to reside in the Country of each Tribe in the Southern District & at each Post in the Northern District.

8<sup>th</sup> That it be recommended to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, to appoint four Missionaries in each District, to reside at such places as the agent or superintendant for each district shall recommend.

9<sup>th</sup> That the Commissarys, Interpreters & Smiths in each District do act under the immediate direction & orders of the Agent or Superintendant who shall have a power of suspending them in cases of Misbehaviour; and in case of suspension of a Commissary, or of a Vacancy by death or resignation, the Office shall be executed, untill the King's Pleasure is known by one of the Deputies to the Agent or Superintendant.

10<sup>th</sup> That the said Agent or Superintendant shall have the conduct of all publick affairs relative to the Indians; and that neither the Commander in chief of His Majesty's Forces in America, nor any of the Governors and Commanders in Chief, of any of the Colonies, or

<sup>1</sup> This did not change the situation, for the two superintendents, Sir William Johnson in the northern and John Stuart in the southern district, continued to exercise their duties under the above plan.



person, having military Commands in any of the Forts within each of the said Districts do hold any general Meetings with the Indians, or send any publick Talks to them, without the Concurrence of the agent or Superintendant, unless in case of great Exigency, or when the said Agent or Superintendant may be in some remote part of his District.

11<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants do in all affairs of political consideration respecting peace & War with the Indians, purchases of Lands, or other Matters, on which it may be necessary to hold any general Meetings with the Indians, advise and act in concert with the Governors, (or the Governors & Councils, as the occasion may require) of the several Colonies within their respective Districts, and the said Agents or Superintendants shall be Councillors extraordinary within each District in their respective Districts, in like Manner as the Surveyors General of the Customs for the Northern & Southern Districts of America.

12<sup>th</sup> That the Governor or Commander in Chief of every Colony be directed to communicate to the Agent or Superintendant of that District within which his Government lyes, all such Information & Intelligence as he may receive respecting Indian affairs, and that the Agents or Superintendants shall in like Manner communicate to the Governors all Intelligence & Information respecting the state of Indian affairs, which may in any wise regard the Security & Interest of the said Colonies.

13<sup>th</sup> That no order shall be issued by the Governor or Commander in Chief of any of His Majesty's Colonies or by any officer having Military Command in any Forts within the Indian country, for stopping the Trade with any Tribe of Indians, in either of the said Districts, without the Concurrence or Consent of the Agent or Superintendant for Indian affairs.

14<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants shall by themselves or sufficient Deputies, visit the several Posts or Tribes of Indians within their respective Districts, once in every year or oftener as occasion shall require, to inquire into & take an account of the conduct & behaviour of the subordinate officers at the said Posts and in the Country belonging to the said Tribes; to hear any appeals & redress all complaints of the Indians, make the proper Presents, and transact all affairs relative to the said Indians.

15<sup>th</sup> That for the maintaining peace & good Order in the Indian Country & bringing offenders in criminal cases to due punishment, the said agents or Superintendants, as also the Commissaries at each post and in the country belonging to each Tribe, be impowered to act as Justices of the Peace in their respective Districts & Departments, with all powers & privileges vested in such officers in any of the Colonies & also full power of committing offenders in Capital Cases, in order that such offenders may be presented for the same, and that for deciding all civil actions, the Commissaries be impowered to try & determine in a summary way, all such actions, as well between the Indians & Traders, as between one Trader & another, to the amount of Ten pounds Sterling, with the Liberty of appeal to the chief agent or superintendant, or his Deputy, who shall be impowered upon such appeal to give judgment thereon, which Judgment shall be final, and process issue upon it, in like Manner as on the judgment of any Court of Common Pleas established in any of the Colonies.

16<sup>th</sup> That for the easy attainment of justice, the evidence of Indians under proper Regulations and restrictions be admitted in all Criminal as well as Civil causes, that shall be tried & adjudged by the said Agents or Superintendants or by the said Commissaries, and that their Evidence be likewise admitted by the Courts of justice in any of His Majesty's Colonies or Plantations in Criminal Cases, subject to the same pains & penalties in cases of false evidence as His Majesty's Subjects.

17<sup>th</sup> That the said Agents or Superintendants shall have power to confer such honors and rewards on the Indians as shall be necessary and of granting Commissions to principal Indians in their respective Districts to be War Captains or officers of other Military Distinctions.

18<sup>th</sup> That the Indians of each Town in every Tribe in the Southern District shall choose a Beloved Man to be approved of by the Agent or Superintendant for such District, to take care of the Mutual Interests both of Indians and Traders in such Town, and that such Beloved Men, so elected & approved in the several Towns, shall elect a Chief for the whole Tribe who shall Constantly reside with the Commissary in the country of each Tribe, or occasionally attend upon the said agent or superintendant as guardian for the Indians & Protector of their Rights with Liberty to the said Chief to be present at all meetings, and upon all hearings or Trials, relative to the Indians

before the Agent or Superintendant or before the Commissaries, and to give his opinion upon all matters under Consideration at such meetings or hearings.

19<sup>th</sup> That the like Establishment be made for the Northern District, as far as the Nature of the Civil Constitution of the Indians in that District & the Manner of Administering their Civil affairs will admit.

20<sup>th</sup> That no Person having any Military Command in the Indian Country shall be capable of acting as Commissary for the affairs of the Indians in either of the above mentioned Districts respectively, nor shall such person having Military Command be allowed to carry on Trade with the Indians, or to interpose his Authority in anything that regards the Trade with or Civil Concern of the Indians, but to give the Commissary or other Civil Magistrate all assistance in his power whenever thereunto required.

21<sup>st</sup> That the said Commissaries shall keep exact & regular accounts by way of Journal of all their Transactions proceedings & of all Occurrences in their respective Departments & shall by every opportunity Communicate such Transactions & Occurrences to the Agent or Superintendant in their respective District, which Agent or Superintendant shall regularly by every opportunity correspond with the Commissioner for Trade & Plantations.

22<sup>nd</sup> That the Agent or Superintendant to be appointed for each District, as also the Commissaries residing at the Posts or within the Indian Country within each District shall take an Oath before the Governor or chief Judge of any of the Colonies within their respective Districts for the due Execution of their respective Trusts and they & all other Subordinate officers employed in the affairs of the Indians shall be forbid under proper penalties to carry on any Trade with them either upon their account or in Trust for others, or to make any purchase of, or accept any grants of Lands from the Indians.

23<sup>rd</sup> That for the better Regulation of the Trade with the said Indians, conformable to their own requests, and to prevent those frauds & abuses, which have been so long and so loudly complained of in the manner of carrying on such Trade, all Trade with the Indians in each District be carried on under the Direction & Inspection of the Agents or Superintendants & other subordinate officers to be appointed for that purpose, as has been already mentioned.

24<sup>th</sup> That all persons intending to trade with the Indians, shall take out Licences for that purpose, under the hand or seal of the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Colony from which they intend to carry on such Trade, for every of which Licences, no more shall be demanded or taken than two Shillings.

25<sup>th</sup> That all persons taking out Licences shall enter into Bond to His Majesty, His Heirs & Successors in the Sum of [*blank in MS.*] with one surety in the sum of [*blank in MS.*] for the due Observance of the regulations prescribed for the Indian Trade.

26<sup>th</sup> That every person willing to give such security, & finding a surety willing, if required to take an oath, that he is possess'd of property to double the value of the sum he stands Security for, shall be intitled to a Licence.

27<sup>th</sup> That every such Licensed Trader shall, at the Time of taking out the Licence, declare the Post or Truckhouse at which, or the Tribe of Indians with which he intends to trade, which shall be specified in the Licence itself.

28<sup>th</sup> That no Licence be granted to continue longer than for one year.

29<sup>th</sup> That no Person trade under such Licence but the Person named in it, his Servants or Agents, whose Names are to be inserted in the Margents, and in case any of the Servants or Agents named in such Licence shall die, or be discharged, the same shall be notified to the Governor by whom the Licence was granted or to the Commissary of the Post or in the Tribe where such Trader carries on Trade, to the end that the Name or Names of any other Servants or Agents employed by the said Trader in the place of those dead or discharged may in like Manner be inserted in the Margent of the Licence.

30<sup>th</sup> That all Licences be entered in the Secretary's office or other proper office of Record in each Colony where they are taken out, for which Entry no more shall be demanded or taken than sixpence for each Licence, & all persons to have free Liberty to inspect such Entry, paying a Fee of Sixpence for the same.

31<sup>st</sup> That Persons trading with the Indians without a Licence and without giving the Security above required, or trading at any other posts or places than those expressed in their licences, do forfeit all the goods they shall be found then trading with and also pay a



Fine of [*blank in MS.*] to His Majesty, His Heirs & Successors; and suffer [*blank in MS.*] Months Imprisonment.

32<sup>nd</sup> That all Traders immediately upon their Arrival at the Posts or Truckhouses in the Northern District, or in the Tribes in the Southern District, for which Licences have been taken out and before any goods are sold to or bartered with the Indians do produce such Licences to the Commissaries appointed for the Direction or Inspection of the Trade at such Posts or Truckhouses or in such Tribes.

33<sup>rd</sup> That all Trade with the Indians shall be carried on by Tariffs to be settled & establish'd from Time to Time by the Commissaries at the Several Posts or Truckhouses or in the Countries belonging to the several Tribes, in concert with the Traders & Indians.

34<sup>th</sup> That the Commissaries appointed to direct & inspect the Trade at each Truckhouse in the Northern District shall be empower'd to fix & proscribe certain Limits round each Post or Truckhouse, within which Limits all Trade with the Indians may be commodiously carried on in the most publick Manner.

35<sup>th</sup> That all Traders have free Liberty to erect Huts & Warehouses within such Limits or in such Order & Manner as the Commissary shall, with the concurrence of the officer commanding at such Post, direct & appoint.

36<sup>th</sup> That no Trader shall traffick or have any dealings with the Indians, without the Limits prescribed by the Commissary or other chief officer appointed for the Inspection & Direction of the Trade.

37<sup>th</sup> That each Truckhouse or Post of Trade in the northern District be fortified & garrison'd; and that all Traders have free Liberty to retire into such Garrison with their Effects, whenever any disturbance shall arise, or the Commissary at such Post, shall represent it to be necessary.

38<sup>th</sup> That no Trader shall sell or otherwise supply the Indians with Rum or other spirituous Liquors, Swan Shot or rifled Barrell'd Guns.

39<sup>th</sup> That in Trade with the Indians, no credit shall be given them for goods in Value beyond the Sum of fifty shillings, and no debt beyond that Sum shall be recoverable by Law or Equity.

40<sup>th</sup> That all Disputes concerning Weights & Measures, in the buying or selling goods shall be decided by Standard weights &

measures to be kept in each Post or Truckhouse in the Northern District, and in each Town in the Southern District.

41<sup>st</sup> That no private person, Society, Corporation or Colony be capable of acquiring any Property in Lands belonging to the Indians either by purchasing of or grant or Conveyance from the said Indians, excepting only where the Lands lye within the Limits of any Colony, the Soil of which has been vested in proprietors or Corporations by grants from the Crown; in which case such proprietaries or Corporations only shall be capable of acquiring such Property by purchase or grant from the Indians.

42<sup>nd</sup> That proper measures be taken with the consent & concurrence of the Indians to ascertain & define the precise & exact boundary & Limits of the Lands, which it may be proper to reserve to them & where no settlement whatever shall be allowed.

43<sup>rd</sup> That no purchase of Lands belonging to the Indians, whether in the Name & for the use of the Crown, or in the name & for the use of proprietaries of Colonies, be made but at some general meeting at which the Principal Chiefs of each Tribe, claiming a property in such Lands, are present, & all Tracts so purchased, shall be regularly surveyed by a Sworn Surveyor, in the presence & with the assistance of a person deputed by the Indians to attend such survey; and the said Surveyor shall make an accurate Map of such Tract, describing the Limits, which Map shall be entered upon Record with the Deed of Conveyance from the Indians.<sup>1</sup>

It is estimated that the annual expence of supporting the Establishment propos'd in the foregoing Plan, providing presents for the Indians, and other contingent Expences, may amount to about Twenty Thousand Pounds; and it is propos'd to defray this Expence by a Duty upon the Indian Trade, either collected upon the Exportation of Skins & Furs (Beavers excepted) from the Colonies, or payable by the Traders at the posts & places of Trade as shall upon further examination and the fullest Information be found most practicable & least Burthensome to the Trade.

<sup>1</sup> Section 42 provides for a boundary line between those lands open to settlement and the Indian hunting grounds; and section 43, taken in connection with section 10, provides for the gradual expansion of the settlements beyond the boundary line by the purchase of territory from the Indians in an orderly manner under the oversight of an imperial officer. The document is drawn up by those men who were in favor of a slow and gradual westward expansion of the colonies.

A.

List of Indian Tribes in the Northern District of North America.<sup>1</sup>

Mohocks	Ottawas.
Oneidas	Chipeweighs [ <i>Chippewa</i> ] or
Tuscaroras	Missisagais. [ <i>Missisauga</i> ]
Onondagas.	Meynomenys. [ <i>Menominee</i> ]
Cayugas	Folsavoins. [ <i>Menominee</i> ]
Senecas	Puans. [ <i>Winnebago</i> ]
Oswegachys	Sakis. [ <i>Sauk</i> ]
Nanticokes.	Foxes
Conoys.	Twightwees [ <i>Miami</i> ]
Tuteeves. [ <i>Tutelo</i> ]	Kickapous.
Saponeys.	Mascoutens.
Caghnawagas.	Piankashaws.
Canassadagas. [ <i>Oka</i> ]	Waweaghtonos. [ <i>Wea</i> ]
Arundacks. [ <i>Adirondack</i> ]	Keskeskias.
Algonkins.	Illinois.
Abenaquis. [ <i>Abnaki</i> ]	Sioux.
Skaghquanoghrônos [ <i>Nipissing</i> ]	Micmacs.
Hurons.	Norwidgewalks. [ <i>Norridgewock</i> ]
Shawanese.	Arsseguntecooks.
Delawares.	[ <i>Arosaguntacook</i> ]
Wiandots. [ <i>Huron</i> ]	Penobscots.
Powtewatamis. [ <i>Potawatomi</i> ]	St. Johns. [ <i>San Juan</i> ]

B.

List of Indian Tribes in the Southern District of North America.

Cherokees.	Attucapas. [ <i>Attacapa</i> ]
Creeks	Baijuglas.
Chickesaws.	Tunicas
Chactaws	Peluches [ <i>Apalachee</i> ]
Catawbas	Osugulas. [ <i>Ofogoula</i> ]
Beluxis. [ <i>Biloxi</i> ]	Querphas. [ <i>Quapaw</i> ]
Humas	

[*Endorsed:*] Plan of the future management of Indian affairs. No 10. Bundle A.

<sup>1</sup> For the location of any of the tribes in these lists consult the *Handbook of the American Indians* published by the bureau of ethnology. The accepted name has been placed in brackets after the names that would not be otherwise easily recognized.

GAGE TO HALIFAX, July 13, 1764

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 333 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1764.

MY LORD,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, together with a copy of your Letter of the same date to Governor Johnstone, a Letter, and Copy of the same to M<sup>r</sup> Stewart,<sup>1</sup> and a copy of the additional Instructions, to Governors Johnstone and Grant.

Your Lordship's Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Stewart shall be forwarded by the first Opportunity for Florida, where I expect He now is; having received a Letter from Him to inform me, that He was on the point of embarking for S<sup>t</sup> Augustine; on his intended Visit to all the Settlements in the Floridas, agreeable to my Request in that Respect; of which your Lordship will have received Advice in my Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of April last. If He resides at Pensacola or Mobile; He will be in a Situation to Superintend all the Indian Affairs from the Mississipi, to the Fort of Apalachi. By the latest Acc<sup>ts</sup> from Carolina our Affairs with the Creeks were likely to take a favorable Turn, and the Disposition and Sentiments of the Cherokees were as favorable towards us as could be wished. Those Indians had delivered up a Renegade Creek, who after committing a Murder in Carolina, had taken Refuge amongst them; and readily complied with our Desire of sending Partys, against the Shawnese and Delawares.

In my letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of May,<sup>2</sup> Your Lordship was informed of Major Loftus's return from the Mississipi, of the resolution taken, to make another attempt up that river, and the means proposed, to facilitate the success of it. I find by letters from Mobile that the same methods have been suggested there, with the hopes to accomplish our Ends, if they were pursued. I therefore sent from hence a few weeks ago, a reinforcement of men and supplys necessary for the undertaking, hoping Major Loftus may be in a condition to set out from Mobile, by the month of August. He is provided with the best information that could be procured, of the several Tribes on his Route, and there is reason to believe, that he may, with making use of the necessary precautions, get up to the mouth of the Ohio,

<sup>1</sup> The superintendent of Indians of the southern district.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 248.



with little interruption. The greatest danger seems to be, from thence to the Illinois, but it is hoped, that he may there find assistance from the Cherokees; to whom Mr Stewart, who has great influence with them, is desired to send proper Tokens by the Major, that may be of use, either in defending him, if there should be occasion, or by treating in his behalf, with the Savages of the Illinois; who were well reconciled to our possessing their Country, till spirited up against us by the Delawares, and by Pondiac. Neither the Indians of the Illinois, or those of the Ouabache, who are the most contiguous to assist them, are esteemed warlike Nations; the Delawares, Shawnese, and Pondiac's Tribes, are at a great distance; and will for some time find employment at home. There are therefore hopes, that by sending Deputys to the Illinois, and making a proper use of the friendship of the Cherokees and of the Chikesaws, that Major Loftus may be enabled to obtain their consent, to his taking a quiet possession of the Country. I have wrote to Mons<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie to desire his Assistance in this undertaking; and it is certain that the French may contribute greatly to our success, or by secret endeavors create as much disturbance and opposition. Sir William Johnson and Colonel Bradstreet have likewise been applied to, to try if Messages from us, could be sent to the Illinois from the side of Detroit, which I apprehend may be done, if peace shall be concluded with all the Savages in that District. Every measure has been taken that was thought could be in any shape useful towards compleating this work happily, and without coming to blows: tho' it must be confessed, that the operations are delicate, and that they require caution, skill, and Artful management. But it behoves us to try all means to gain a peaceable possession of the Illinois as early as we can; as it is easy to foresee, that if the Indians with whom we are now at variance, should continue in their obstinacy and retire from their Habitations to the Westward, and be in a situation to unite their forces with the Indians of that District, they will form such a Confederacy against us, as will require a greater Body of Troops to take possession of that Country by Force, than we shall be able to collect: and the enormous expence of an expedition at so great a distance, is too obvious. We have just had experience of the backwardness of the Provinces to give assistance, in driving the enemy from their doors; and it's to be feared, that they will be less inclined to favor any enterprize at such a distance

from them, wherein they see no immediate advantage to their respective provinces. I must confess to Your Lordship, that I have been some time apprehensive of such a Confederacy, as the Savages have shown us, that they understood their political interest extremely well, and it is certainly for their interest to have a door open to treat and trade with another power. The Illinois only remains to them for those uses; the moment we are in possession of that Country, they will see themselves surrounded by our Forts, and that they must depend upon the English alone, for all their Supplies. If Louisianne is soon ceded to Spain, affairs may turn more to our advantage. Mons<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie exclaims loudly against Major Loftus's accusation of his stirring up the Savages against him, and takes great pains to clear himself of the imputation, offering as a proof of his sincerity to procure a safe passage to a Detachment of the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>, which was ordered up to the Natchés.

Colonel Bradstreet should by this time have got over the Carrying Place of Niagara, where he has been joined by a considerable number of Indians. Sir William Johnson is also set out for Niagara, to conclude a formal peace, with such Nations, as shall send their Deputys thither for that purpose. By the latest Acc<sup>ts</sup> from thence, the Messessagas had sent their Deputys and delivered up some Prisoners.

The Delawares and Shawnese continue their incursions from time to time, into Pennsylvania and Virginia, they have penetrated into this last Province, to within a few miles of Winchester, murdering and captivating a great many of the Inhabitants. The Levies of Pennsylvania have gone on slowly, but it is expected that their Forces will be compleated, and assembled at Carlisle by the end of this month.

I am with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord,  
Your Lordship's, Most Obedient, and Most humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EARL OF HALIFAX.

[Endorsed:] New York July 13<sup>th</sup> 1764. Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. R August 17<sup>th</sup> Informing of the measures taken towards procuring quiet Possession of the Illinois. The Difficulties attending it—Account of Indian Affairs. Bundle B N<sup>o</sup> 6

## ADDRESS OF DABBADIE TO THE TUNICA INDIANS, July 14, 1764

[A.N., C., F<sup>3</sup> 25: 221 — A.C.]

Copie du discours de M. Dabbadie Directeur général Commandant pour le Roi à la Louisianne, aux Chefs et guerriers Sauvages Tonikas assemblés, en présence de M<sup>rs</sup> les officiers, et de M. Pittman ingénieur anglois destiné pour les ilinois.

Mes enfans, J'ai dit à votre pere M. Desmazellieres de vous envoyer ici; je vous aurois vû plustôt, mais vous avés rougi la terre, et mon Coeur a saigné, parceque vous avés rejetté ma parole. Pour-quoi avés vous Frapé sur les anglois nos amis qui ne vous fesoient rien, et qui alloient aux ilinois prendre possession des Terres que le grand Empereur leur à données.

Reponse du N<sup>e</sup> Perruquier chef

Mon pere, les anglois ont toujours gaté les chemins dans toutes les nations, ils leur ont donné à boire des Liqueurs qui les ont fait mourir quand j'ai sçu qu'ils venoient sur nos Terres j'ai dit ils nous Feroient mourir, il vaut mieux les tuer. je sçai bien que tu me l'avois défendu, mais comme j'avois dans mon Coeur qu'ils nous Feroient mourir, je n'ai pô m'empêcher de Fraper sur eux. S'ils avoient mis

[*Translation*]

Copy of the speech of M. Dabbadie, director general and commandant for the king in Louisiana, to the Tunica Indian chiefs and warriors assembled, in the presence of the officers and M. Pittman, an English engineer who is sent to the Illinois:

"My children, I have told your father, M. Desmazellieres, to send you here. I should have seen you sooner, but you have reddened the land, and my heart has bled because you rejected my word. Why did you attack our friends, the English, who were doing nothing to you and who were going to the Illinois to take possession of the lands which the great emperor had given them?"

Reply of the native [?] Perruquier, a chief: "Father, the English have always ruined the roads in all the nations. They gave them liquors to drink that made them die. When I learned they were coming to our lands I said they would make us die; it is better to kill them. I know well you had forbidden me to do it, but as I had it in my heart that they would cause us to die, I could not keep from at-

à Terre avec leurs Guerriers nous les aurions tués; mais ils ont Fui, et ils ont bien fait. Enfin, mon pere, je viens à toi comme un enfant honteux, chaties-moi si tu veux, mais aye pitié de nous.

M. Dabbadie

Mes enfans, je vous porte toujours dans mon Coeur, mais si vous ne suivés pas mes Conseils, et que vous rejettiés ma parole, ne comptés plus sur mes bienfaits, je vous repête que l'intention des grands Empereurs est que les Chemins soient blancs par toute la Terre pour le bonheur des hommes rouges et des blancs. Si les guerriers anglois n'ont pas repondu à votre attaque, c'est parceque leur Chef de la Mobile leur avoit ordonné de ne pas repandre le Sang des hommes rouges, et ils ont mieux aimé descendre que de monter par Force.

Perruquier,

Puisque tu l'ordonnes, mon pere, nous resterons tranquiles, et les anglois peuvent venir, qu'ils ne soient pas ingrats de nous, et qu'ils nous donnent quelque chose.

M. Dabbadie

je suis bien aise de vous voir dans ces dispositions, vous soulagés mon Coeur, mais il Faut garder la parole que vous me donnés.

[*Translation*]

tacking them. If they had landed with their warriors, we should have killed them, but they fled and they did well. Finally, father, I come to you as an ashamed child; punish me if you wish but have pity on us."

M. Dabbadie: "My children, I keep you always in my heart, but if you do not follow my advice, and if you reject my word, do not count longer on my kindness. I repeat that the intention of the great emperors is that the roads remain white throughout the land for the happiness of the red man and the white man. If the English warriors did not meet your attack it is because their chief at Mobile had ordered them not to shed the blood of the red men, and they preferred to descend rather than go up by force."

Perruquier: "Since you order it, father, we shall remain peaceful; and the English may come. Let them not be ungrateful to us and let them give us something."

M. Dabbadie: "I am glad to see you in this mood; you lighten my heart; but you must keep the promise you have given me. You



vous voyés ce chef anglois; c'est mon ami, je lui serre la main; les anglois vous en feront de même partout où ils vous rencontreront, et si vous etes tranquilles, ils pourvoiront comme nous à vos besoins.

Je soussigné interprète des nations Sauvages, certifie avoir interprété ce jourd'hui le discours ci dessus et des autres parts en présence de M<sup>rs</sup> les officiers des Troupes de cette Colonie, et de M. Pittman ingenieur anglois.

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 14. juillet 1764.

signé LAVILLEBEUVE.

Pour Copie. DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la lettre de M. D'Abbadie du 9. aoust 1764

[*Translation*]

see this English chief. He is my friend. I shake his hand. The English will do the same to you everywhere they meet you; and if you are peaceful they will provide for your wants as we have."

I, the undersigned interpreter of the Indian nations, certify to having interpreted today the above speech and other parts, in the presence of the officers of the troops of this colony and in the presence of M. Pittman, an English engineer.

NEW ORLEANS, July 14, 1764

signed LAVILLEBEUVE

True copy DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to M. Dabbadie's letter of August 9, 1764

GAGE TO BRADSTREET, July 15, 1764

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK July 15<sup>th</sup>, 1764

DEAR SIR,

The Receipt of your Letter from Oswego gave me great Pleasure, as we had heared here you was extreamly ill. As you mention nothing concerning your Health, I am to hope that you are recovered. If you find your Indians as hearty in our Cause as they are great in Numbers, you will draw great & material service out of them; you

certainly Judge very Right that their Behaviour now, is of great Concern to the Nation and you will soon have opportunity to prove their Intentions. Sir William Johnson conceives great Hopes from their Willingness to act offensively against the Enemy; and I am to hope that you will find, they answer his Expectations.

You have read Major Gladwin's Dispatches of the 7<sup>th</sup> & of the 11<sup>th</sup> of June; so need not repeat what He says in them. The ottawas leaving Detroit with some others, has not the aspect of Peace, and it is pretty plain from many acct<sup>s</sup> that they have all been supplied with Ammunition from the Illinois; and that they will endeavor to keep that Door open, as long as they can. one severe Blow on any of the Enemy Tribes, may startle them, & make them change their Resolutions, which do not seem at present to be pacifick. that Rascal Pondiac is at the Bottom of the whole. I before mentioned to you the use it might be of, to get some Deputys over to the Illinois. They were well disposed to receive us, before Pondiac inflamed Them against us. He went thither the Beginning of April with that Intent. A Letter from Mons<sup>r</sup> de Neyon the Commandant of the Illinois of the 14<sup>th</sup> of that Month, mentions his being there.<sup>1</sup>

From the slowness of the Resolves of Pennsylvania, and the tardiness of their Levies, you will have near done everything to be done on your side, before Colonel Bouquet begins his Operations. He proposes according to his present Calculation, to set out from Fort Pitt the Beginning of October. And if you are at that Time in a situation to go up the Sandusky, as far as you can, and entrench there; it will be a very good Divertion in his Favor. He fixes the first of October for your making that Movement. As you will have paid a visit to that spot, probably before this gets to you, you will be a Judge how far it will be of use to Him. He proposes to go into the midst of the Delawares and Shawnese, and to pierce to the lowermost Castle. But this, you will of Course keep to yourself. I will take up no more of your Time, than to tell you that I pray most heartily for your Success; as it behoves us very much to put a happy end to all our Broils this Campain, for I fear that the Provinces are in such a Temper, as they will refuse all further Requisitions for Troops. I am, with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 242.

ST. ANGE<sup>1</sup> TO DABBADIE, July 15, 1764[A.N., C., F<sup>3</sup>25 : 223 — E.S.]

Extrait de la Lettre de M. de St Ange Commandant aux ilinois à M. Dabbadie Directeur général Command<sup>t</sup> à la Louïsianne, du 15. juillet 1764.

Le 26. du passé les Chefs Miamis Kikapous, mascoutins, ouyatanons et Peanguichias arriverent ici avec leur bande; ils commencerent par m'assurer de leur Fidelité et de leur attachement pour la nation françoise, et me prièrent avec instances d'avoir pitié d'eux, qu'ils estoient denués de tout généralement, et qu'ils ne trouvoient point chés eux leur necessaire comme autrefois, et que si je n'avois pitié d'eux leurs Femmes et leurs enfans moureroient tous. j'ai profité, Monsieur, de ce moment pour leur Faire sentir que c'est la guerre qu'ils ont declarée aux anglois qui les reduisoit à cette extremité, et que s'ils avoient voulu mettre bas les armes lorsque M. de Neyon les y invita, ils auroient tous leurs secours, tant de la part de

## [Translation]

Extract of the letter from M. de St. Ange, commandant in the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie, director general, commandant in Louisiana, July 15, 1764.

The twenty-sixth of the past month the chiefs of the Miami, Kickapoo, Mascoutens, Wea, and Piankashaw arrived here with their band. They commenced by assuring me of their fidelity and of their attachment to the French nation, and they beseeched me to have pity upon them, saying that they were entirely destitute and did not find at their home those necessities as formerly, and that if I did not pity them, their wives and children would all die. I took advantage, sir, of that opportunity to make them feel that it is the war that they have declared against the English which has reduced them to this extremity; and that if they had wished to lay down their arms when M. de Villiers invited them, they would have had as much help from

<sup>1</sup> Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, born in 1701, was the son of a military officer in Canada. He spent most of his life in the West, and became commander of Post Vincennes in 1736, leaving there in 1764 to take command of Fort de Chartres, which he delivered to the British, October 14, 1765. St. Ange then removed to St. Louis where he served as commandant until 1770. He died December 26, 1774. Villiers du Terrage, *Louisiane française*, 210 n. 1; *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 16: 443 n. 1.

leur pere que de celle des Traiteurs, et que s'ils vouloient prendre ce parti je les soulagerois, à quoi ils me repondirent qu'ils aimoient mieux mourir tous que de Faire la paix avec les anglois, ils se trouvent extremement choqués lorsqu'on leur en parle, il est bien decidé qu'ils ont une haine mortelle contre cette nation.

Vû leur triste situation je n'ai pû me dispenser de leur donner quelque chose, etant persuadé que vôtre intention n'est pas de les abandonner totalement, je leur ai donné peu de Poudre, et ferai de même dans toutes occasions comme vous me l'ordonnés.

Le Chef Pondiak est parti d'ici le 1<sup>er</sup> de ce mois pour retourner au Detroit, après avoir mis dans sa cause (qu'il dit etre commune) toute la nation ilinoise, avec promesse de revenir ce Printems la revoir.

j'ai sçu par voie indirecte que toutes les nations des Lacs sont rassemblées au Détroit, et qu'elles sont toutes campées sur les passages, afin d'arrêter tous les Secours qui pourroient venir à la garnison angloise.

je viens d'apprendre par un François venant du Detroit, que les

[*Translation*]

their father as from the traders; and that if they wished to make that decision I would be kind to them. To which they replied they all preferred dying to making peace with the English. They are very much offended when one speaks to them about it. It is quite certain that they have a deadly hatred against that nation.

In view of their sad condition I could not keep from giving them something, being persuaded that your intention is not to abandon them entirely; I gave them a little powder and shall do the same on all occasions as you order me.

Chief Pontiac left here the first of this month to return to Detroit, after having brought over to his cause (which he says is a common one) all the Illinois nation with the promise to return to see them this spring.

I have learned indirectly that all the nations of the lakes are reassembled at Detroit, and that they are all camped on the routes in order to stop all help which may come to the English garrison.

I have just learned by a Frenchman coming from Detroit, that the



Chaowanons et les Loups<sup>1</sup> au nombre de 200. hommes, étoient dans la Riviere des Miamis, et qu'ils alloient se joindre aux Ouataowas pour faire le siège du Detroit.

M. de Neyon m'a envoyé la reponse que vous faites aux Chaowanons. lorsque quelqu'un de cette nation viendra ici, je la leur ferai expliquer, et la leur remettrai.

Le Fleuve continue à degrader l'Ecor, les eboulis sont considerables, plusieurs habitans sont et seront obligés d'élever leurs maisons.

L'inondation est depuis quelque tems si grande que plusieurs habitans ont perdu beaucoup de Semences, ce qui ne rendra pas la recolte abondante.

Pour Extrait. DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la Lettre de M. Dabbadie du 9. Aoust 1764

[*Translation*]

Shawnee and the Mahican<sup>1</sup> to the number of two hundred men were on the Miami River and were going to join the Ottawa in order to lay siege to Detroit.

M. de Villiers has sent me the reply which you made to the Shawnee. When some of that nation come here, I shall have it explained to them, and will send it to them.

The river continues to undermine the shore. The caving banks are numerous; many inhabitants are and will be obliged to raise their houses.

The inundation has been so bad for some time that several inhabitants have lost much seed, which will result in a small harvest.

True extract DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to M. Dabbadie's letter of August 9, 1764

<sup>1</sup> The Mahican, known among the French as Loups, originally occupied the territory lying on both banks of the upper Hudson River and extending north almost to Lake Champlain. On account of their constant war with the Iroquois many of them were obliged to seek refuge on the Susquehanna River near Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and later in the Ohio region. *American Indians*, art. "Mahican."

ST. ANGE TO DABBADIE, August 12, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44 : 131 — A.C.]

Copie de la Lettre de M. de s<sup>t</sup> Ange Commandant aux ilinois, à M. Dabbadie Directeur général, Command<sup>t</sup> pour le Roi à la Louisianne, du 12 août 1764

MONSIEUR,

Depuis la dernière que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire en date du 15. juillet dernier, les Missouris que je vous marquois être aux Kaos, sont arrivés ici avec Femmes, enfans, armes et bagages, le 17. du même mois. La crainte qu'ils ont des grands Ozages<sup>1</sup> avec lesquels ils sont en guerre, l'assaut qu'ils ont déjà souffert d'un de leurs partis au nombre de 300. hommes, et les menaces réitérées qu'ils leur ont fait faire de venir en plus grand nombre, les ont déterminés à se réfugier ici, et à me prier de leur faire accorder la paix; c'est à quoi j'ai déjà travaillé, il me reste à savoir si je réussirai; mais ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que je n'omettrai rien de ce qui pourra me mettre à même de calmer cette nation et de la faire vivre en bonne intelligence

[Translation]

Copy of letter from M. de St. Ange, commandant at the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie, director general, commandant for the king in Louisiana, August 12, 1764.

SIR:

Since the last that I had the honor to write to you, dated July 15 last, the Missouri, whom I informed you were at Cahokia, have arrived here the seventeenth of the same month with their wives, children, arms, and baggage. Their fear of the Great Osage<sup>1</sup> with whom they are at war, the assault which they have already suffered from one of their parties numbering three hundred men, and the reiterated threats which the Great Osage have made of coming in larger numbers have caused them to decide to take refuge here and to pray me to obtain for them peace. I have already been at work at this, and it remains to be seen if I shall succeed; but what is certain is that I shall omit nothing that will enable me to pacify that nation and make it live in good understanding with all the nations of the

<sup>1</sup> The Great Osage were the most important division of the Osage Indians and were located at this time on the Osage River. They were generally at war with the Illinois Indians. *American Indians*, art. "Osage."

avec toutes celles du Missouri; je viens de les déterminer à retourner à leur village, pour éviter une plus grande dépense, et rendre la tranquillité à nos habitans.

Quelque économie que je puisse mettre en usage, il est impossible que je ne fasse point de dépense; toutes les nations viennent me représenter l'état de leur situation et de leur misère et me prient de les secourir. je ne puis me refuser à leur donner quelque chose; il faut en outre les nourrir lorsqu'elles sont ici, la plus part venant de 150., 200., 250, et même 300. lieues avec seulement un peu de Poudre dans leurs Cornes, pour chasser le long de la route.

Le Nommé Mitamingue, chef à Mevaille de la Nation Pouteowatamis, de s<sup>t</sup> Joseph, est arrivé ici le 30. du passé, il m'a a réitéré son attachement pour les Français, et m'a assuré de la fidélité de ses gens il m'a informé d'une démarche qu'il a fait des Péorias chés une bande d'Ayavois qui est établie sur le bord du Mississipi, au sujet des insultes qu'ils ont faites aux François habitans aux Péorias, et des vols qu'ils leur ont fait en Chevaux et en Esclaves. il m'a assuré que si cette nation continuoît ce brigandage, elle s'attireroit la haine de

[*Translation*]

Missouri. I have just persuaded them to return to their villages in order to avoid a greater expense and to give peace to our inhabitants. Whatever economy I may practice, it is impossible not to make some expense; all the nations come to tell me of their situation and misery and to pray me to assist them. I cannot refuse to give them something. Furthermore it is necessary to support them when they are here, since the most part come one hundred and fifty, two hundred, two hundred and fifty, and even three hundred leagues with only a little powder in their horns for the purpose of hunting along the route.

A certain Mitamingue, chief *a Mevaille* [?] of the Potawatomi nation of St. Joseph, arrived here the thirtieth of the past month. He reasserted his attachment to the French and assured me of the fidelity of his people. He informed me of a measure which he had taken with the Peoria at the camp of a band of Iowa, which is established on the bank of the Mississippi, on the occasion of the insults which they had offered to the French inhabitants of Peoria and the thefts of horses and slaves which they had committed. He assured me that if this nation continued this brigandage it would draw upon

celles qui sont attachées aux François, il m'a dit les en avoir menacés, et leur avoir fait rendre tout ce qu'ils avoient pris aux François. La conduite de ce Chef m'a été confirmée par le Nommé Detailly.

je l'ai reçu et traité avec tout ce que son attachement et sa fidélité lui méritent; et l'ai engagé à continuer de même en toute occasion. je n'ai pas manqué de lui dire, ainsi qu'aux autres nations, que l'attachement qu'ils avoient pour les François ne devoit pas les engager à continuer la guerre aux Anglois, que leur pere vouloit qu'ils missent bas les armes, afin de faire régner la tranquillité, et que ce ne seroit qu'en prenant ce parti qu'ils prouveroient véritablement leur attachement, mais je les trouve toujours dans les mêmes résolutions, ils sont inflexibles sur ce point, et répètent dans toutes leurs harangues qu'ils ne renonceront jamais à voir leur premier Pere qui les a toujours traités avec douceur, et qu'ils ne continuent cette guerre que pour le conserver, que d'ailleurs ils ne trouveront point les mêmes avantages avec les Anglois, ni les mêmes bontés sous leur gouvernement, ayant déjà éprouvé le ton de maître de leur part.

Les Péorias et Kaokias qui sont en village près de ce fort, con-

[*Translation*]

itself the hatred of those who are attached to the French. He told me that he had threatened them and had forced them to return all that they had taken from the French. The conduct of this chief was confirmed by a man named Detailly.

I received and treated him with all the honor that his attachment and his fidelity merited, and I have pledged him to continue the same on all occasions. I have not failed to tell him as well as the other nations that the attachment that they have for the French should not pledge them to continue the war against the English, that their father wished that they lay down their arms in order to make peace reign, and that they would truly prove their attachment only in acting on this decision. But I find them always in the same resolution; they are inflexible on this point and repeat in all their harangues that they will never renounce seeing their first father who has always treated them with kindness and that they continue this war only to protect him; that furthermore they will not find the same advantage with the English nor the same benefits under their government, since they have already experienced the tone of the master from them.

The Peoria and the Cahokia who are in a village near this fort



tinuent toujours leurs insolences vis-à-vis les François, et leur font des torts considerables par les enlevemens de Chevaux qu'ils font fort souvent, il y a un mois qu'ils partirent pour la Chasse d'Eté, et emmenèrent un grand nombre de chevaux dont plusieurs sont morts. ils viennent d'arriver et m'ont fait demander à me parler; je leur ai refusé la porte du fort jusqu'à ce qu'ils ayent rendu les chevaux qu'ils ont volés, et qu'ils se soient arrangés avec les anglois qui y sont intéressés. ils sont aussi accusés d'avoir reçu dans leur chasse d'Eté un colier de la part des anglois du Détroit, pour fraper sur nous; c'est ce que je ne crois pas. Quoiqu'il en soit je ferai toujours les perquisitions necessaires pour découvrir la chose lorsque je parlerai à cette nation.

je viens d'apprendre que les Chefs Chaouanons et Loups au nombre de 60. sont en route dans la belle Riviere, pour venir me parler, et sçavoir des nouvelles. Cette visite m'embarrasse beaucoup, vû les circonstances présentes; j'aurai l'honneur de vous informer, Monsieur, par la première occasion du sujet de leur démarche.

La récolte est très mauvaise comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le

[*Translation*]

always continue their insults to the French and commit considerable harm by the stealing of horses which they do very often. A month ago they set out for the summer chase and brought away a great number of horses of which several are dead. They have just arrived and demanded to speak to me. I refused to open the gate of the fort for them until they should return the horses which they have stolen and have made arrangements with the English who are interested therein. They are also accused of having received during their summer hunt a belt from the English at Detroit in order that they strike a blow at us. I do not believe this. Whatever there is in the report, I shall always make the necessary inquiries in order to discover the truth of this matter when I shall speak to this nation.

I have just learned that the chiefs of the Shawnee and the Mahican to the number of sixty are en route on the Ohio to come to speak to me and to learn the news. This visit embarrasses me much on account of the present circumstances. I shall have the honor of informing you, sir, on the subject of their actions by the first occasion.

The harvest is very bad as I have had the honor of informing you.

marquer; l'inondation a été si grande, que beaucoup de bleds ont été perdus, ce qui causera une disette dans cette partie.

Le Fleuve continue toujours à dégrader, surtout au dessous du fort, de façon que le village court beaucoup de risque.

Tout est bien tranquille de la part des françois. il n'est rien autre chose de nouveau.

j'ai l'honneur, &c.

signé s<sup>t</sup> ANGE.

P. S. Depuis la présente écrite les Ayavois desquels j'ai eu l'honneur de vous parler, nous ont blessé un François qui étoit en chasse sur le Mississipi à 35. lieuës au dessus de ce fort. il paroît, Monsieur, que les menaces que le Nommé Metamingue leur a faite ne leur ont fait aucune impression, ce qui me mettra dans le cas de m'opposer au départ des Traiteurs qui se dispoient à aller dans cette partie, jusqu'à ce que j'aye pû informer les Sacs et les Renards de la conduite de ces Coquins de sauvages.

signé s<sup>t</sup> ANGE.

Pour Copie DABBADIE.

[*Endorsed:*] Joint à la lettre de M. Dabbadie du 30 7<sup>bre</sup> 1764. Joint à la lettre N<sup>o</sup> 87

[*Translation*]

The inundation has been so great that much corn has been lost which will cause a scarcity in this country.

The river continues always to undermine the banks, especially below the fort, so that the village runs much risk.

All is very quiet among the French. There is no other news. I have the honor, etc.

signed St. ANGE

P. S. Since writing the present the Iowa, concerning whom I have had the honor of writing you, have wounded a Frenchman who was hunting on the Mississippi thirty-five leagues above this fort. It appears, sir, that the threats that the one named Metamingue made to them have made no impression. This fact has caused me to oppose the departure of the traders who were preparing to go into this region until I should be able to inform the Sauk and Foxes of the conduct of these knavish savages.

signed St. ANGE

True copy DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to the letter of M. Dabbadie, September 30, 1764. Joined to the letter No. 87

PITTMAN ADDRESSES THE ILLINOIS TRADERS, August 12, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[Lansdowne Papers, 131:121—C.]

Copie du Discours tenû, à La Nouvelle Orleans, par Le Sieur Pittman, Officier Anglois, aux Voyageurs Francois des Illinois. le 12. Août 1764.<sup>2</sup>

MESSIEURS,

La Situation presente des Affaires m'a obligé de Vous donner cette Peine, permettés que Je vous fasse mes sinceres Remercimens de ce que Vous avés bien voulu condescendre à ma Priere. Je vais Vous faire part le plus succinctement possible du Sujet qui m'a engagé à vous voir, Vous Messieurs, qui avés Dessein de monter aux Illinois pour y jouir de vos Possessions.

M'étant ordonné par Le Commandant Anglois de La Louisianne de me rendre, s'il est possible, aux Illinois, Je me suis adressé à Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie, qui m'assure qu'il m'accorderoit toute la Facilité qui dependroit de Lui, pour me rendre cette Entreprise aisée, m'avertissant, en même Tems, des Dangers inevitables, auxquels Je serai exposé dans le Cours d'un pareil Voyage, que comme il n'y avoit

[*Translation*]

Copy of the discourse held at New Orleans by M. Pittman, English officer, to the French *voyageurs* of the Illinois, August 12, 1764.<sup>2</sup>

SIRS:

The present situation of affairs has compelled me to make this trouble for you; permit me to return my sincere thanks to you for having been willing to consent to my prayer. I am going to tell you most briefly the subject which has caused me to see you — you, sirs, who are proposing to ascend to the Illinois in order to enjoy your possessions there.

Having been ordered by the English commandant of Louisiana to go, if possible, to the Illinois, I addressed myself to M. Dabbadie who assured me that he would accord me every facility that depended upon him to render this enterprise easy; but he told me at the same time of the inevitable dangers to which I should be exposed in the course of such a journey, saying that as there were no French troops

<sup>1</sup> For further information see *ante*, 189.

<sup>2</sup> On the subject of this discourse, see *post*, 302, 309.

aucune Troupe François qui montât, il ne pouvoit repondre des Accidens qui pourroient m'arriver. Avant que de renoncer à l'Execution de mes Ordres, J'ai crû, Messieurs, devoir Vous faire part combien ils vous concernent particulièrement. Je ne Vous parlerai point de la Situation malheureuse où se trouve Votre Païs, qui est dans un Etât d'Anarchie & de Confusion, Vous le scavés aussi bien que moi, également *que la Certitude des Nouvelles que Les Espagnols doivent dans peu venir prendre Possession des Terres qui restent aux François à la Louisianne.* C'est ce qui a déterminé Le Commandant Anglois à profiter de la premiere Occasion pour envoyer une Personne capable de remplir ses Intentions, en tâchant de trouver les moyens de calmer les Sauvages aux Illinois, & de donner aux Habitans une juste Idée des Anglois, qui doivent resider parmi Eux, comme de la Liberté dont les Sujets de La Grande Bretagne jouissent, & de ses Loix, dont l'Univers revere & admire la Justice. Ce Commandant m'a honnore de cette importante Commission, mais Je crains que Les Illinois ne jouiront pas du Bonheur de gouter la Douceur du Gouvernement Anglois jusques à ce que Les Hommes rouges soient amenés à la Raison, & que la Navigation du Fleuve Mississipi soit libre, & à l'abri de leurs Molestations.

[Translation]

that were ascending he could not be responsible for the accidents that could happen to me. Before renouncing the execution of my orders, I thought, sirs, that I ought to inform you how much they concerned you in particular. I shall not speak to you of the unhappy situation in which your country is; that it is in a state of anarchy and confusion you know as well as I, *nor shall I speak of the truth of the news that the Spaniards will come in a little while to take possession of the lands in Louisiana which remain to the French.* This has determined the English commandant to profit by the first occasion to send a person capable of carrying out his intentions of finding means to pacify the savages in the Illinois, and of giving the inhabitants a just idea of the English who are to reside among them, as well as of the liberty which the subjects of Great Britain enjoy and of their laws, the justice of which the universe reveres and admires. This commandant has honored me with this important commission, but I fear that the Illinois people will not enjoy the fortune of tasting this sweetness of the English government until the red men are brought to reason and the navigation of the river Mississippi is free and protected from their attacks.



J'attends journellement l'Agent de S. M. Britannique, nommé pour les Affaires des Sauvages, qui vient avec des Presens convenables pour ceux etablis sur les Rives du Fleuve Mississipi, aussi bien que pour ceux des Illinois; mais J'apprehende qu'il ne Lui sera pas possible de les delivrer avant le Printems. Je ne vous parle de ceci, que pour Vous faire voir combien Nous desirons faire sentir dans les Parties de L'Amerique les plus éloignées l'Amenité de la Paix qu'il a plû au Ciel de rendre à L'Europe. Il ne me reste qu'à scavoir, Messieurs, si en m'accordant Passage Vous voulez Vous engager à me defendre des Insultes des Sauvages, auxquelles Je serai exposé, & prendre toutes les Precautions necessaires pour ma Sûreté. Il n'y a que Vous, qui puissiez scavoir si Vous pouvés me promettre ceci, sans Péril pour Vous. Comptés, que si Vous condescendés à ma Demande, Le Gouvernement Anglois Vous en sçaura gré, comme de la plus forte Preuve de votre Affection pour Lui, & que votre Zèle sera recompensé de son Estime que meritent tous bons Sujets. Votre Reponse determinera ma Resolution de laquelle Je ne manquerai pas de Vous faire part.

Pour Copie. Signé. D'ABBADIE.

[*Translation*]

I am daily awaiting the agent of his Britannic majesty, who has charge of the affairs of the savages, who is coming with presents suitable for those established on the banks of the Mississippi, as well as for those in the Illinois; but I learn that it will be impossible for him to deliver these before spring. I speak to you of this only that you may see how much we desire that the blessing of the peace that it has pleased Heaven to give to Europe be felt in the parts of America the most distant. There remains only to know, sirs, if, in granting me a passage, you are willing to promise to defend me from the insults of the savages to which I shall be exposed and to take all the precautions that are necessary for my safety. You are the only ones who can know whether you can promise this without peril to yourselves. If you consent to my demands, you may be sure that the English government will take it as the strongest proof of your affection, and that your zeal will be recompensed by the esteem that all good subjects merit. Your answer will determine my resolution in this matter, concerning which I shall not fail to inform you.

True copy Signed DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] (4) *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Lieut: Pittman's Speech to The Illinois Traders. New Orleans, Aug<sup>st</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1764. In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's, of the 9<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764. In M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick's Letter of 12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764.

[*Translation*]

[*Endorsed:*] (4) Plantations General. Lieutenant Pittman's speech to the Illinois traders, New Orleans, August 12, 1764. In Major General Gage's of November 9, 1764. In Mr. Sedgwick's letter of December 12, 1764.

DABBADIE TO GAGE, August 16, 1764

[Lansdowne Papers, 131:121—C.]

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS, le 16. Aout, 1764.

MONSIEUR,

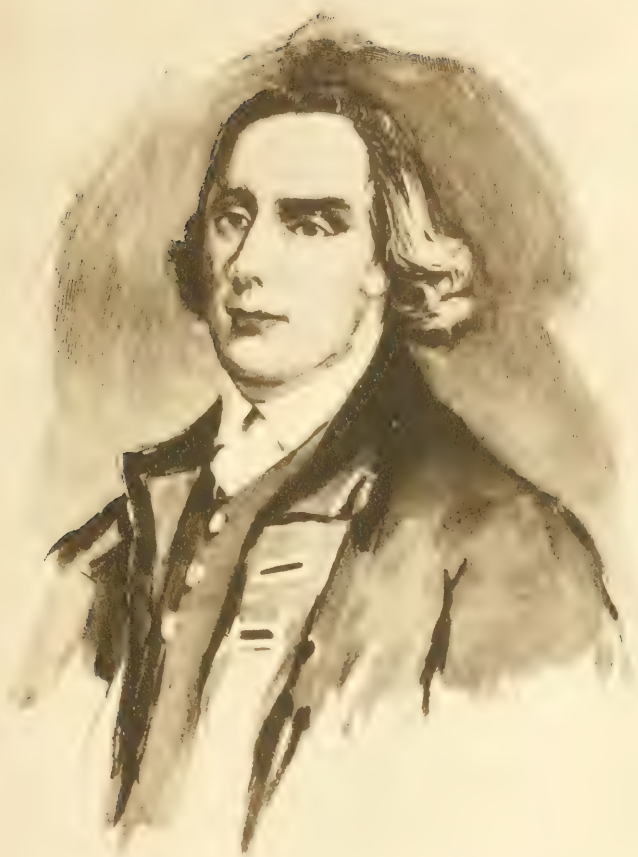
J'ai recû la Lettre, que Vous m'aves fait l'honneur de m'ecrire le 20. Mars dernier. Je suis sensible, comme Je le dois aux Sentimens de Conciliation, & de bonne Amitié, que Vous me témoignés; Je n'aurois suivi dans tous les Arrangemens, que Je voulois prendre avec Mo<sup>r</sup> Farmar, que ce qui me paroissoit le plus conforme à la saine Politique, & aux Intentions de Nos Monarques respectifs, & Je gemis bien sincerement du Trouble, que Les Sauvages Vous occasionnent dans la Partie du Nord. Nous n'avons cessé, M. de Kerlérec, mon Predecesseur, & Moi, de marquer aux Commandans Francois de Postes situés sur le Mississipi, & surtout à ceux de Pais Ilinois, qu'ils

[*Translation*]

NEW ORLEANS, August 16, 1764

SIR:

I received the letter which you did me the honor to write me March 20, last. I am sensible, as I should be, of the sentiments of conciliation and good friendship to which you testify. I have followed in all the arrangements that I made with M. Farmar only what appeared to be most conformable to political health and to the intentions of our respective monarchs. I lament very sincerely the difficulties in the North which the savages have caused you. M. de Kerlérec, my predecessor, and I have not ceased from ordering the French commandants of the posts situated on the Mississippi, and







devoient mettre tout en usage pour contenir & calmer les Sauvages, mais ceux-ci paroissent toujours si acharnés, qu'il n'est pas possible de rien gagner sur Eux. V: Ex<sup>ce</sup> en jugera Ellemême par l'Extrait que Je joins ici de la Lettre du Commandant Francois actuellem<sup>t</sup> au Fort de Chartres des Illinois.

Je sçais que des Gens malintentionnés ont repandu qu'il étoit de l'Interêt des Francois, que vos Troupes ne montassent pas sitôt aux Illinois, & que de là venoient les Difficultés & les Oppositions qu'elles avoient essuyées de la part des Sauvages. Je crois avoir suffisamment connoître ma façon de penser & d'agir pour tout ce qui les concerne. Quant aux Interêts de cette Colonie, & des Sujets François, tout engage dans la Position actuelle à desirer de Vous voir paisibles Possesseurs de ce qu'il a plû à sa Majesté Tres Chret<sup>nne</sup> de vous ceder dans cette Partie de La Louissianne. Les depenses que S.M.T.C. a été obligée de faire pour conserver les Etablissemens dans ce Pais cédé, & celles qu'elle fait encore, sont très considérables. Les Habitans des Illinois sont dans la plus grande Peine, & dans la plus

[*Translation*]

especially those in the Illinois country, that they should use every endeavor to control and calm the savages; but the latter appear always so embittered that it is not possible to gain any influence over them. Your excellency will be able yourself to judge of this from the extract of the letter of the French commandant now at Fort de Chartres in the Illinois, which I join herewith.

I know that evil-minded people have reported that it was of interest to the French that your troops should not mount so soon to the Illinois and that hence come the difficulties and the opposition which have been experienced on the part of the savages. I believe that my method of thinking and acting in everything that concerns the Indians is sufficiently known. As to the interests of this colony and the French subjects, everything contributes to the desire of seeing you the peaceable possessor of that which it has pleased his very Christian majesty to cede to you in that part of Louisiana. The expenses which his very Christian majesty has been obliged to make in order to maintain the establishments in the ceded country, and those which he is still making, are very considerable. The inhabitants of the Illinois are in the greatest difficulty and in the greatest uncertainty as

grande Incertitude de leur Sort, Les Sauvages etablis sur le Mississipi sont inquiets, & inquietans de tout ce qu'ils voyent, & de tout ce qu'on leur dit, il n'y aura que la Prise de Possession qui puisse mettre les Choses dans le bon Ordre pour les Habitans François, & pour les Sauvages. Que V: Ex<sup>ce</sup> juge de là si Je desire pour l'avantage de S.M. Très Chretienne, pour celui de ses Sujets, & pour ma Tranquillité personnelle que Vous puissies bientôt prendre Possession des Domaines cedés à Sa Maj<sup>te</sup> Britannique.

Le Sieur Pittman est venu à Nouvelle Orléans destiné par le Major Farmar pour monter seul aux Illinois, pour tacher de ramener les Sauvages. Je n'ai pû m'empêcher de faire connoître à cet Officier tous les Risques d'une pareille Entreprise, malgré les Facilités que Je pouvois Lui donner pour l'exécuter, il en a été convaincu par Luimême, & il Vous en rendra Compte. Quoique Je Lui aye permis de prendre à La Nouvelle Orleans tous les Arrangemens qu'il croiroit convenables pour l'Execution de son Projet, J'ai à me plaindre, qu'il ait assemble chez Lui, sans ma Participation, plusieurs Voyageurs qui se dispoient à partir pour Les Illinois, & encore plus qu'il leur ait parlé

[Translation]

to their fortune; the savages established on the Mississippi are restless and remain restless from everything which they see and from everything which is told to them; only the occupation of this country can put affairs in good order for the French inhabitants and the savages. May your excellency judge from that whether I desire that you may soon be able to take possession of the domains ceded to his Britannic majesty for the advantage of his very Christian majesty, and for that of his subjects, and for my personal tranquillity.

M. Pittman came to New Orleans, sent by Major Farmar, to ascend to the Illinois for the purpose of attempting to calm the savages. I could not refrain from making known to this officer all the risks of such an enterprise in spite of the facilities I could give him for its execution. He has been convinced of them himself and will render thereof an account to you. Although I permitted him to make at New Orleans all the preparations that he believed necessary for the execution of his project, I have to complain that he assembled at his house, without my knowledge, several *voyageurs* who were preparing to set out for the Illinois, and also that he has spoken to

comme il a fait, dans le Discours, dont Je joins ici Copie, en donnant pour certain à ces Voyageurs un Bruit populaire de la Cession de cette Colonie à L'Espagne, cela etoit etranger à son Objet;<sup>1</sup> Il m'a assuré de toute la Droiture de ses Intentions, mais Je n'en ai pas été moins sensible à son peu d'égard & de Reflexion à ce Sujet. J'ai été bien aise de profiter de son Sejour à la N<sup>lle</sup> Orleans pour y faire venir les Sauvages Tonitras, & leur parler en sa Presence sur ce qu'ils avoient frappé au Mois de Mars dernier sur le Convoi Anglois;<sup>2</sup> Il vous rendra Compte, Mo<sup>r</sup>, de tout ce qui s'est passé à ce sujet.

J'ai l'honneur &c<sup>a</sup>

Signé D'ABBADIE.

[Endorsed:] (2) Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Copy of a Letter from Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie, to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. New Orleans, 16<sup>th</sup> August 1764. In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's, of the 9<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764. In M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick's Letter of 12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764.

[Translation]

them in the manner he did in the discourse a copy of which I join herewith, and that he gave out as a fact to these *voyageurs* a popular rumor of the cession of this colony to Spain, which was foreign to his purpose.<sup>1</sup> He has assured me of the honesty of his intentions, but I am not less sensible of his lack of regard and thought on the subject. I have been very glad to profit by his sojourn in New Orleans to have the Tunica savages come, and to speak to them in his presence concerning their attack in March last upon the English convoy.<sup>2</sup> He will render an account to you, sir, of all that has passed in this matter.

I have the honor, etc.

signed DABBADIE

[Endorsed:] (2) Plantations General. Copy of a letter from M. Dabbadie, to the Hon. Major General Gage, New Orleans, August 16, 1764. In Major General Gage's of November 9, 1764. In Mr. Sedgwick's letter of December 12, 1764.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 182, 190, 198, *post*, 314.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, 180.

BRADSTREET TO ST. ANGE, August 26, 1764

[P.H.S., B.T.P., P.G., 25: pt. 1, 291—C.]

Copie de la lettre du Commandant Bradstreet à M. de St Ange  
Command<sup>t</sup> aux Illinois; du 26 Août 1764.

MONSIEUR,

On m'a informé des peines que M. de Neyon s'est données avant de quitter le païs des ilinois, pour eloigner tout soupçon et pour arrêter les faux bruits que l'on faisoit courir parmi les habitans et les Sauvages qui y demeurent, qui ne servoient qu'à les rendre malheureux, et qui ont été fort desavantageux aux troupes angloises qu'on avoit envoyées pour prendre possession de ce Poste là.

je ne doute point, Monsieur, que vous m'ayés Suivi un si bon exemple, et que vous ne donniez toute la protection qui dépendra de vous à Mons<sup>r</sup> Morris, Capitaine dans les troupes angloises, qui vous remettra cette Lettre, pour le mettre en etat d'exécuter les ordres qu'il a reçus de moi.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> &c

Signé TH BRADSTREET.

CAMP, À LA POINTE AUX CEDRES,

ce 26 août 1764.

[Translation]

Copy of letter of Commander Bradstreet to M. St. Ange, commander in the Illinois, August 26, 1764.

SIR:

I have been informed of the pains that M. de Villiers has taken before leaving the country of the Illinois to remove every suspicion and to stop the false rumors which were being made current among the inhabitants and the savages who dwell there, rumors which served only to make them unhappy and have been very disadvantageous to the English troops who have been sent to take possession of that post.

I do not doubt, sir, that you have followed such a good example and that you will give every protection which depends upon you to M. Morris, a captain in the English troops, who will deliver this letter to you, in order to place him in a position to execute the orders which he has received from me. I have the honor, etc.

Signed TH. BRADSTREET

CAMP AT POINTE AUX CEDRES

August 26, 1764



JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, August 30, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.18, f. 119 — A.L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL Aug<sup>st</sup> 30th 1764.

MY LORDS

In my last of the 11<sup>th</sup> of May, I had the honour of acquainting your Lordships with the Success of my Indian Partys, & my Transactions from January to that period, as also of my then intended Journey to Niagra, to receive the Submission of & enter into an Alliance with the Western Nations who had requested Peace. Accordingly I set out last June & arrived at Niagra the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, where I found some of the Western Nations already Assembled, at the same time Co<sup>ll</sup> Bradstreet arrived with the Army under his Command, to accompany which, I had brought upwards of six hundred of the Freind Indians. by the 25<sup>th</sup>, I had Deputys from almost every Nation to the Westward Viz<sup>t</sup> *Hurons, Ottawaes, Chippawaes, Meynomineys or Folles Avoins, Foxes, Sakis*, Puans, &ca with some from the North side of Lake Superior, & the Neighbourhood of Hudsons Bay, but it was not till some days after that the Senecas came in, a report haveing prevailed amongst them that the English intended to cut them off, this delay of theirs, which at first we were at a loss to account for rendered it impolitic for the Troops to move, & leave the carrying place exposed until we had settled matters with them, the whole number of the Indians amounted to 2060, of which 1700 were fighting Men, a greater Number than ever Assembled in one Body on the like, or any other Occasion.

The Treaty of Peace with the Hurons of Detroit, & the Enemy Seneca's, I have the Honour to enclose you herewith. As for the other Nations, they declared that they only came to renew their engagements, not having approved of the War, or engaged in it, except some individuals who had left them for that purpose, and these Indians being likewise furnished with Several Certificates from Major Gladwin, and other Officers importing that they had behaved verry well, & protected the Garrisons of La Baye & Michilimacinac, I thought it best to promise them that they should be admitted into the Covenant Chain of Freindship, on their agreeing to the reestablishment of *Michilimacinac* (w<sup>h</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Bradstreet was ordered to effect) and promising to get all Prisoners out of the Enemys hands, as also to procure

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7: 648.

some restitution for the Traders losses; all which they engaged to perform. The Hurons delivered three Prisoners, and the Senecas 14 with a Deserter. The Delawares of Susquahana & its branches having abandoned their Habitations after the Success of my first Ind<sup>n</sup> Party, applied to the Senecas of Chenussio to use their Interest that the breach between them & the English might be made up, & Sent Several belts of Wampum with them to that effect, which I refused to accept of, till they had delivered a person called their *King*, together with their Cheif [*sic*] Warrior, & all the Prisoners in their possession Which the *Chenussios* engaged to see performed, & delivered up two of their own Cheifs as Hostages, who are in confinement, till the Same be complied with.—Matters thus far Settled on the 6<sup>th</sup> of this Inst Co<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet & the Troops accompanied by the Freind Indians proceeded for Lake Erie, & the same day I set out on my return Home, where I arrived a few days ago.

The cession made by the Senecas is very considerable, & will I hope put a Stop to all future disputes about the carrying place, In fact they have been great losers by us concerning it, as they were the only carriers made use of by the French Traders, but since our possessing Niagra, Carriages were made use of at a much higher rate, and even a Monopoly attempted there, but for my remonstrances against it. My sole motive for Accepting of the Islands which they so earnestly pressed on me, was to have it in my power humbly to offer them to his Majesty, one of them contains near 15000 Acres, & has much grass land, which will be very useful to the Cattle at the Garrisons.

*Pondiac* is with some of the most obstinate as yet in the *Miamis* Country near the West End of Lake Erie but he has sent to desire peace, and I believe is only apprehensive for his security & that of those with him, otherwise he would have attended the Congress, the *Pottawatamies* Staid back on the same Acc<sup>t</sup>, the Shawanese & Delawares about the River are I apprehend greatly alarmed at the fidelity of the Indians in our Interest; Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet is preparing to go against them & the Enterprise must be attended with many difficultys, I have just sent a party of Indians to accompany him,—this is the State of these Affairs at present.

Your Lordships will doubtless approve of my giving my Sentiments on the Stability of the peace, I shall do so in as few words as possible, without enlarging on the particulars I have formerly men-

tioned.— The Indians who are removed at a distance from our Settlements, are so jealous of us, & so alarmed on being denied some favours which they were used to, that they will hardly think a peace binding unless it is followed by some gifts which interests them in the observance of it, they apprehend we design to enslave them, & they consider our Advancing into their Country, as so many Steps to effect it. They are verry solicitous for Trade, & it was judged necessary to promise it to them when all our Enemies were brought to reason; I therefore told them that the sooner they effected it, the better it would be for themselves, in short, Trade they will have, or have recourse to plundering, and the People in the Provinces appear as eager for it as they do, thousands subsist by it, who must be ruined without it, & fail of making their remittances to Europe.

To render this peace lasting, I know no methods better than those I have had the honour in my last letters to lay before Your Lordships; if we conquer their prejudices by our generosity they will lay aside their Jealousys, & we may rest in security. this is much cheaper than any other plan, & more certain of success Our extensive Frontiers renders it necessary if we will provide for their security; for our Out Posts, Convoys, Traders & Frontier Inhabitants, are at all times in the power of the Enemy, and from some one of them, they can always draw resources for annoying the rest. the Operations of last Campaign, demonstrated their own power to the Indians beyond any other they ever knew, they saw themselves Able to effect what was looked upon by many of our prejudiced Politicians here as utterly impossible notwithstanding all my remonstrances founded on many Years Experience. The Indians all know we cannot be a Match for them in the midst of an extensive woody Country, where tho we may at a large expence convey an Army, we cannot continue it there, but must leave our small Posts at the end of the Campaign liable either to be blockaded, surprised, or taken by treachery. View all our Attempts made to possess the interior Country & Your Lordships will find we have met with the same spirit of opposition from the Indians, from whence I infer that if we are determined to possess our Out Posts, Trade &c securely, it cannot be done for a Century by any other means than that of purchasing the favour of the numerous Indian Inhabitants. to limit the Out Posts, & confine the Commerce to those which are most considerable, will certainly be less hazardous, and Expensive, as well as answer every purpose we want, the re-

taining Posts, two or three Hundred Miles distant from each Other, did not make us Masters of a Foot of Ground about them, & instead of awing the Indians were themselves awed by them, I can Affirm these Sentiments to be just, & what must be experienced, if not so already, & that any other representation must proceed from Error or prejudice, & must prove destructive to the American Frontiers.

I am in daily expectation of the honour of your Lordships sentiments, on which I have formerly transmitted,—and I remain with the most profound Respect, My Lords, Your Lordships

Most Obedient, & most Devoted Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> Johnson

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF TRADE & PLANTATIONS.

P.S.—Lieut<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> William Eyre of the 44<sup>th</sup> Regiment & Cheif Engineer in America, will have the honour to deliver your Lordships this, provided he goes as soon as expected to London, otherwise it is to go by the Packquet.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Genl.* Letter from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson to the Board, dated 30 August 1764, relative to the present State of Indian Affairs within his district, & inclosing 2 papers Rec<sup>d</sup> Nov 26, 1764 Read 27 S. 27.

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, September 10, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44: 118 — L.S.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M Dabbadie prise de possession de la mobile M. Dubuq

A LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 10<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1764.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Je vous ai marqué par la Lettre N<sup>o</sup> 73.<sup>1</sup> que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous ecrire le 9. Août dernier, que le s. Pittman qui avoit été

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dabbadie. Taking possession of Mobile. M. Dubuq.

NEW ORLEANS, September 10, 1764

MY LORD:

I have informed you by letter no. 73<sup>1</sup> which I did myself the honor of writing you August 9 last that M. Pittman who had been chosen to

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.



destiné à monter seul aux ilinois, étoit retourné à la Mobile pour Faire part à son Commandant de ses reflexions sur les difficultés de cette entreprise. il paroît que ce Command<sup>t</sup> n'y a pas eu egard, et le s. Pittman est revenu à la Nouvelle Orléans le mois dernier dans le dessein de suivre son projet. Comme il y avoit ici plusieurs Bateaux armés par les particuliers, destinés à transporter quelques approvisionnemens aux ilinois, je dis au s<sup>r</sup> Pittman de voir parmi ces particuliers s'il y en avoit quelqu'un qui voulut se charger de lui donner passage, mais exigeant qu'on l'assurât d'une défense et d'une protection particulieres en cas de rencontre de quelque parti de sauvages, il n'a trouvé personne qui aye voulu s'en charger à de pareilles conditions.

Cet événement m'a mis dans le cas de me plaindre au Général Gage de la conduite du s. Pittman qui a assemblé ici chés lui sans ma participation, les Engagés des Bateaux qui alloient monter aux ilinois, pour leur faire le discours dont je joins ici Copie,<sup>1</sup> que j'ai trouvé très déplacé, surtout que le s. Pittman aye donné pour certain un bruit populaire de la cession de cette Colonie à l'Espagne. j'ai

[Translation]

ascend alone to the Illinois had returned to Mobile in order to impart to his commandant his reflections on the difficulties of this enterprise. It appears that this commandant has paid no attention to them, and M. Pittman returned to New Orleans last month with the purpose of pursuing his project. Since there were several bateaux equipped by private individuals destined to transport some provisions to the Illinois, I told M. Pittman to look among these individuals to see if there was not some one who would be willing to burden himself with giving him passage, but demanding that he be assured of defense and protection, particularly in case of meeting a party of savages. He has not found anyone who would be willing to burden himself with these conditions.

This event has given me the occasion of complaining to General Gage of the conduct of M. Pittman who assembled here at his house, without my participation, the *engagés* of the bateaux who were going to ascend to the Illinois in order to make to them a discourse, a copy of which I herewith join.<sup>1</sup> This act I have found very distasteful, especially since M. Pittman has given out for certain a popular rumor of the cession of this colony to Spain. In accordance with my duty

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 297.

témoigné à cet officier, comme je le devois, tout le mécontentement que j'avois de ses procédés; quoiqu'il soit convenu de ses torts, je crois essentiel, Monseigneur, que vous en soyiez instruit.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous prévenir combien je redoutois le caractère inquiétant de nos voisins, vous êtes à même d'en juger par toutes les difficultés que j'ai éprouvées jusqu'ici. j'ai toujours agi avec ces dispositions pacifiques si conformes à vos intentions mais le Silence que vous gardés, Monseigneur, sur tous ces événemens, en ne répondant à aucune de mes Lettres, me jette dans une perplexité que je ne peux vous rendre, plus instruit de vos intentions je serois plus confiant dans tous les arrangemens que je suis obligé de faire.

J'ai reçu depuis peu de jours les Lettres du Général Gage dont je joins ici Copie, auxquelles je répondrai par la première occasion; il me paroît que les Anglois veulent faire une seconde tentative pour monter aux Illinois par le Mississipi; je ferai dans celle-ci comme dans l'autre tout ce qui dépendra de moi, mais j'ai encore bien des raisons de douter du succès.

Le s. Campbell Officier anglois partit le mois dernier de la N<sup>e</sup> 11

[*Translation*]

I expressed to this officer all the displeasure that I felt at his procedure. Although he was conscious of his wrongs, I think that it is essential, my lord, that you be informed of them.

I have had the honor of informing you how I distrusted the disquieting character of our neighbors. You are able to judge of it by all the difficulties that I have experienced up to this time. I have always acted with those pacific dispositions so conformable to your intentions, but the silence which you maintain on all these events in not answering any of my letters throws me into a perplexity of which I cannot render you an account. Were I more instructed of your intentions, I would be more confident in all the arrangements that I am obliged to make.

I received a few days ago the letters of General Gage, copies of which I join herewith. To these I shall answer by the first occasion. It appears to me that the English are desirous of making a second attempt to ascend to the Illinois by the Mississippi. In this attempt, as in the other, I shall do everything that depends upon me, but I still have my reasons for doubting the success of it.

M. Campbell, English officer, set out last month from New

Orléans avec mon agrément, pour aller reconnoître la Riviere d'Iberville que les Anglois veulent entreprendre de déboucher. Cette Riviere n'est encore bien connue que de quelques anciens sauvages nos domiciliés: elle communique, à ce qu'on dit, du Mississipi dans la grande Riviere d'Amite, mais celle-ci est coupée par tant d'autres petites Rivières qui se perdent comme elle dans le Lac Maurepas, qu'on peut facilement se tromper; c'est ce qui est arrivé au s. Campbell, car après avoir parcouru différens Bayoux, ou petites Rivières, il n'a pas trouvé celui qu'il cherchoit.

Milord Adam Gourdon Colonel d'un Regiment d'infanterie, et Membre du Parlement de la Grande Bretagne, vient d'arriver à Pensacole sur le vaisseau de guerre le Tartare que commande le Ch<sup>er</sup> Lindsay chef d'Escadre. ce Milord m'a écrit pour me demander mon agrément pour me venir voir à la N<sup>elle</sup> Orléans où il doit arriver par le Bayou s<sup>t</sup> Jean, et de là descendre le Fleuve jusqu'à la Balise où il compte s'embarquer à bord du V<sup>au</sup> le Tartare, pour aller à l'isle aux vaisseaux. Le Ch<sup>er</sup> Lindsay m'a aussi écrit une Lettre de politesse sur le voyage qu'il se propose de faire à la N<sup>elle</sup> Orléans en même tems

[Translation]

Orleans with my consent to reconnoiter the river Iberville which the English wish to attempt to dig out. This river is still only well known by some old savages living in our territory. It communicates, according to what they say, from the river Mississippi into the grand river Amite, but the latter is cut by so many other small rivers that lose themselves, like it, in Lake Maurepas that one can be easily deceived. That is what has happened to M. Campbell, for after having passed through different bayous or little rivers, he did not find the one that he was looking for.

Lord Adam Gordon, colonel of a regiment of infantry and member of the parliament of Great Britain, has just arrived at Pensacola on the warship, *The Tartar*, which Sir Lindsay, commodore, commands. This lord has written to ask my consent that he come to see me at New Orleans where he is to arrive via the Bayou St. Jean, and from there descend the river as far as the Balise where he expects to embark on board the vessel, *The Tartar*, in order to come to the island on the ships. Sir Lindsay has also sent me a polite letter concerning the trip which he purposes to make to New Orleans at the same time as my lord. I have answered these officers, with such respect as is due

que Milord. j'ai répondu à ces officiers, avec les egards dûs à leur rang, que je les verrai avec plaisir. je pense, Monseigneur, que ces visites ne peuvent avoir pour but que les connoissances que ces officiers veulent prendre du local de la partie du Fleuve de la Balise à la N<sup>elle</sup> Orléans, et quelques éclaircissemens sur les dispositions des sauvages.

j'entrevois que les Anglois sont très inquiets de la poudre et des balles qu'on peut donner aux sauvages. Les Officiers dans les Postes sont prévenus par mes ordres d'observer la plus exacte reserve dans la distribution de ces munitions: ils ont suivi à cet egard ce que je leur ai prescrit, mais il n'est pas possible, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le marquer, Monseigneur, que nous supprimions entierement la poudre et les balles que nous donnons aux sauvages qui ne subsistent plus que par la chasse au Fusil, et qui contribuent par là à notre propre subsistance et à une partie du Commerce de cette Colonie.

je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre très-humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies prise de possession de La Mobile affaires angloises N<sup>o</sup> 83.

[*Translation*]

to their rank, that I will see them with pleasure. I think, my lord, that these visits can have for an end only the exploration which these officers wish to make of the location of that part of the river from the Balise to New Orleans, and some information on the disposition of the savages.

I understand that the English are very disquieted on account of the powder and ball that can be given to the savages. The officers in the posts are warned by my orders to observe the most careful moderation in the disposal of these munitions. In this respect they have followed what I have ordered; but, as I have had the honor of informing you, it is not possible for us to do away entirely with powder and ball as gifts to the savages who no longer make their living except by hunting with the gun and contribute by that means to our own subsistence and to a part of the commerce of this colony.

I am with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies. Taking possession of Mobile English affairs. No. 83



DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, September 30, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:129 — L.S.]

[Ministerial reference:] M. Dubuq

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 30. 7<sup>bre</sup> 1764.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint copie de la Lettre que je viens de recevoir de M. de s<sup>t</sup> Ange Commandant au Fort de Chartres des ilinois.<sup>1</sup> il n'entre dans aucun détail sur les opérations des sauvages au Detroit et au Fort du Quesne. nous n'aurons de nouvelles interessantes sur cela que dans le mois prochain. Le Chef Pondiak est allé au Detroit avec une nombreuse Troupe. je suis informé que les anglois ont aussi fait passer beaucoup de monde au Fort du Quesne vous verrés, Monseigneur, par ce que me marque M. de s<sup>t</sup> Ange, qu'il met tout en usage pour appaiser les Sauvages; mais que rien ne peut vaincre leur préjugé.

Le S. Campbell officier anglois dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous parler à l'occasion de la découverte qu'il a tenté de Faire de la Riviere d'Iber-ville par les Lacs Maurepas et Ponchartrain, va faire une seconde tentative sur cette Riviere; en la remontant par son embouchure dans

[Translation]

NEW ORLEANS, September 30, 1764

MY LORD:

I have the honor of sending to you the herewith joined copy of the letter which I have just received from M. de St. Ange, commandant at Fort de Chartres at the Illinois.<sup>1</sup> He does not enter into any details concerning the operations of the savages about Detroit and Fort Duquesne. We shall have interesting news concerning that only in the next month. Chief Pontiac has gone to Detroit with numerous troops. I am informed that the English have also sent large numbers to Fort Duquesne. You will see, my lord, by what M. de St. Ange informs me that he is using every means to pacify the savages, but that nothing can overcome their prejudices.

M. Campbell, the English officer of whom I have had the honor of writing to you on the occasion of the discovery which he is trying to make of the Iberville River by Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, is going to make a second attempt to find this river. In coming up

<sup>1</sup> This letter is printed *ante*, 292.

le Mississippi, il pourroit être inquieté par les Sauvages Tonikas: je l'en ai prévenu, afin qu'il prenne ses précautions en conséquence.

je joins ici Copie de la Lettre que j'ai reçue du Colonel Robertson, ainsi que de ma reponse aux deux Lettres du Général Gage, dont j'ai eu l'honneur de vous adresser Copie le 10. de ce mois.<sup>1</sup>

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Vôte très-humble et très-obéissant Serviteur.<sup>2</sup>

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] M. Dabbadie Colonies N<sup>o</sup> 87. aff<sup>res</sup> anglaises

[*Translation*]

it from its confluence with the Mississippi he may be disturbed by the Tunica Indians. I warned him of this in order that he may in consequence take precautions.

I join herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Colonel Robertson and also my response to the two letters of General Gage of which I had the honor to send you a copy the tenth of this month.<sup>1</sup>

I am with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,<sup>3</sup>

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] M. Dabbadie. Colonies. No. 87. English affairs.

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, September 30, 1764

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A44:124 — L.S.]

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 30<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1764

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ai reçu le 10. de ce mois par la voie de S<sup>t</sup> Domingue la Dépêche dont vous m'avés honoré le 21. Avril dernier, à laquelle étoient joints

[*Translation*]

NEW ORLEANS, September 30, 1764

MY LORD:

I received the tenth of this month, by way of Santo Domingo, the dispatch with which you honored me the twenty-first of April last,

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 205.

<sup>2</sup> On the margin is written: "pareillement copie de la reponse au Colonel Robertson."

<sup>3</sup> Marginal note: "Likewise copy of answer to Colonel Robertson."

l'Acte de cession au Roi d'Espagne de toute la partie de la Louïsiannie qui nous reste et de l'isle et ville de la N<sup>elle</sup> Orléans, celui de l'acceptation que sa Majesté Catholique en a faite, et la Lettre du Roi, contenant les différens arrangemens que j'aurai à observer en remettant au Commissaire ou gouverneur de sa M. C. cette Colonie lorsqu'il se présentera pour en prendre possession. Je me conformerai, Monseigneur, aux intentions de sa M<sup>té</sup> avec le zèle et l'exactitude que je dois à tout ce qui interesse le bien de son service j'ai fait registrer cette Lettre au Conseil Supérieur, ainsi que sa M<sup>té</sup> me le prescrit afin que les différens Etats de la Colonie en soient informés. Elle a produit sur eux l'effet qu'on doit naturellement attendre de sujets nés françois, et qui perdent les bontés d'un Roi dont ils éprouvoient depuis longtems les effets.

j'ai reçu, Monseigneur, en même tems que cette premiere Depêche, celle que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 13. mai dernier quoique j'aye reçu il y a très peu de jours des nouvelles de la havane, je n'ai aucune notion de l'arrivée des Batimens qui doivent transporter les Troupes destinées à venir prendre possession de cette Colonie.

[*Translation*]

to which were joined the act of cession to the king of Spain, of all that part of Louisiana which remains to us, and of the island and town of New Orleans, the act of acceptation by his Catholic majesty and the letter of the king, containing the different arrangements that I shall have to observe in turning over to the commissary or governor of his Catholic majesty this colony when he presents himself to take possession. I shall conform, my lord, to the purposes of his majesty with the zeal and exactness which I owe to all that which interests the good of his service. I have had that letter recorded in the superior council, as his majesty ordered me, in order that the different estates of the colony might be informed of it. It has produced on them the effect one naturally expects from subjects of French birth who lose the kindness of a king, the effects of which they have experienced for a long time.

I received, my lord, at the same time as the first dispatch, the one you did me the honor to write the thirteenth of May last. Although I received news a few days ago from Havana, I have no knowledge of the arrival of vessels which are to transport the troops destined to come to take possession of this colony.

je vais m'occuper des dispositions de mon départ lorsque j'aurai mis en possession le Gouverneur Espagnol. Mais quelque soin que j'apporte pour suivre l'exécution de vos ordres, mon départ de cette Colonie ne peut être aussi prompt que vous le présumés. Les Anglois ne sont pas encore en possession des Illinois où je conserve toujours une garnison de 40. hommes, que je ne ferai replier qu'à l'arrivée du Gouverneur espagnol, dont il faut nécessairement que je connoisse les vûës sur les établissemens que nous avons aux Illinois sur la Rive droite du Mississipi dans la Riviere des Arkanças, aux Natchitoches, et autres Postes de cette Colonie. Cette évacuation exigera au moins trois mois; et si on y trouve de la part des sauvages autant de difficulté pour les Espagnols que pour les Anglois, cette opération demandera bien des menagemens. je préviens les Sauvages, qui témoignent sur cela quelques inquiétudes, que le sang Espagnol et le sang françois ne font qu'un; mais il sera question de faire valoir cette parole, pour me servir de l'idiome sauvage, et en cela il sera nécessaire que les Espagnols adoptent les usages françois dans le gouvernement des Sauvages. Les Anglois qui se flatent d'une grande diversion dans cet

[Translation]

I shall occupy myself with arrangements for my departure as soon as I shall have placed the Spanish governor in possession. But whatever pains I may take to carry out your orders; my departure from this colony cannot be as prompt as you think. The English are not yet in possession of the Illinois, where I still keep a garrison of forty men, which I can relieve only on the arrival of the Spanish governor, whose views about the establishments which we have in the Illinois, on the right bank of the Mississippi, on the Arkansas River, at the Natchitoch, and other posts of this colony I must know. This evacuation will require at least three months; and if one finds there on the part of the Indians as much difficulty for the Spanish as for the English, this operation will require much discretion. I am warning the Indians, who express some uneasiness at it, that Spanish blood and French blood make only one; but it will be a question of making that talk count, to use the Indian idiom; and for that it will be necessary that the Spanish adopt French practices in the government of the Indians. The English who are counting on a great change of allegiance on the part of the Indians in this event will do



événement, mettront tout en usage pour gagner les nations. que tout cela, Monseigneur, conduit a de tristes reflexions pour l'humanité!

Si le Gouverneur Espagnol ne juge pas à propos de conserver au service de sa M. C. les 300 hommes de garnison qui sont ici, conformément à vos ordres je les ferai passer en France ou dans les autres Colonies; mais je pense, Monseigneur, que vous aurés ordonné de pourvoir à tout ce qui sera nécessaire pour ce transport, tant pour les batimens, que pour les vivres et autres approvisionnementens dont il faudra les munir, car j'aurois tres peu de ressource ici pour y suppléer, et je ne pourrois le faire qu'avec une dépense considerable.

L'arreté des Comptes de la Colonie tient à l'evacuation des Postes dont il faudra necessairement constater toutes les dépenses avec les Comptables. Les opérations qu'il faudra faire au Trésor pour en retirer les acquits de depenses des différens Exercices depuis 1757. Jusques et compris 1764, seront d'un travail excessif par l'ordre qu'il faudra observer dans l'embarquement de ces Pièces, afin d'être en etat de suppléer aux accidens qui pourroient leur arriver.

[*Translation*]

everything to gain them. All this, my lord, leads to sad reflections on humanity.

If the Spanish governor does not think it fitting to keep in the service of his Catholic majesty the three hundred men who are in the garrison here, in accordance with your orders I shall have them transferred to France, or to other colonies; but I think, my lord, you will have given orders to provide for all that will be necessary for the transportation, for the vessels as well as for the provisions and other equipment which will have to be furnished them, for I shall have very little here with which to supply them and I should be able to do it only at very considerable expense.

The settlement of the accounts of the colony depends on the evacuation of the posts, all the expenses of which it is necessary to verify with the paymasters. The operations that it will be necessary to make in the treasury to get the receipts of the expenses of the various operations since 1757 up to and including 1764 will require very much work on account of the order that will have to be observed in the shipping of these papers, in order to be able to replace them in case of accidents which may happen to them.

Vous ne me marqués rien, Monseigneur des arrangemens qu'il est d'une necessité absolue d'ordonner pour la liquidation de l'ancien papier, sans lesquels les affaires de cette Colonie tant civiles que de finances vont tomber dans un desordre auquel il ne sera plus possible de remedier. Quelles difficultés pour arrêter en France les Comptes du Trésorier qui est toujours responsable de ces billets repandus dans le public, et dont la representation lui devient indispensable! que deviendront les dépôts du greffe, les successions vacantes, les deniers pupillaires, et les fonds des particuliers qui seront obligés de faire passer en France les billets dont ils seront propriétaires, et d'en courir les risques? Suffisamment instruit, Monseigneur, de tout ce qui a occasionné les abus et les malversations qu'il y a eus sur cette finance prononcés sur la reduction qu'elle doit subir, mais, comme j'ai l'honneur de vous le représenter, il faut necessairement pourvoir à la liquidation du reste, pour eviter un enchainement d'affaires dont on ne verroit pas la fin.

De toutes les peines qui vont desoler cette Colonie, il en est une sur laquelle j'ai deja eu l'honneur de vous faire des représentations par ma

[Translation]

You do not tell me anything, my lord, of the arrangements, for which it is absolutely necessary to give orders, for the liquidation of the old paper money without which the affairs of this colony, civil as well as financial, will fall into a confusion which it will be impossible to remedy. How difficult it is to settle in France the accounts of the treasurer who is still responsible for the *billets* circulated among the public, the presentation of which is indispensable to him! What will become of the files of the clerk's office of the unclaimed successions, of the inheritance of minors, of the funds of those private individuals who will be obliged to send to France the *billets* of which they will be the owners, and on which they will have to run the risk? You are sufficiently informed, my lord, of all that has caused the abuses and embezzlements which have occurred in this monetary system, due to the exchange that it has undergone; but as I have had the honor of telling you, it is necessary to arrange for the liquidation of the rest in order to avoid a tying up of affairs of which one would not see the end.

Of all the troubles that will afflict this colony, there is one about

Lettre commune avec M. de Kerlérec du 12. juillet 1763.; c'est le sort que vont éprouver plusieurs Officiers et autres serviteurs du Roi, qui ne subsistoient avec leur famille dans cette Colonie que par ses seuls bienfaits et qui se trouvent hors d'état, par leur âge et leurs infirmités, de passer en France ou dans les Colonies, pour y jouir des avantages qu'on accorde à ceux qui y passent.

Quelques soins que j'apporte, Monseigneur, dans l'économie des dépenses du Roi, elles seront encore considérables cette année; je n'ai reçu aucun des approvisionnemens que vous me marqués m'avoir fait passer, et j'ai été obligé de me pourvoir de tout pour l'entretien et la subsistance de la garnison qui n'est réduite à 300. hommes que depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet dernier, par la difficulté de faire replier la garnison des Illinois, et de faire passer en France les soldats congédiés auxquels j'ai été obligé de payer en argent les parties d'habillement qui leur étoient dûes depuis plusieurs années. J'aurai l'honneur de vous présenter, Monseigneur des Etats très détaillés des dépenses de cette année, qui vous mettront à même de juger de leur nécessité indispensable.

[*Translation*]

which I have already had the honor of making a representation to you in a joint letter with M. de Kerlérec, the twelfth of July, 1763; it concerns the fate which many officers and other royal servants will experience who are able to live with their families in this colony only by reason of their own good acts, and who are unable, on account of their age and infirmities, to cross over into France or to the colonies in order to enjoy there the advantages that are accorded those who so cross.

Despite the care I am taking, my lord, to reduce the expenses of the king, they will still be considerable this year. I have received none of the provisions you say you have had sent to me, and I have had to provide myself with everything for the maintenance and sustenance of the garrison which was not reduced to three hundred men until the first of July last, on account of the difficulty of recalling the garrison of the Illinois and of sending to France the discharged soldiers, whom I have been obliged to pay in silver for the share of clothing due them for many years. I shall have the honor, my lord, of giving you very detailed accounts of the expenses for this year which will put you in a position to judge of their indispensability.

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre tres humble  
et très obeissant Serviteur

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies M. Dabbadie N° 85. a reçû par la voye de S<sup>t</sup>  
Domingue lacte de cession faite a l'Espagne de la Louisianne, il se  
conformera a cet egard aux intentions du Roy.

[*Translation*]

I am, with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very  
obedient servant,

DABBADIE

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies. M. Dabbadie No. 85 Has received by  
way of Santo Domingo the act of transfer of Louisiana made to  
Spain; he will comply, in this respect, to the purposes of the king



## CHAPTER VIII

LETTERS ABOUT THE INDIANS  
OCTOBER 8, 1764—NOVEMBER 9, 1764

JOHNSON CRITICISES THE LORDS OF TRADE'S PLAN — ESTIMATE OF THE VALUE OF THE FUR TRADE — CAPTAIN MORRIS SENT TO THE ILLINOIS — PONTIAC PROTECTS HIM — GAGE CRITICISES BRAD-STREET FOR MAKING A TREATY — THE DUPLCITY OF THE SHAWNEE — MATERIAL FOR BATEAUX ON THE OHIO — PONTIAC RECEIVES A LETTER FROM THE FRENCH — GAGE REPORTS TO LORD HALIFAX.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, October 8, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.20, f. 63 — L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL, October 8<sup>th</sup> 1764

MY LORDS

A few days ago I had the honour to receive Your Lordships letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of July last with the Plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs<sup>2</sup> which I consider as Judicious, as the Subject is important & necessary to the American Colonies.

I have carefully examined & canvassed every Article of it, & in obedience to your Lordships I herewith enclose you my Sentiments Article by Article thereon, to which I have annexed as exact an Account as the time could possibly admit of, the Annual Quantity of Goods necessary for the Trade of the Indians in my Department with the Duties I imagine such Trade will bear, the Manner which occurs to me as best calculated and least burthensome for collecting the same, and an Estimate of the Annual Expence of the Several Establishments, Presents, & Contingencies of the Northeren Department of Indian Affairs.

I could heartily have wished it in my power to have clearly and particularly described the Annual Quantity of goods sold to the Indians, and Peltry Received from them, the first for the reasons assigned in my remarks, cannot at present be ascertained, and the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:657 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 273.

latter I apprehend cannot be justly known but by inspecting the Custom House Books, for, as before the reduction of Canada we enjoyed but a moderate Share of the Fur trade, it is to be considered, that we were only beginning to establish ourselves in the sole possession of it, and the Indians but beginning to settle and apply themselves to hunting at the breaking out of hostilities, which unfortunately for this Country put a period to Commercial Expectations, which a more intimate acquaintance with the more distant Nations gave reason to hope for, & which, nothing else could have prevented, on due Consideration of all which, your Lordships will I presume, excuse my only being enabled to transmit an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Value of Goods (as purchased at the cheapest rate here) Necessary for an extensive Trade, with the Number of Indians, which I am confident require them, & reside within my Department. In this Estimate I have made the Number of Hunters but ten thousand, w<sup>h</sup> is much less than the Number of Men in these Several Nations, exclusive of the Sioux, with whom an Advantageous Trade may soon be opened, and I have added the necessary goods for a like Number of Women, together with a Suppositious Sum for the Children, without making an Allowance for the consumption of the Old People &<sup>ca</sup>, least I should advance Articles at too great an uncertainty, notwithstanding there are annually goods purchased by them, or for their use, and I have placed the quantity for each Man, & Woman, on an Average, because tho some Hunters will much exceed, So others will fall short of purchaseing the Quantity I have mentioned.

The reasons assigned in my Remarks for the Sale of Rum appeared so convinceing to me, that I could not avoid recommending it, and at the same time with the utmost deference to your Lordships Sentiments I have presumed to compute the Quantity on an Average, the like has been done with regard to Silver Trinkets, Paint &<sup>ca</sup> because these are Articles which greatly depend on the Disposition of each Indian, Some purchaseing more, others less, according to fancy. Paint, that is Vermillion, is much esteemed & has a great consumption amongst both Sexes; Silver being a durable Article, tho often lost and broken by them I have allowed accordingly; the Amunition is calculated at a moderate rate for a Hunter, and Arms, at not quite a third of the Number of Men in the Estimate; at which rate the Consumption will nearest amount to, the rest of the Articles being always

annually required, are determined with more exactness; My reason for valuing the goods at the Prices contained in the Estimate, is, that the much greater part of the Traders purchase goods in the Capitals of the Colonys, at the usual rates of which they are calculated, the difference between the small Remainder imported for the Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Traders themselves will be easily made up by the Sums which many others pay who purchase at a third hand.

The occasion of my computing but 10,000 Hunters is, that many Tribes within the Department particularly those amongst the Settlements & in their Neighbourhood have greatly disused that practice, partly thro their imitating the manners of the Inhabitants, but chiefly by reason that Game begins to grow verry scarce, and gradually abandons the Country as the plantations encrease and Settlements are made in the Woods, a Circumstance which cannot happen in many Ages amongst the more remote Indians. Another reason for my fixing on that Number is, that many of the Inhabitants of the Frontier Counties in these Colonies keep Goods & liquor which they Sell to the Indians particularly such as live at no great distance, I can at present recollect near 30 such Houses at & in the neighbourhood of the Mohawks River within this County, and so soon as the Trade is again fully opened they will encrease in all parts. These People sell at their own extravagant [*sic*] rates, blinding the Indians w<sup>th</sup> one Article at a small price, whilst they take what they please on another, and as they are Subject to no Inspection, neither is there any Law can be expected here to suppress them, I have in the annexed Estimate made a rough Calculation of the duty on an average, which they might pay Supposing 200 Such houses thro'out the Northeren District, w<sup>h</sup> I look upon as short of their Number. If that Scheme should not be Judged adviseable, & that your Lordships will Judge it best to suppress them by a Law, the Consumption at some of the Posts will encrease, so that that Duty will become payable by the Traders.

In my Observations on the 2<sup>d</sup> Article of the Plan I have given my Sentiments with regard to the Boundary of the Districts. I shall only observe that I conceive the Ohio from the Mississipi upwards, thence up the Catewaba River & an Easterly line (w<sup>h</sup> would be verry short) to the great Mountains, would I think make a good boundary, As none of the Northeren Indians are at present beyond it.

I have Stated my Sentiments fully w<sup>th</sup> regard to the Posts, which

should certainly be as few as possible. I am not acquainted with the Number of Indians about Nova Sotia [*sic*], or to what they most addict themselves but by report, with regard to those of New England Governments tho there are many Scattered Tribes, yet those of Connecticut, Rhode Isleand, Massachusets, & New Hampshire apply themselves cheifly to Agriculture & fishing. In the Province of *Main* and Eastward towards Nova Scotia, are many Hunters who can be conveniently supplied at Fort Hallifax. Chicoutami, will answer well also for all the Indians North of Quebec, & those Wanderers called by the Six Nations *Karhagaghrooneys* i e People of the Woods. Montreal or Sault St Louis near it will always have the Trade of the Neighbouring Nations, but as it is necessary to have one trading place for those in that Quarter, I take the liberty to point out *Carillon* now a Post on the Ottawa River about 30 Miles above the Lac de deux Montaignes as it will answer well, & I have presumed to make an establishment for it. I take Fort Cumberland mentioned in your Lordships letter at Bay Verte<sup>1</sup> to be, Fort Edward Augustus (as it is here called) sometimes called Bay de Puans, it is a verry good Post for Trade with the Sakis, Foxes & their Neighbours. Miamis I have taken the liberty to omit because it will create a Saveing, & that I apprehend the Twighties can be conveniently supplied at the Detroit, & those more South at Fort Pitt.

The Sallarys of the Commissaries are calculated at the lowest rates for which any Men of Character & integrity properly qualified can be procured, I judged it necessary to proportion their Sallarys to the importance of the Posts they are to reside at, & the greatness of the Trade, I have likewise made the most reasonable establishments for the Interpreters & Smiths.

An Augmentation to the Sallarys of my three Deputys Agents, by Settleing them at £300 Sterl<sup>s</sup> Each appears to me verry necessary to be recommended, and will doubtless be considered in that light by your Lordships on consideration of the various Expences which they must incurr from their offices, the necessary Appearance which in good policy they should make, and the disagreeable Duties of their Employment, the attendance upon Indians, & Journeys amongst them occupying the greatest part of their time & denying them the Recesses which those in all other Stations enjoy. This is so much

<sup>1</sup> Green Bay.



my case, that I am induced to remind your Lordships of it, the rather as I have never taken the liberty to trouble your Lordships or the Ministry concerning my own Sallary or Scituation, which naturally led me into a considerable tho necessary train of Expences to be paid out of my private fortune, whilst it denied me the liberty of Acquireing property in common with the rest of his Majestys Subjects in America, & Subjected me to several Commands without the Customary or any other Allowances.

I laid before M<sup>r</sup> Pownal, sometime ago a particular Claim I have by Virtue of an Indian Deed of gift to Lands on the Mohawk River, which Lands were so far from being Sollicitted for by me, that I had never any thoughts of it, until I was addressed in public meeting by all the Indians of Conajohare and told me that as this land lay nearly adjoining to my own Purchases, they begged my Acceptance of it, to use their own Words "Whilst it is in our power to give you this proof of our freindship which we fear will not be long, as our White Bretheren are getting all the Lands from us," they accordingly requested me to have a Deed drawn, which was signed by every Indian in the Village, but His Majestys Proclamation two years ago, putting a Stop to my doing anything further therein, I most Humbly request that your Lordships will take it into consideration, and provided you entertain that opinion of my endeavours, which I am always studious to deserve, that you will give some Orders that I may not lose the Same, as I do Assure Y<sup>r</sup> Lordships, I have never yet possessed an Acre in America but what I purchased from the White Inhabitants; on which, I have Settled dureing the War above 100 Familys, whilst others let their large Tracts lay Waste. The Bounds of this Tract is discribed in my letter of April 1763 to M<sup>r</sup> Pownal, & a rough calculation made of the Quantity of Acres therein contained.

The Salaries I have proposed for Interpreters & smiths have been not only regulated according to the distance as before mentioned, but also with an Eye to the Persons who must be employed, for an English Interpreter who must find himself in all Articles at a high price at Fort Pitt, cannot be procured at a less Rate than a Frenchman resident at Illinois La Baye &<sup>ca</sup> who is not liable (as an Inhabitant there) to any additional Expence, Notwithstanding expect at the rate of a Dollar a day. As the Interpreters & Smiths for the Forts *Hallifax* & *Frederick* must probably come from New England, where

those kind of Persons are accustomed to lower Prices I have placed their Sallarys accordingly. but as the Commissaries in every Quarter must be English, I have in their sallarys entirely considered the distance & dearness of their Station, with the importance of the trade thereat.

I have given my Sentiments on the 19<sup>th</sup> Article of Your Lordships Plan which I could wish the Northeren Indians better disposed to come into, something like what is recommended I shall endeavour, without giving them a Jealousy by reposing particular Confidence in one Man, which they would be too apt to think was the case if a Choice was made of any Individual amongst them.

I have Stated the Penalties & Forfeitures of the Traders as well as I could proportioning their Recognizances to the quantity of Goods they have to dispose of, and as to the Manner of levying the Dutys, no other than the Mode proposed in my Estimate occurs to me, unless that of their paying it, at takeing out the Lycence: either of these in my opinion will answer better than that of a Duty on exports or Imports, tho this I must entirely Submit to your Lordships, who may probably before this reaches England be more exactly informed of the true quantity of goods, which probably exceeds my Estimate.

I hope what I now transmit may appear in some degree satisfactory to your Lordships, as well as that the proposed Dutys may be found reasonable & such as the Indian Trade will bear, for I am well Satisfied that until the Plan, which Your Lordships have so Judiciously prepared can be put in execution, the Indians cannot have Justice done them in Trade &<sup>ca</sup> nor the Colonies enjoy a solid tranquility.

Your Lordships will doubtless honor me with his Majestys Commands, whenever matters are settled, as it may enable me to make the necessary provision for Officers, Presents &<sup>ca</sup> without loss of time.

I have the Honour to be, with the most profound Respect My Lords Your Lordships Most Obedient & most Devoted, Humble  
Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

P. S. I have Just received letters from the Army under Coll: Bradstreet. He is now at Sandusky to favour Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquets approach to the Shawanese & Delawares. The Piankashaws & their Neighbours refused a Passage thro their Country to Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris<sup>1</sup> of the 17<sup>th</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Morris came from a race of soldiers, both his father and grandfather having served as captains of the same regiment in which he was an officer. His education was good and his tastes were throughout life those of a

who with a small Party of Indians was sent with some Orders to the Illinois by Co<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet. The occasion of the Piankashaws refusal I attribute to the instigations of some Frenchmen there, who I am confidently assured by the Indians, are very busy amg<sup>s</sup> them, and make them large promises of presents &<sup>ca</sup>. if the rest of the Nations adhere to their engagements agreeable to my expectations, the Shawanese & Delawares may be greatly distressed, and Matters so settled dureing the Winter, that your Lordships Plan if soon settled, may take place time enough to prevent any troubles next year.

I beg leave to observe that my answers might come much sooner to your Lordships hands, but for my distant residence 200 Miles from New York, which creates not only a delay in receiveing your Commands, but also prevents me from being able to take the Advantage of the first Vessels that sail in order to transmit my answers.

W. J.

THE RIGHT HONR<sup>BLE</sup> THE LORDS COMMISS<sup>RS</sup> FOR TRADE & PLANTATIONS

[Endorsed:] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Letter from S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District, to the Board, dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 8. 1764, respecting their Lordships Plan for the future management of Indian Affairs. Rec<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764. Read 1765. 1 paper.

# JOHNSON ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.20, f. 75 — Original]

Sentiments, Remarks, and additions humbly offered to the Lords Commissionners for Trade, and Plantations, on their plan for the future Management of Indian Affairs.<sup>2</sup>

scholar and lover of literature. He came to America in 1758 and saw service at Louisburg and around Lake Champlain. In the war of the conspiracy of Pontiac he served with General Bradstreet and was sent by him in 1764 to take possession of the Illinois country, but was prevented by the Indians. He wrote an interesting journal of his experiences which was later (1791) printed. Morris returned to England in 1767 and retired from the army in 1775. His journal and an account of his life may be found in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1:295 *et seq.* This journal of an expedition to the Illinois is so accessible that it is not reproduced here. It is the only known journal of that character which is not reproduced in these volumes.

<sup>1</sup> Published in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:661, but all after page 336 was omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 273. For other criticisms of the plan see general index.

The first Article Regarding the Freedom of Trade, does not appear to require any addition.

Article 2d. The Six Nations, and their Confederates have, not only Claim to many parts South of Ohio, but many of their people are actually Settled to the Southward of it, however, their Claim not Extending South of that part below the falls, the Ohio might make a good Boundary from the Mississipy Upwards, to the Catawba River, And up the Said river to it's head, near the great Ridge, or Blue Mountains, at the Back of Virginia. This Boundary is only recommended, on a Supposition, that it will be more certainly determinable thereby, as none of the Six Nations, or their Dependents, live South of it.

Article 3. The Trade throughout the Northern District Cannot be carried on with so much appearance of Success by any other way, than of that of the principal outposts, and in case the Trading Frontier Inhabitants do not pay a Duty, as is proposed in the Scheme for Duties, I humbly conceive they should be suppressed. The Indians, don't much regard the distance, and if they are allowed a Trade in their villages, they are so situated, that the Traders will require very high prices on their goods, a Circumstance Infinitely more disagreeable to the Indians, than that of a Long Journey, which being performed by them with great facility, they cannot be brought to conceive the Expences Traders are at, for Packhorses, Provisions, Battoes, Servants and Waste. Neither can the property of Traders be so secure, as at good posts. for which reason it is conceived that the principal Posts only be appointed for that purpose; first as they are the most secure; secondly, as they are generally Commanded by officers of Rank and Experience, which is a very Important consideration; and Thirdly as it will make a Saving of Officers in the Department; at the same time that the Traders can from their Situation afford to sell at more reasonable rates. *Oswego, Niaagra and Fort Pitt* are the principal Garrisons, the two former will conveniently supply the Six Nations and Missassugas, about Lake Ontario, the Latter will be sufficient for the Shawanese, Delawares, and all their Neighbours. The other Posts are Stockadoed, but great places of Trade, Such as *Détroit* for the Hurons, Powtewatamis, Ottawas, Miamis &c. *Michilimackinac*, is very advantageously situated, for the Ottawas, and Chipeweighs in that Neighborhood, with their Numerous Tribes at &



about Lake Superior. *La Baye Verte* will have a great Trade, with the *Sakis*, *Puants*, *Foxes*, and Indians, West of Lake Michigan. *Fort Chartres* will not only have the Illinois Trade, but that of the Nations about the *Wabache*. *Chicoutimi* seems well calculated for the Indians North of Quebec, But, no place being pointed out for the remains of the Seven Nations near Montreal, I have presumed to point out Carrillon, thirty miles up the Ottawa River, for that purpose; and as I am of opinion that the Miamis will be well answered at the Detroit I have taken the Liberty to leave out that place in my Estimate, as those at a great Distance from that End of Lake Erie will always go to the Illinois. And as for the forts Frederick and Halifax, they have been old places of Trade, and well Situated for that purpose. Upon the whole, I am of opinion that the foregoing will sufficiently answer the conveniency of all the Trading Nations.

Article 4. Nothing can be more Necessary than a repeal of the Colony Laws on Indian Affairs, so as to put the Departments more Immediately under the Influence of the Crown, without which, a Superintendant could pursue one Uniform System.<sup>1</sup>

Article 5<sup>th</sup> The Establishment of one Superintendant in Each District, appears Clear from the foregoing.

Article 6<sup>th</sup> Three Deputies are absolutely necessary in the Northern District.

Article 7<sup>th</sup> A Commissary, Interpreter, and Smith are very Necessary the first should be well acquainted with the Genius, and manners of the Nations he has Transactions with, and the second well versed in the language; Neither should the Smith be Unacquainted with it.

Article 8. The appointment of good Missionaries is highly requisite, they should be persons of an Exemplary Life, and should be disposed in such places as shall most require their Services.

Article 9<sup>th</sup> The Commissaries, &c Cannot Effect the Purposes of their Appointm<sup>t</sup>, unless under the Immediate Direction and order of the SuperIntendant, in the manner directed by this Article.

Article 10<sup>th</sup> That the SuperIntendant should have the Sole Management of Indian Affairs, is not only Essential to His Majesty's Interest, but absolutely Necessary to the well discharging that Office, which would otherwise prove Ineffectual from the different Interests

<sup>1</sup> For an opposite opinion see Jackson's opinion, general index.

and Systems of the several Colonies. It is humbly proposed, to render this article the more Effectual, that *all private persons, Societies, or Bodies Corporate*, be *prohibited from Intermeddling*, in like manner as *the Civil and Military*, it having often, and may again happen that such persons may attempt it, from Interested Motives, on which occasion, they may create much confusion, Either through Ignorance, or from private prospects of advantage. I have seen so many Instances of this nature, which have nearly involved us in a Rupture with some Nations, that I must beg leave to recommend this Addition.

Article 11. The Superintendants should certainly on such occasion, as are mentioned in this Article, conferr with the Governors, to which End they should be Councillors. It is only Necessary to observe, that in the Northern Governm<sup>ts</sup> the Governor's residence is so distant from the Indians that it may at some time be Impracticable for them to meet in person, from the Im[m]ediate Exigency of affairs.

Article 12 It is highly Necessary that the Governors and Superintendants should communicate to Each other any material occurrences relative to Indian Affairs; and it has been my constant practice so to do.

Article 13. Whereby the Governors or Military Officers are restricted from stopping the Indian Trade without the Consent of the Superintendent, is Equally Necessary.

Article 14. The Superintendent or Deputies should frequently visit the necessary posts, &c. and the general Meetings should be held at some convenient places to be determined according to the circumstances of affairs; they should be also accommodated with boats, Vessels, or Safeguards, as Occasion may require, to prevent Delays. The public presents should be Annual, those to Individuals, according to circumstances.

Article 15. Members of the Council, and Justices of the peace in some of the Colonies, but it is Expedient, that the SuperIntendant should have the additional powers mentioned in this Article. It appears likewise requisite that he should be Enabled by himself, or Deputy, to take cognizance of Matters falling Immediately under his owne Inspection, as several things may fall under the Eye of the SuperIntendant, to which the Commiss<sup>y</sup> may be a Stranger, & it were to be wished that some Method could be fallen upon to Enable the Superintendent assisted with the Governor, or some other person or

persons of the Province concerned, to determine in a Summary way such Disputes relative to claims or Titles, as could not be speedily, or satisfactorily determined at common Law. Such differences, when they come to be Litigated, frequently turning in favour of the white people, often thro' prejudice, but generally through the Interested opposition of parties, which renders a Course of Law Equally Tedious, Uncertain and Expensive, without any fund to support the same on the part of the Indians. After such a Trial as is humbly proposed, the party that thinks himself aggrieved may be at Liberty to appeal to the King in Council, or otherwise.

Article 16. The Evidence of such Indians as are Christians, and shall produce a Certificate of their religious deportem<sup>t</sup> and attendance of Divine Worship, Signed by a Missionary, might be taken in all Causes to be tried by the Superintend<sup>t</sup> &c. Some of them I know, to have a Just Idea of the Nature of an oath, But as these are from their having been Neglected, but few in Number, I humbly Conceive this Article should not Extend to Capital Offences or Courts of Justice unless in very particular cases under great restrictions, and tho' they are all Sensible of the Nature of a falsehood, I apprehend the penalties in case of false Evidence will not be well relished by them.

When I say this, I would be understood to mean the Six Nations and those in this Quarter, and westward; who Consider themselves as a free people. As for those of New England, &c. they are many of them Under the Laws, and reconciled to them.

Note The Admitting of Indian evidence in all cases is much wanted to detect many peices of villainy & fraud, but as the greatest part of such offences particularly concerning trade must be on the information of the more distant of the Six Nations, & other Indians, who (as yet) know not the nature of an oath, their evidence seems to require the opinion of those learned in the Law.

Article 17. It is certainly Necessary that the Superintendant should have power to Bestow Favours, and confer honours on Indians, as shall appear requisite; Upon this, great part of his Intelligence and Influence in a great measure depends.

Article 18. Regards the Southern department.

Article 19. The Northern Indians have, some Three Tribes, such as the Bear, Wolf, and Turtle, some of the nations have Six

or Seven; to Each of which are several Sachems, who, tho' they may reside in one Village, are pretty Equal, and Interfere only with those of their own Tribe. and tho' sometimes one may preside over those of Every Tribe in Each Nation, Yet as this depends upon his merit, and the number of Warriors under his Influence, which are seldom more than his own Relations. I have always thought proper to Indulge them in their choice, as they never fail to come for my approbation; and the Extreme Jealousy which the Northern Indians Entertain of one another would render a particular choice of any one of them Unserviceable, and make his Nation pay no regard to him. A Chief of Every tribe in a Nation to attend occasionally for the purposes of this Article, would, I presume appear more satisfactory.

Article 20. This Article, restricting the Military from Interfering in Indian Affairs, and commanding them to assist the civil Officers appears highly Necessary.

Article 21. The Commissaries in the Department should by all means keep Journals, and communicate their Transactions to the superintendant, whose business it is to transmit them to England.

Article 22. No objection can be made to the Superintendant, and Commissaries taking an Oath for the due Execution of their Trusts, and they should carry on no Trade, nor Engage themselves in purchases of Lands. For my own Part, I have not an acre, but what I formerly purchased from the White Inhabitants, Neither have I ever made use of my Indian Grants, to prevent any malicious Insinuations, altho unsolicited, I received many, which according to the Sentiments of the Indians, I could not refuse without disgusting them. As these gifts have been attended with much Expence, I have severely suffered by my neglecting to obtain patents for them.

Article 23. It is of the utmost consequence that the Indian Trade be carried on under the Direction and Inspection of the Superintendant, &c. as Expressed in this Article.

Article 24. It is highly Necessary that no persons Trade without a Licence; and that such Licence shall be procured at the rate mentioned in this Article, But it is humbly submitted to Your Lordships consideration, whether the Distance of the Governors in the Northern Department from the usual residence of the most of the Traders, will not make it difficult for some of the Traders to procure such Licence.



Article 25. The penalty of the Bond and Sureties should I humbly conceive be proportioned to the value of the Goods Intended for Trade, at the rate of one half their prime Cost; as some Traders will carry ten times the Quantity of others.

Article 26. The Terms on which the Sureties are to be Accepted, seem fully Expressed.

Article 27. The Licensed Trader should Declare the Post, he Intended to Trade at, and it is conceived he should not be permitted to Break Bulk, or sell to any Indians before his arrival at it, to which End he should give an oath or otherwise an Exact List of his goods at the taking out the License when he should be furnished with a Certificate thereof, which he should Tender the Commissary, who would thence be Enabled to see whether he had duly observed this Article.

Article 28. No Licenses should be granted for more then one Year.

Article 29. The Trader, or his servants only, who are mentioned in the License, should be permitted to Trade, the whole of this Article is fully Expressed.

Article 30. All Licenses should be Entered in a Secretary's Office, or other Office of Record.

Article 31. Persons Trading contrary to this Article, should forfeit their goods, pay a fine of ten per C<sup>t</sup> their prime Cost to His Majesty, and suffer Six Months Imprisonment.

Article 32. Traders should on their arrival at a post produce their License to the Commisarys, and provided the addition, proposed in the 27<sup>th</sup> Article takes place, They should likewise produce the certificate mentioned in that addition.

Article 33 The Trade should be carried on by Tariffs, to be Settled and Established from Time to Time, according to the remoteness of Each post, and the prices of European goods, in this manner I Settled it hitherto with the approbation of the Commander in Chief in America; and to the general Satisfaction of Traders and Indians.

Article 34 The Commissaries should prescribe the Limits for Traders, and an Especial care taken that Trade be carried on in the most public manner.

Article 35. The Traders should be at liberty to Erect Huts as Expressed in this Article.

Article 36 No Trader should Trafick with the Indians without the Limits prescribed in this Article.

Article 37. The principal Posts mentioned In Your Lordships Letter, and recommended in these remarks, on Art: 3<sup>d</sup> are at present fortified and Garrisoned. Michilemackinac is also Establishing; The Fort at La Baye Verte is not possessed by a Garrison, neither is Fort Chartres, or Chixoutimi; the Traders should certainly be allowed to retire into the Garrisons on any Emergency.

Article 38 Rifled Barrelled Guns should certainly be prohibited. the Shawanese and Delawares with many of their Neighbours are become very fond of them, and use them with such Dexterity, that they are capable of Doing Infinite damage, and as they are made in some of the frontier Towns, where the Indians will procure them at any price, I am of opinion all white persons should be restricted on a very severe penalty from selling them to any Indians, or for their Use. Swan shot is not much Used by those, who Use smooth bored Arms, nor will it fitt Rifled Guns. With regard to the sale of Rum, I must beg leave to offer my sentiments more fully. When the Trade in the Northern Department was carried on at all the small posts of remote Situation, in the midst of Numerous Tribes of Indians, it appeared of dangerous Consequence, and as the Indians often attributed their Irregularities to that Liquor, it was Accordingly prohibited, but as the Trade is now to be carried on at the principal Posts only, and under the Inspection of proper Officers, I am of opinion, that it will be found absolutely necessary to permit the sale thereof, under certain restrictions, among others, that none be Drank at the Trading Post, nor the Liquor given to the Indians till the moment of their departure. The Ill consequences of Drunkenness might as often be attributed to the avariciousness of the Traders, as to any other cause, all which may be prevented by the proper Officers, without the least risque at the principal posts, and I am convinced, on a Close Exament<sup>n</sup> of particulars, that the Trade will never be so Extensive without it, and that it is highly Expedient for the following reasons. First, the Extreme desire the Indians have for it, and the strong Requests the several Nations made for the sale thereof, when lately at Niagara, which I was obliged to promise, should be complied with, and the same is approved by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. Secondly, that as the Indians value it above any thing Else, they will not stick at giving such price for it, as will make good addition to the fund for the purposes of the Departem<sup>t</sup>. Thirdly, that without it, the Indians

can purchase their cloathing with half the quantity of Skins, which will make them Indolent, and lessen the furr Trade. And lastly, that from what I find, the Indians will be universally discontented without it. if these reasons appear convincing to Your Lordships, I am confident, it may be sold them under proper restrictions without any risque.

Article 39. It hath been much practised by the Traders to give the Indians large Credit, by which they Engaged their Custom the Ensuing season, but I think the same, a very pernicious practice, liable to create disputes, to prevent which, this article is very fully couched.

Article 40 All disputes concerning Weights and Measures, should certainly be determined, by a Standard in manner as Expressed in this Article.

Article 41. The restricting private persons, Societies, Corporations or Colonies from Acquiring property in Indian Lands, otherwise than is directed by this article, is very essential for the preventing disputes and abuses.

Article 42 The ascertaining and defining the precise and Exact Boundaries of Indian Lands, is a very necessary, But a delicate point, I shall do every thing in my power towards Effecting it when ordered, but I must beg leave to observe, that the Six Nations, Western Indians, &c. having never been conquered, Either by the English or French, nor subject to the Laws, consider themselves as a free people. I am therefore induced to think it will require a good deal of caution to point out any Boundary, that shall appear to Circumscribe their Limits too far. But as there is a necessity for ascertaining them, I humbly propose that the same be done with strict regard, and with an addition to the line of Sixty Miles South of Lake Erie and Ontario. The addition Necessary should be such as would comprehend the Villages of the Six Nations, and others on and about the Branches of the Susquehana, with the Nanticokes, Conoys &c. and the Delawares and Shawanese who are Settled on the Six Nation's Lands; and that all the Lands without side that Boundary, when Settled, and within the provinces not already purchased, be paid for as, the same shall be wanted, agreeable to what I proposed in a former letter. But upon the Whole, I am confident as soon as they find an agreeable Alteration in Indian Affairs, and a free fair Trade, on the principles

of your Lordships plan, I shall then be Better Enabled to affix a Boundary, or Anything You will Direct, with the perfect concurrence of the several Nations.

Article 43. This Article regarding the manner of purchas<sup>s</sup> Lands for the Use of the Crown, or proprietaries of Colonies, is very Essential. I apprehend it would prove still more Satisfactory to the Indians, if the Superintendant, Either by himself or his Deputy be ordered to attend such Meetings, and that a Map of the Tract be deposited in his Office for Their Inspection which will Enable him to satisfy them, in case any future dispute should arise concerning it, and would prevent the Delay attending his procuring a Copy from the distant Capitals of the Colonies.

A state of the Indian Trade, and a Scheme for raising a fund by Duties thereon, for defraying the Expences of the Northern District.<sup>1</sup>

In this scheme the Mode proposed at the conclusion of the Plan, And the requisitions contained in Your Lordships Letter shall be as Strictly adhered to, as the difficulty of the subject will admit of.

The first Article required by Your Lordships Letter touching *the actual, Annual, Quantity and value of Goods sold to the Indians*, appears so difficult to be ascertained, that I don't think it is in the power of any man to determine it without the most particular Enquiries throughout the Several Governm<sup>ts</sup>, And Even then it would be Imperfect. I shall notwithstanding<sup>s</sup> Explain this Article as far as possible.

The Trade having hitherto been carried on Irregularly — no proper system having been Established by Law, throughout all the colonies, to prevent Impositions, and Many Traders having carried on Clandestine Dealings in the Indian Country, are the causes of this difficulty. What the Trade was in the time of the French, no two Persons can agree about; at that time the chief place for our Trade was Oswego, where the Traders, who generally amounted to Eighty persons, Annually depended on the Trade with these Western and Northern People, who came to them for such Articles as were dear amongst the French. The six Nations being for the most part Engaged in the wars with the English and French; and during the short recesses in America, Usually brought great part of their peltry down

<sup>1</sup> This last part of Johnson's paper is not printed in *New York Colonial Documents*.



the Mohock River. These Traders being Chiefly low Dutch, who are very cautious in their Dealings, and contented themselves with carrying a very small Cargoe, Just sufficient to maintain them in Idleness, for Nine Months in the Year. The prime cost, of which goods, did not amount to £20,000. Sterl<sup>s</sup> Annually.

On the reduction of Canada, the furr Trade in a great Measure Engrossed by the French, of course came to the English, But the Manner in which it was carried on, as before Mentioned, together with the unsettled Minds of the Indians, who did not Immediately return to hunting, their best Hunters having been generally concerned in the War, prevented it's being so Extensive as it may amount to; the Indians Seeming disposed to watch the consequences which they apprehended from the conquests of Great Britain. however I made as good a regulation as time and circumstances would permit in 1761. in consequence of which a Tariff<sup>1</sup> was Made for the Exchange of commodities at Rates proportioned by the Distance of posts and the Expence of Transporting Goods, and accordingly gave passes to those who Applied to me, Subjecting them to the Inspection of the commanding Officers, who were to turn, them from the Posts, And they were never to be permitted any Trade, in case they did not strictly adhere to the regulations I had made, which the Commander in Chief directed to be observed. At the same time, Many Traders went with passes obtained in Canada, as well by way of the Lakes, as by the Ottawa River; as did several clandestinely, with prohibited Goods, some of whom being Frenchmen continued amongst the Indians during all the Subsequent Troubles, sold their commodities at most Exorbitant rates, and are Yet in the Indian Country.

These things duly considered will readily account for the difficulty of Ascertaining the value of Goods sold; and the amount of Furs &c. purchased in return. I apprehend that the Customhouse Books would give a pretty Exact Estimate of the Exports and Imports of the Indian Trade. In the mean time I shall suppose,

That there are 10000, Indian Hunters throughout the Northern Department, (Exclusive of the Sioux, with whom we have had very little Intercourse.) Altho the Number of male Indians is much more considerable, I have made choice of this, because those Tribes

<sup>1</sup> Probably the tariff printed *post*, 402, although we are inclined to think this is of a later date.

amongst the white Inhabitants, have much declined Hunting, most species of Game growing very scarce. To these 10000. I have added a like Number of women, and for both I have made a Calculation of the Quantity of goods they will Annually purchase, which I have placed at the first Cost in America, where the Much greater Number of Traders do always supply themselves such Articles, the Sale of which depend on the Taste and Disposition of each Individual, I have computed on an average, one Indian with another, and to the Whole I have added a supposititious sum for the consumption of the Children, without computing that of old people, &c to prevent too great an Uncertainty, and that I might Keep within bounds, as the Indian Trade will not be so considerable for the first Year or Two, as it must be when the Indians have conquered their Jealousies, and devote themselves solely to Hunting.

The account of goods proper for the Indian Market, their prices and proportion will be found at length on the other side.

Indian Goods		Prices in N York Curr <sup>y</sup>		D <sup>o</sup> In Sterl <sup>s</sup>	
	Sh <sup>s</sup>				
20,000 Blankets @.....	13	13,000	7,583.	6.	8
30,000 Strowds @.....	20	30,000	17,500	"	"
40,000 Shirts @.....	10	20,000	11,666	13	4
40,000 p <sup>r</sup> of Stockings, @.....	5	10,000	5,833	6	8
10,000 Laps.....@.....	5	2,500	1,458	6	8
30,000 P <sup>ces</sup> of Gartering @.....	6	9,000	5,250	"	"
20,000 lb of Vermillion @.....	12	12,000	7,000	"	"
20,000 M Black Wamp <sup>m</sup> at p <sup>r</sup> M. 40 <sup>s</sup>		40,000	23,333	6	8
5,000 M White Wamp <sup>m</sup> at p <sup>r</sup> M. 25		6,250	3,645	16	8
..... Hair Plates & Sylver Trinkets		20,000	11,666	13	4
20,000 Knives @.....	6 <sup>d</sup>	500	291	13	4
60,000 Awls.....		100	58	6	8
10,000 lb of Brass Wire @.....	4 <sup>s</sup>	2,000	1,166	13	4
5,000 lb of Beads.....	4 <sup>s</sup>	1,000	583	6	8
..... Gilt Trunks.....		400	233	6	8
10,000 Looking Glasses @.....	3 <sup>s</sup>	1,500	875	"	"
10,000 Raizors.....	9 <sup>d</sup>	375	218	15	"
..... Calicoes And Calimancoes....		4,000	2,333	6	8
..... Ribbons.....		1000	583	6	8
..... Silk handkerchiefs.....		500	291	13	4
50,000 Gall <sup>ns</sup> of Rum.....	3 <sup>s</sup>	7,500	4,375	10	"
80,000 lb of Gun powder.....	3 <sup>s</sup>	12,000	7,000	"	"
160,000 lb of Lead.....	6 <sup>d</sup>	4,000	2,333	6	8
3,000 Fuzils.....	30 <sup>s</sup>	4,500	2,625	"	"

5,000	Beaver Traps.....	10 <sup>s</sup>	2,500			1,458	6	8
10,000	Axes.....	3 <sup>s</sup>	1,500			875	"	"
10,000	W <sup>t</sup> of Kettles @.....	3 6 <sup>d</sup>	1,750			1,020	16	8
Total in York Curr <sup>ey</sup> .....			£207,875	St	er <sup>g</sup>	£121,260	18	4
To the foregoing may be added for the use of the Children of Each family at the most moderate computation Goods to the Am <sup>t</sup> of.....								
			100,000	Whi	ch is	Sterl <sup>g</sup> 58,333	6	8
Amount in Y: Curr <sup>ey</sup> .....			307,875	in S	terl <sup>g</sup>	179,594	5	..
Note. Several small Articles such as <i>Jews harps, Combs, Needles, Hawk-bells, Flints, Steels, Worms, Worsted</i> for Belts & Garters, & other Threads &c are not inserted, being of small Value, and their Quantity of uncertain computation.								

It is presumed that the value of goods necessary, for carrying on an Extensive Trade with the Indians, in my Department, will amount to the foregoing sum, And that the profit on Furrs and Skins received in return will on An Average, allowing for the distance of some of the posts, amount to one Hundred  $\text{P}^{\text{r}}\text{C}^{\text{t}}$  It is therefore humbly Conceived, that the following Duties may, at the foregoing Calculation, be laid upon all the Indian Trade within my Department, which will defray the several Establishments and Contingencies thereof, agreeable to the Annexed Estimate.

That a Duty not less than 5  $\text{P}^{\text{r}}$  Cent be laid upon all articles of Every denomination to be sold to the Indians within my department which of the foregoing Calculation will Amount to..... £ 8979 : 14 : -

That an  $\text{A}$ dditional duty of 5  $\text{P}^{\text{r}}$  Cent be laid upon spirituous Liquors, Arms, powder and Lead which, supposing the consumption of these Articles to be £16333 : 16 : 8 will amount additional duty to..... £ 816 : 13 : 2

That the same duty of 5  $\text{P}^{\text{r}}$  Cent, with the additional Duty be in like manner laid on all the Frontier Inhabitants throughout the Northern Department, who shall sell any Indian Goods, Liquors &c., which

Trading houses, at a moderate computation, will amount to 200. which at an Average of £10 York

Curr<sup>y</sup> Each house is £2000 Curr<sup>y</sup> & Ster<sup>g</sup>. . . . . £ 1166 : 13 : 4

Making in all Ster<sup>g</sup> £ 10963 : — : 6

Which sum may be Levied as follows, Viz<sup>t</sup>.

Those laid upon the Traders, at the Posts, to be paid to the Commissary on his Personal Inspection, of the quantity Brought by Each trader; which sums may be paid half Yearly or Otherwise into the Receiver General's Office of Each Colony within the Northern District.

That the Inhabitants who trade within the several Colonies before Mentioned be obliged to take out Licenses Annually in manner of the other Traders, and to give in on Oath, to the governor or Governors by whom such License is granted, the full and Actual amount of the Goods they Intend to vend for one Whole Year, paying into the Receiver Generals Office such Duties, as the same are liable to, at the Rates before Mentioned; And that all Trading Inhabitants selling Indian Goods, &c. Contrary thereto, or without a License, be Liable to the Pains and Penalties Imposed on other Traders.

Estimate of the Annual Amount of the several Establishments, presents, Contingencies &c of the Northern District of Indian Affairs

	SuperIntendant per Annum. . . . .	£600
	Three Deputy Agents—Three Deputy Agents at £300 Each. . .	900
Eleven Commis- saries for Trade.	one commissary for Oswego. . . . .	120
	One for Niagara . . . . .	150
	One for Fort Pitt . . . . .	150
	One for Detroit. . . . .	200
	one for Michilimackinac. . . . .	200
	One for La Baye, or Fort Edward Au- gustus. . . . .	200
	One for Fort Chartres, at the Illinois. .	200
	One for Chicoutami, on Saguenay River	150
	One for Montreal, or Carrillon. . . . .	120
	One for Fort Halifax Kennebec River .	100
	One for Fort Frederick S <sup>t</sup> John's River	100

Carr<sup>d</sup> over



Brought forward

Thirteen Interpre-  
ters. Eleven at the  
posts; & Two, with  
the SuperIntend<sup>t</sup>

One for Oswego.....	£70
One for Niagara.....	80
One for Fort Pitt.....	80
One for Detroit.....	80
One for Michilimackinac.....	80
One for La Baye.....	80
One for Fort Chartres.....	80
One for Chicoutami.....	70
One for Montreal or Carillon.....	70
One for Fort Halifax.....	60
One for Fort Frederick.....	60
Two for different Languages Under the Immediate Direction of the superIntend <sup>t</sup> to attend him and Dep <sup>ys</sup> on Journeys, and at Coun- cils, Each at £80.....	160

Eleven Smiths  
Each finding his  
Assistant.

One Smith for Oswego.....	80
one for Niagara.....	80
one for Fort Pitt.....	80
one for Detroit.....	90
one for Michilimackinac.....	100
one for La Baye.....	100
one for Fort Chartres.....	100
one for Chicoutami.....	80
one for Montreal or Carillon.....	80
one for Fort Halifax.....	70
one for Fort Frederick.....	70

Bellows, Tools, Iron and Steel for Each.

In all..... 220

▲ An Annual present for the Nations in  
the Northern District..... 4000

Store house Rent at Albany & Sche-  
nectady for the same..... 40

A Storekeeper and Clark [*sic*], at £50  
per annum Each..... 100

Carr<sup>d</sup> over

	Brought forward	
Expence attending their Transportation by Land & water...	400	
Contingent Expences attending the Northern Department, for Rewards, Intelligences, Cloathing and presents to Chiefs and Individuals, with many other particulars depending Entirely on Circumstances, and cannot be computed at less $\frac{1}{2}$ Ann. than.....	1000	

Total Annual Expence of the North<sup>n</sup> Department..... £10850  
Q. whether the Superintendants Sallary should be included  
in the foregoing, it being an Office already Established  
by His Majestys Commission.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant<sup>s</sup> General.* Sentiments on the Plan for the future management of Indian Affairs with an Estimate of the Trade, & a Scheme for raising a Fund for defraying the Expences of the Northern District. In S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Letter of 8 Oct<sup>r</sup> 1764. Read

#### GAGE TO HALIFAX, October 12, 1764

[Lansdowne Papers, 131:121—C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage to the Earl of Halifax, dated New York Oct<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1764.

Major Gladwin arrived here some Days ago from Detroit, & I have the satisfaction to acquaint Your Lord<sup>p</sup> that I have learnt from him, as well as from Letters which he brought from Col<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet, that the Indians in general round the Detroit seem'd very well disposed for Peace; that the Ottawas in particular had deserted their turbulent chief, Pondiac, whose Endeavors to spirit them up to continue the War, had not prevailed. Col<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet's Letter was dated on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August, & in six or seven Days from that Time He expected the Ottawas, Pouteatamies & Chippewas, would be all at the Detroit to finish every thing, & comply with all his Demands: amongst which, the Colonel says, Pondiac was to be delivered up, & sent down the Country, to be maintain'd at His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s Expence the remainder of his Days. The Fort of the Detroit was found in a very bad State, Repairs were carrying on there, & Barracks building for the Soldiers. A Detachment had been sent from the Troops to take Possession of

the Fort of Missilimakinak, accompanied by a Body of the Inhabitants of the Detroit; & all Endeavors were using to get one of the Vessels into Lake Huron, (tho' no more than Six Feet Water was then found over the Barr in Lake S<sup>t</sup> Clair) & to fix the Navigation from the Falls of Niagara to Lake Michigan.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris, of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Monckton's Reg<sup>t</sup> had been sent with a Letter to the French Commandant of the Illinois, & a Message to the Indians & Inhabitants of that District, to inform them of the Peace which had been made with so many Nations; & to remove some bad Impressions they had receiv'd of Us, by assuring the Inhabitants that on their taking the oaths of Allegiance & Fidelity which Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris will administer to them, they would enjoy the same Privileges & Immunities in every respect with His Maj<sup>y</sup>'s new Subjects in Canada. After settling Affairs at the Illinois Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris is ordered down the Mississippi in order to reconcile such Indian Nations to Our Interest, as might be inclined to oppose Our Passage up that River, & to return by Sea to New-York.<sup>1</sup>

Col<sup>l</sup> Bradstreet proposed being at Sandusky about the 8<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>, to see that the Shawnese & the Delawares performed the Engagements promised by some of those Nations whom He met, & enter'd into Negotiations with on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> at Presqu'Isle; of which Your Lordship will have receiv'd advice in my Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>, when Major Gladwin left the Detroit, the News of the Murders those Savages were committing on the Frontiers, whilst they were making Peace on Lake Erie, had not reached so far.

The last Letters from Fort Pitt were of the 16<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>, in which Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquet has given Information, that an Express who was sent from thence, with Answers to the Letters that acquainted him of what had passed with the Shawnese & Delawares at Presqu'Isle, not doubting from that Circumstance that the Indian Country was open to us, had been found murdered about fifty miles from the Fort, & his Head stuck upon a Pole in the Middle of the Road. For this Month past, advices from the Northward have brought News of Peace with the Shawnese & Delawares, & those from the Communication of Fort-Pitt, accounts of Murders committed by them. They

<sup>1</sup> Captain Morris never reached the Illinois country but was obliged to turn back on account of the hostility of the Indians. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1:301 *et seq.*; also, *post*, 350, 353.

have been treating with Us on one side, & cutting Our Throats on the other. I have had the honor to take notice of this already to Your Lord<sup>p</sup> & of the Orders sent to Co<sup>ls</sup> Bouquet & Bradstreet to pursue their first Plan steadily, without regard to the Negotiations on Lake Erie. The Issue of this must be known before I can acquaint you of any Thing certain, in respect of these Nations.

Co<sup>l</sup> Bouquet will have begun his March towards the Plains of Scioto, about the first of this Month, & if we are happy enough to bring the Shawnese & Delawares to give us Satisfaction, & to make them sensible that they shall not pursue their Measures at Pleasure, without Fear of Punishment, we shall then have a good Prospect of a general Peace with all the Nations, which with Care & Management hereafter will probably be safe & permanent. And Sir William Johnson will be consulted upon every Measure that can be thought of, which can be conducive to that End.

[*Endorsed:*] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage to The Earl of Halifax, dated New York, 12<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1764. In M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick's Letter of 12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764. Read.

GAGE TO BRADSTREET,<sup>1</sup> October 15, 1764

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK October 15<sup>th</sup> 1764.

DEAR SIR,

Major Gladwin delivered me your Letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> and I am since favored with those of the 12<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup> by Post. The Detroit Indians have at length to appearance shewed, that their Inclination for Peace were sincere and as Pondiac was not to be delivered up, but from Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris's Letter, still retained his Influence; you will, no Doubt, have settled Matters with that Chieftain, if He has kept his Resolution to meet you at Sandusky. The In-

<sup>1</sup> John Bradstreet was a British officer during the French and Indian War. His most notable action was the capture of Fort Frontenac in 1758. After the war he was one of the commanders of the British troops sent westward to subdue the Indians of the Great Lakes. The treaty of peace which he made at Presqu' Isle in 1764 was severely criticised by General Gage and others (*post*, 348, 388). Bradstreet was early interested in land speculation, particularly in northern New York. He was also one of the prime movers in forming a company of officers who petitioned for a colony around Detroit. He died in 1774. *Encyclopedia Americana*; American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings* (new ser.), 19:105 *et seq.*; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, 6:698.



structions you have given Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris, with Letter to Mons<sup>r</sup> St Ange, and Message to the Indians and Inhabitants of the Illinois will in all probability produce the best Effects, and facilitate our Progress up the Mississippi.

I hope the Vessel will find her way to Missilimakinak, least the Indians should put false Constructions on our returning from thence to Detroit. The Inhabitants of that Post are a most vile Sett, and you do well to rid us of such Trash. At the same Time I observe by your Transactions with the Savages, that you have used an excellent Pretext with them, for removing the scattered French from all the other small Posts: which will be of infinite service.

The Efforts that would be made by the Traders to get their Goods on Board the vessels and the Connivance of the Masters, I was sufficiently aware of. This Captain Egshaw should be tried and publicly disbanded. Mr Stirling and Company have tried every Trick to go forward. I gave you Notice of the Application made to me and if they are gone without a Pass which they must, unless they procured one from you, they are liable to a Prosecution by the Laws of the Province, As all Trade had been forbid. The Goods should be detained as long as possible, without Danger of Spoiling after the affair is Examined into and they are proved guilty of the Misdemeanour.

You Judged very right in abolishing the Paper Currency, it tended to very bad effects. Pernicious use would certainly have been made of it in Time, if it has not been done already, and I am to hope that the Instructions you have given L<sup>t</sup> Colonel Campbell, Captain Howard & Lieut Sinclair will be punctually obeyed. you say that the Vessel had sailed, but you Don't seem to have had Intelligence that she had passed the Barr which is the only Difficulty she will have to encounter.

I find you had received my Letter, of the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, which I wish had got sooner to you, and am sorry you mistook my Instructions so far, as to do, what I have not Power to do myself, much less to give to other People. A Peremptory Condition of a Peace by way of a Preliminary, might have been exacted, to prevent an attack, and the rest referred to the King's Agent, whose Business it is to transact the King's Business with the Indians; and t'is expected too, that no Person should interfere in his Business. I must say that I can not

find what you mention, either in my Instructions, or my Letters; and of all the Nations, the Shawnese and Delawares are the last, with whom I should have employed you, to have any Transactions; as they were more immediately the object of Colonel Bouquet; who was in a situation not to be easily deceived by them as yourself; whom they might impose upon, and so it has turned out. They have negotiated with you on Lake Erie, and cut our Throats upon the Frontiers. With your Letters of Peace, I received others giving Accounts of Murder. and these Accounts continue to this Time. Had you only consulted Colonel Bouquet, before you agreed upon anything with them, (a Deference He was certainly entitled to, instead of an order to stop his March.) you would have been acquainted with the Treachery of those People, and not suffered yourself to be thus deceived. And you would have saved both Colonel Bouquet and myself from the Dilemma you brought us into. You concluded a Peace with People who were daily murdering us; It would have been difficult to know what to do. Had not their Treachery been so very plain. The Lye they told you could instantly be discovered; had they sent to call in their Partys, as they told you. It must have been the Beginning of August; and they would have been gone from our Borders long before the End of the Month. Their meeting you at Prequ'Isle was likewise singular. They had no Business there, had they been employed to make Peace. Their sole Business there, was to watch your Motions, and none other. Had they been sent by their Nations to make-Peace, they would not have been at Presqu-Isle and would have come better provided with Belts and other Implements of Peace. You could not have been ignorant, that these were the only Nations who refused Peace, but continued the War with the greatest Inveteracy. They sent no Deputys to the Congress, only an insolent Message, and when a Body of Troops they thought was coming to punish their Villany, they offer Peace; with no other Intent certainly, than to ward off the Blow, & continue their Murders with Impunity, and insult us with the Deceit. And indeed they seem to have too much Reason to despise us, when they see we will make Peace upon any Terms. For they do not give us the least satisfaction we have not a Fort, or a Post in their Country, or likely to have any. I have had accounts of their Murders to the 16<sup>th</sup> of September from Fort-Pitt; and the Papers from Philadelphia, which arrived here the 12<sup>th</sup> Inst

give Accounts that their Partys were murdering in Virginia. I hope you have kept Hostages, or they will most assuredly detain all your People. I hope you will have heard from Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet who will have given you earlier Information, than I could possibly do. I am Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

GAGE TO BOUQUET, October 15, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 384 — A.L.S.]

NEW-YORK Octo<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1764

SIR,

Your Letter of the 26<sup>th</sup> Ul<sup>mo</sup> came to my Hands on the 12<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> and I received great Satisfaction in hearing that you had collected all your Force and Provisions at Fort Pitt without any Disappointment.

The Delawar Indians with whom you have had the Conference, were no Doubt sent, to watch your Motions, and those Colonel Bradstreet treated with at Presqu'Isle, were as surely detached on the same Errand, and no other. Nothing can be better than the Manner in which you have dealt with them, and the Message you sent to their Nations, and I think, unless they have seized Colonel Bradstreet's Partys; which I always suspected they would, that you must have heard from Him very soon, after the Date of your Letter. He was to leave the Detroit on the 14<sup>th</sup> Ul<sup>mo</sup> and it was imagined would reach Sandusky about the 17<sup>th</sup> where He expected to meet the Shawnese and Delawares with their Prisoners. He had made Peace with all the Ottawas &c<sup>a</sup> round the Detroit, sent a Detachment to Missilimakinak. and sent Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris of the 17<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to the Illinois. This Gentleman passed the Miamie in no small Danger of his Life Pondiac protected Him, who He represents as absolute, and had collected the Twigtwees, and all the Indians of the Ouabache, But on finding Peace was made, they all dispersed. and Pondiac was to meet Colonel Bradstreet, at Sandusky. If your Expresses went to that Place it's a little odd that they saw nothing of any Indians, as they were to have been there with their Prisoners on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September. And is a further suspicion of their Designs to deceive us, without any Management. I imagined they might have sent in a few by Degrees, to keep us in Hopes of having the remainder, till the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:277.

Season for Action was over, and then insult us. I suppose that Colonel Bradstreet has kept Hostages.

It gives me great Pleasure to find, you are in a Condition to reduce the Savages to Reason, whether you receive Assistance from Colonel Bradstreet or not. Tho' I hope He may be of some Service.

If they deliver up to you the Promoters of the War, you will bring them down to Philadelphia, or any other Place nearer the Frontiers; where they can be Safely Secured, till all matters are finally and securely settled with their Nations. unless you see proper and very good Reasons, why some of them should suffer immediately; and in that Case, a Platoon must be ordered to shoot them, without any Ceremony. You give very good Reasons for marching towards their Nations, but any orders which I can now send, must come too late.

I am obliged to you for laying in Materials for Batteaux, whether we have occasion for them in the spring or not. Fort Massiac was to be relieved by the Mississipi. Fort-Vincennes was said to be abandoned. Tho' I think it has been contradicted. If we can fix our Affairs well with the Savages, and make a good Peace, we shall have frequent occasions, to go down the Ohio. and we must have a free navigation of that River. Colonel Bradstreet never thought of this; and shews that Business of this head, should be left with those, who have had more Experience in our Indian Affairs. I observe in a Philadelphia Paper which was brought with your last Dispatches; that these Vilains had done recent Mischief, on the Borders of Virginia.

I wish the Evidence against Hicks was a little more plain, there is nothing to prove Him a spy; but his own Confession extorted from Him, by Threats of Death. I can't therefore, confirm the Sentence. Both He and his Brother have been in Arms. And you will endeavor to get what Proofs you can of this, that they may be tried as Traitors to their Country. But these Trials must be in the Country below by the Civil Magistrates, to whom they should be given up. The Military may hang a spy in Time of War, but Rebels in Arms, are tried by the Civil Courts. At least I saw this practised in Scotland; both by General Hawley, and the Duke of Cumberland. M<sup>r</sup> Penn should be applied to, for to order the Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> to prosecute all those Vilains, against whom, any Proof can be brought. I return you both your Court-Martials which either of your Judge-Advocates



may transmit to M<sup>r</sup> Gould, Deputy-Judge Advocate Gen<sup>l</sup> in England, as always practised. You may respite the Execution of Joseph Thomas if you find Room for Mercy, and I will afterwards send you a Pardon, upon your informing me of it. I am with great Regard Sir, your most obedient, humble Servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

COLONEL BOUQUET.

[*Endorsed:*] General Gage Oct<sup>r</sup> 15 1764 Received the 4<sup>th</sup> November Answered 15<sup>th</sup> (entered)

GAGE TO JOHNSON, October 26, 1764  
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW-YORK October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1764

DEAR SIR,

Captain Montgomery who arrived here a few Days Ago from Colonel Bradstreet who was at Sandusky; tells me He did not see you in his way hither to inform you of the Treachery and villany of the Indians. I therefore transmit you the inclosed Papers which will sufficiently acquaint you of the Secret Practises of the Senacas, Shawnese, and Delawares; these Nations, as soon as Acquainted with Captain Morris's going off for the Illinois, th'o immediately after the Peace concluded by the first at Niagara, and by the two last at Presqu'Isle; have prevented our getting to the Mississipi. Till their arrival at the Miamie Fort, every thing was going smoothly on.<sup>1</sup> But by their Contrivance we are disappointed in our Hopes of settling our Business at the Illinois, in the Manner we wished the Indians too with Colonel Bradstreet, refuse to attack the enemy, as some of the Papers will shew you, th'o fully sensible of the Treachery of the Shawnese and Delawares. Colonel Bradstreet's Parties were luckily saved by the Wiandôts who told them at Sandusky, that they must go no further; that if they did, they would be certainly put to Death. These were the Partys who were to gather up our Prisoners, from whence you may perceive what Peace-Makers they were who negotiated with us at Presqu'Isle. Colonel Bradstreet was apprized of their Treason before He got my Letters, and made his Complaints

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 343, *post*, 350, 353.

to all the Nations desiring their Assistance with some Hopes of Success. A Part of the Chippewas was out against them with some white People; of whose Success, I am not very clear, one of the Papers inclosed, mentioning some of the Chiefs of these People consenting to send to you their Deputys, and to deliver up the Promoters of the War, is nothing more, as I learn from Captain Montgomery, than a Piece of Deceit, shewing their Contempt of us, rather than any thing else.

An Onandaga and oneyda have been with Colonel Bouquet, to desire He would not advance; and that the Shawnese and Delawares would make Peace. He desired to see their Chiefs, whom He would treat with if they chose to Come to Him, properly authorized by their Nations. They have at length persuaded Him to go towards Tuscaroraas.

Pondiac has a Letter from the French to tell Him, that their Fathers are not crushed, as the English would make the Indians believe, and mention a large Fleet comeing into the Mississipi. I have just received Letters from Home, that a Spanish Gov<sup>r</sup> & Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup> were nominated for New-Orleans, and have also a Letter from thence to inform me, That the Spaniards were soon expected. this therefore must be the Trick of some Villains, to prevent our getting to the Illinois in order to keep the Trade in their Hands as long as possible. I am with great Regard

Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

GAGE TO HALIFAX, November 9, 1764

[Lansdowne Papers, 131:121—C.]

Extract of a Letter from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage to the Earl of Halifax.

NEW YORK NOV<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1764.

In my Letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> your Lordship was informed, that Capt Morris of the 14<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> had been sent by Col: Bradstreet to the Illinois, with Letters to the French Commandants, & Messages to the Inhabitants & Indians of that District: & that He had Hopes, notwithstanding the Difficulties He had met with, to be able to compleat His Instructions. That Officer, on his Arrival at the Fort of Miamie, unfortunately found that the Shawnesse, Delawares & Senecas, had

taken Precautions to stop his Progress, and He, with the Indians who accompanied Him, after encountring great Dangers & Difficulties, at length got back to the Detroit. A Journal of Capt. Morris's Adventures in this Journey having been sent here, gives me an Opportunity to transmit your Lordship the inclosed Extract. I have likewise the Honor to transmit your Lordship, the Copy of a Letter which I have received from Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie, Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Orleans, together with the Copy of a Letter to Him from Mo<sup>r</sup> de St. Ange, who has relieved Mo<sup>r</sup> de Neyon in the Command of the Illinois, and a Speech of L<sup>t</sup> Pitman's to the Illinois Traders, before their Departure from New Orleans; both which came inclosed in Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie's Letter.<sup>1</sup> Lieut Pitman of the 15<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> went to Florida in the Capacity of an Engineer, & had been pitched upon as a proper Person to make the same Attempt of going to the Illinois, by the Way of the Mississippi, as Capt Morris from the Side of the Detroit; & had been some Time at New Orleans, to endeavour to accomplish this Design. I am sorry he has given Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie any Uneasiness in having assembled the Illinois Traders without his Knowledge, or that He should be picqued at M<sup>r</sup> Pitman for assuring them, that the Colony of Louisiana would be ceded to the Crown of Spain; it being a Circumstance very necessary for Our Interest, they should be acquainted with. The French Command<sup>s</sup> have from the beginning treated this intended Cession as a vulgar Report only,<sup>2</sup> & have seemed under great Uneasiness, least it should gain Credit amongst the Indians. The Accounts of these affairs which Mo<sup>r</sup> d'Abbadie tells me I should receive from L<sup>t</sup> Pitman, did not arrive with his Dispatches.<sup>3</sup> But Capt Lieut Campbell of the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> who was at New Orleans, on the Subject of clearing the Ibbeville, & to precede the Troops for the Illinois with a Detachment for the Post of the Natchés, gives me strong Assurance in a Letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>, that He shall be able thro' the Assistance afforded him by Mo<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie, to effect those Services, Having by his Means entered into a Treaty of Peace &

<sup>1</sup> Captain Morris' journal is printed in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1:301 *et seq.* The other inclosures may be found *ante*, 289, 297, 300.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for the attitude of the French officials towards the reported cession of Louisiana to Spain was that they were not sure it had taken place. See *ante*, 315.

<sup>3</sup> We have been unable to find any account by Pittman. For other references to Pittman's attempt to go to the Illinois, see *ante*, 302, 308.

Friendship with the Tonikas & other Tribes on the Borders of the Mississippi. He likewise says, that Mo<sup>r</sup> d'Abbadie had represented L<sup>t</sup> Pitman's intended Voyage to the Illinois, as dangerous and imprudent, in the present Situation of Affairs: which had been construed to proceed from the Advantage arising from the large Trade carried on betwixt that Place & New-Orleans, in which the Governor was suspected to have an Interest; But that this was only founded on Suspicion, & that some Circumstances spoke in Favour of his Caution. That the Achansas were so exasperated by the Influence of Pondiac, that they search all the French Convoys, for Englishmen, & had put to Death a Deserter of the 22<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> whom they had discovered amongst them; Three more Deserters had made their Escapes, & were just returned to New-Orleans. Capt. Campbell adds, that the Spaniards were daily expected.

.....

[*Endorsed:*] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Extract of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's Letter to the Earl of Halifax. New York 9<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764. In M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick's Letter of 12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764.



## CHAPTER IX

CLOSE OF THE INDIAN WAR,  
NOVEMBER 9, 1764 — JANUARY 16, 1765

CAPTAIN MORRIS' EXPEDITION — GAGE WRITES BOUQUET — LETTERS FROM ST. ANGE — BOUQUET THINKS FORCE ALONE WILL QUIET THE INDIANS — WAYS AND MEANS OF REACHING THE ILLINOIS — PEACE WITH THE INDIANS — CRITICISMS OF BRADSTREET — SAMUEL WHARTON WRITES BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — AN OFFICER AND CROGHAN TO BE SENT DOWN THE OHIO — SUSPICIONS OF FRENCH PERFIDY — GAGE'S PROCLAMATION TO THE ILLINOIS PEOPLE — REGULATIONS FOR THE FUR TRADE — SCHEDULE OF PRICES.

GAGE TO BOUQUET, November 9, 1764  
[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 388 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK November 9<sup>th</sup> 1764.

SIR,

If you have had any Correspondence with Colonel Bradstreet, you will probably have heard that Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris was stopped in his Journey towards the Illinois, at the Miami Fort, by the Intrigues of the shawnese Delawares and senacas. From many Circumstances, I may expect to hear that you have either attacked the Enemy, or that they have Attacked you But if contrary to Expectations, a sincere Peace should have been brought about. I would recommend to your Consideration, the Sending a proper Officer accompanied by some of the Shawnese and Delawares, to acquaint all the Savages of the ouabache, that the Peace is made, and to recommend it to those Nations, to enter into Alliance with Us; and likewise to proceed in the same Manner to the Illinois, who will in the same way, send to the Arkansas, and other Tribes upon the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> The Officer should watch the Motions of Mons<sup>r</sup> St Ange the present Commander of the Illinois, as well as the other Commandants, who are greatly to be Suspected; And if He finds, He can go down the River in safety, He may proceed to the Mobile, and acquaint the Officer Commanding there

<sup>1</sup> This proposal finally succeeded, as the later documents show. General index.

of every thing necessary for Him to be informed of. You will in this Case give the Officer Letters to Mon<sup>s</sup> de St Ange and Messages to the Inhabitants and Indians. who should have Promises of good Treatment, Tho' the Inhabitants cautioned against inciting the Indians to any Insurrection, or spiriting them up with idle Tales.

The Enemy should also send to the Miamies, and Ottawas, to acquaint them of the Peace. I should be glad to know the situation you are in as to Provisions, &c<sup>s</sup> If you make any new Demands, you will make your Requisition on Mess<sup>rs</sup> Franks, and Barkly, but you will particularly Specify, that you agree on no Price, and that you do not make it under the Faith of any Agreement made in the year 1760, but on such Agreement as shall be Settled. The Quantity which was to be furnished by M<sup>r</sup> Callendar, will I suppose be nearly consumed.

I am, with great Regard. Sir, Your most obedient, humble Servant,  
THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

P: S. General Stanwix observes that the 1<sup>st</sup> Batt<sup>n</sup> has no Chaplain returned; and begs you would look out for some Clergyman to officiate. That his Friend M<sup>r</sup> Jackson is very willing to pay a Deputy.  
COLONEL BOUQUET,

[Endorsed:] General Gage Nov<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1764 Received at Fort Pitt the 26<sup>th</sup> (entered)

ST. ANGE TO DABBADIE, November 9, 1764

[P.H.S., B.T.P., P.G., 25: pt. 1, 291—C.]

Extrait de la Lettre de M. de St Ange, Commandant aux ilinois à M. D'abbadie, du 9<sup>e</sup> Novembre 1764.

La paix que Mess<sup>rs</sup> les anglois ont dit avoir faite avec les nations Sauvages n'a pas été aussi solide et aussi générale qu'ils pouvoient

[Translation]

Extract of the letter from M. de St. Ange, commandant in the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie, November 9, 1764.

The peace which the English are said to have made with the savage nations has not been so strong and general as they believe it. Only

le croire un parti seulement de ce qu'on appelle les cinq nations en avoit accepté les propositions, et par l'appas du butin avoit promis d'escorter tous les, détachemens que les anglois pourroient mettre dehors pour la partie du detroit; effectivement, j'ai appris par des françois et des Sauvages que 500. hommes de ce parti avoient accompagné M. Bradstreet, Commandant 1200. anglois et 300 Canadiens, jusqu'au detroit où ayant eu quelque conference avec le Chef Pondiak, ils S'étoient décidés à retourner à leur premiere resolution, et avoient assuré ce même Chef qu'ils mettroient tout en oeuvre pour persuader les anglois de leur fidelité afin de les trahir lorsqu'il en seroit tems—je joins ici une Lettre<sup>1</sup> que m'a écrit ce Commandant, laquelle vous apprendra à peu près la démarche qu'il devoit faire. Cette Lettre m'a été remise par des Sauvages envoyés exprès ici.

Le Capitaine Morris a été arrêté par Pondiak qui m'a fait dire qu'il me l'enverroit ce Printems. Cet officier étoit porteur d'instructions que Pondiak a gardées.

M. Bradstreet m'a écrit de la Pointe aux Cedres près de la Riviere

[*Translation*]

a part of what is called the Five Nations have accepted the propositions, and by the allurements of booty, have promised to escort to the territory of Detroit all the detachments that the English can raise. In fact, I have learned from the French and the savages that five hundred men of that territory have accompanied M. Bradstreet commanding twelve hundred English and three hundred Canadians as far as Detroit where, after having some conference with Chief Pontiac, they decided to return to their first resolution and assured this same chief that they would use every means to persuade the English of their fidelity in order to betray them when the time should come. I join herewith a letter<sup>1</sup> which this commandant has written to me which will inform you somewhat better of the action which he is going to take. This letter was delivered to me by savages sent here express.

Captain Morris has been arrested by Pontiac who has informed me that he would send him to me this spring. This officer was carrying instructions which Pontiac has kept.

M. Bradstreet has written me from Pointe aux Cedres near the

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 304.

des Miamis à 18 lieues du Detroit, j'ignore ce qu'il sera devenu avec son armée, je n'en ai eu aucune nouvelle du depuis.

Pondiak, bien loin de faire la paix que cet Officier étoit chargé de négocier avec toutes les nations, s'est irrité, et est entré en fureur lorsqu'il la lui a proposée, et pour marquer qu'il n'en avoit jamais eu idée, il a fait courir sur le champ, dans toutes les nations, un Colier au moins de 6. pieds de long, et 4 pouces de large, sur lequel sont marquées toutes les nations qui sont dans ses intérêts. il invite d'abord tous les hommes rouges à le secourir, et les menace ensuite de sa haine, ce de celle de tous les siens s'ils ne veulent pas s'y rendre il dépeint les anglois comme les plus cruels ennemis auprès desquels il n'y a aucune sûreté pour les conventions qu'il pourroient faire en ce qui regarderoit leur paix, et qui diminueroient leur ressentiment jusqu'au tems qu'ils seroient à même de le satisfaire.

Les Chaouanons que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous annoncer par ma Lettre du 12 août d<sup>er</sup> sont arrivés ici le 27. du même mois au nombre de 60. pour me demander leurs plus urgens besoins que je n'ai pu

[*Translation*]

river Maumee, eighteen leagues from Detroit. I do not know what will become of his army. I have had no news of it since.

Pontiac, very far from making this peace which this officer was intrusted to negotiate with all the nations, has become irritated and became angry when it was proposed to him; and, in order to give notice that he had never had an idea of it, he has sent immediately to all the nations a belt at least six feet in length and four inches in width on which are indicated all the nations which are in his interests. He invites, at first, all the red men to aid him and then he threatens them with his hatred and that of all his people if they do not wish to join him. He pictures the English as the most cruel enemies around, from whom there is no security for the agreements which they may make in what regards peace with them, and who will restrain their resentment until the time that they shall be able to satisfy it.

The Shawnee, about whom I have had the honor of reporting to you in my letter of August 12 last, arrived here the twenty-seventh of the same month to the number of sixty to demand from me their most urgent necessities which I have not been able to give them, in



leur donner, vû les circonstances et leurs dispositions à continuer la guerre aux Anglois, je n'ai pû cependant me refuser à leur donner quelque chose, pour ne point les buter contre nous je leur ai fait expliquer la parole que vous leur portés en reponse à celle qu'ils vous avoient envoyée: ils m'ont paru en etre très satisfaits.

Le Chef de cette nation a pris le parti d'aller vous voir pour vous exposer la triste situation où elle se trouve reduite, sa resolution, son attachement aux françois, et enfin l'espérance qu'elle a d'être secourüe par eux: il descend par ce Bateau avec sa femme.

vous pouvés sentir, Monsieur, dans quel embarras j'ai été avec ces gens là qui tous les jours me faisoient des demandes qui ne tendoient qu'à de grandes dépenses, et contraires aux intentions du Roi et aux ordres que vous m'avés donnés à ce sujet. d'un autre côté la crainte de les buter contre nous en rejetant toutes leurs demandes, qu'ils n'accusent les françois de les abandonner totalement, et qu ensuite ils se livrent au desespoir, m'a fait passer de forts mauvais momens. Leur séjour ici n'a pas laissé d'occasionner une grande dépense pour leur subsistance seulement.

[Translation]

view of the circumstances and their disposition to continue the war with the English. I have not been able, however, to refuse to give them something so as not to arouse them against us. I have had explained to them the talk which you made them in answer to the one which they sent you; they appear to me to be very satisfied with it.

The chief of this nation has decided to go to see you in order to explain to you the sad situation to which it has been reduced, its resolution, its attachment to the French, and finally the hope which it has of being aided by them. He is descending with his wife by this bateau.

You can understand, sir, in what embarrassment I have been with these people who every day make demands upon me which tend only to bring great expense and are contrary to the intention of the king and to the orders which you have given to me on this subject. On the other hand the fear of arousing them against us by rejecting all their demands, the fear that they should accuse the French of abandoning them totally, and finally that they should give themselves up to despair has made me endure some very bad

Un Chef Iroquois est venu ici il y a vingt cinq jours; après m'avoir tenu les propos communs des nations Sauvages, il m'a demandé des secours, ce que je n'ai pû lui donner, n'étant ni endroit ni situation de le faire. il a pris le parti de descendre; il y a douze jours qu'il est parti avec un françois venu avec lui des Chaouanons.

je ne sçaurois vous exprimer, Monsieur, les inquiétudes que me suggerent les circonstances, j'aurois à repondre à toutes les nations, et je ne le puis faire Leur parler de paix, cela est tout, rien ne peut moins les contenter. Tous les jours il y a ici cinquante hommes rouges qu'il faut nourrir, ce qui ne reconnoissant plus que ce Poste où ils ont un Pere, et du quel ils croient tirer tous leurs besoins, partent le plus souvent très mécontents, et reviennent ensuite, persuadés qu'on leur sera plus favorable.

Voilà, Monsieur, dans quel etat je suis, les circonstances et vos ordres ne permettent que de leur parler de paix, ce qu'ils ne veulent point entendre; et le manque total où je suis de marchandises, me met hors d'etat de donner aucune marque de bonté à ces malheureux.

[*Translation*]

moments. Their sojourn here has occasioned a great expense for their subsistence only. An Iroquois chief came here twenty-five days ago; after having spoken the words common to savage nations, he demanded from me assistance which I have not been able to give him since I had neither the right nor was I in a situation to do so. He has decided to descend. Twelve days ago he set out with a Frenchman who had come with him from the Shawnee.

I do not know how to express to you, sir, the anxieties which the circumstances cause me. I have to answer all the nations, and I am unable to make them speak of peace; that is all; nothing can content them less. Every day there are here fifty red men whom it is necessary to nourish since they know no other post than this where they have a father from whom they believe they should draw all their necessities; these set out usually very discontented and return again, persuaded that one will be more favorable to them.

That is, sir, the condition in which I am; circumstances and your orders permit me only to speak to them of peace which they do not wish to hear, and my total want of merchandise makes it impossible for me to give any sign of favor to these unhappy people. I have

J'ai l'honneur de vous prier, Monsieur, d'avoir egard à ma situation si l'Anglois ne prend pas possession de ce païs-ci sous peu de tems, je serai accablé ce Printems par tous les partisans de Pondiak qui augmentent tous les jours. voilà ce qui regarde les Sauvages &c.

signe S<sup>t</sup> ANGE

[*Endorsed:*] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Extracts of Letters from the Illinois to Mons<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie. E. In M<sup>r</sup> Stuart's Letter of 24 Jan[ua]ry 1765 Read L (2)

[*Translation*]

the honor to pray you, sir, to give attention to my situation. If the English do not take possession of this country in a short time I shall be overwhelmed this spring by all the partisans of Pontiac whose number is increasing every day. That is all that concerns the savages, etc.

signed ST. ANGE

[*Endorsed:*] Plantations General. Extracts of letters from the Illinois to M. Dabbadie. E. In Mr. Stuart's letter of January 24, 1765. Read L (2)

ST. ANGE TO AUBRY, November 9, 1764

[P.H.S., B.T.P., P.G., 25<sup>1</sup> : 299—C.]

Extrait de la lettre de M. de S<sup>t</sup> Ange Commandant aux Illinois à M Aubry, Commandant des troupes à la N<sup>e</sup>lle Orleans, du 9<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1764.

Depuis le départ de M. de Neyon, les nations Sauvages n'ont rien fait sur les anglois; les moteurs de la conspiration ont travaillé seulement à grossir leur parti, à quoi ils ont très bien réussi, car je puis vous assurer que tous les Sauvages qui tiroient ordinairement leurs secours d'ici et des Postes voisins sont tous rendus aux invitations qui

[*Translation*]

Extract of the letter from M. de St. Ange, commandant at the Illinois to M. Aubry, commandant of the troops at New Orleans, November 9, 1764.

Since the departure of M. de Villiers, the savage nations have done nothing against the English. The movers of the conspiracy have worked only to increase their party in which they have very well succeeded, for I can assure you that all the savages who ordinarily draw their assistance from here and from the neighboring posts have

leur ont été faites par Pondiak et les siens. Ils travaillent continuellement à y intéresser toutes les nations les plus reculées, et je crains qu'ils réussiront très parfaitement.

M. Bradstreet commandant de 1200 hommes anglois, 300 Canadiens et 500 des Sauvages appelés cinq nations, étoit à la Pointe aux Cedres près de la Riviere des Miamis pour aller au Detroit. vous verrez par une Lettre de ce Commandant<sup>1</sup> que j'ai l'honneur d'adresser à M. Dabbadie, qu'il envoyoit un Officier ici; mais Pondiak ne l'a pas jugé à propos, il l'a arrêté prisonnier chez lui, et m'a fait dire qu'il me l'ameneroit ce Printems. Cet officier étoit chargé de faire la paix avec toutes les nations, et venoit pour les disposer à recevoir les anglois. C'est une chose dont elles ne veulent point entendre parler. elles ne demandent que la guerre et leurs peres les françois, elles sont résolues de la faire jusqu'à ce qu'elles les aient retrouvés.

Un Iroquois Chef est descendu il y a 12. jours pour aller voir M. Dabbadie; un Chef Chaouanon en fait autant par cette occasion, et vous scaurés par eux leurs manoeuvres et leurs dispositions.

[*Translation*]

accepted the invitations which have been made them by Pontiac and his people. They are working continually to interest all the most distant nations and I feel that they will succeed very perfectly.

M. Bradstreet, commandant of twelve hundred Englishmen, three hundred Canadians, and five hundred savages, called the Five Nations, was at Pointe aux Cedres near the Maumee River on his way to Detroit. You will see by a letter from this commandant<sup>1</sup> which I have the honor of sending M. Dabbadie that he sent an officer here, but Pontiac did not judge it fitting; he made him a prisoner at his house and informed me that he would bring him to me this spring. This officer was instructed to make peace with all the nations and came in order to persuade them to receive the English. That is a subject which they do not wish to hear spoken of. They demand only war, and their fathers, the French. They are resolved to make war until they have found them again.

An Iroquois chief descended twelve days ago to go and see M. Dabbadie. A Shawnee chief did the same on that occasion and you will learn from them their maneuvers and their disposition.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 304.



Voila, Monsieur, tout ce qui S'est passé depuis le depart de M. de Neyon. vous voyés que les nations ne sont nullement disposées à faire la paix avec les anglois, et que demeurant dans cette resolution les anglois auront bien de la peine à prendre possession de cette partie; et moi ayant à repondre à tous ces malheureux les mains vuides, je suis très embarrassé ne pouvant leur faire entendre aucune raison, ni que je suis hors d'etat de les secourir par le manque total de marchandises, et que je ne le peus ni ne le dois vû les circonstances de la paix.

J'ai l'honn<sup>r</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Extract of a Letter from the Illinois to Mon<sup>r</sup> Aubray — F. M<sup>r</sup> Stuart's In Letter of 24 Janry 1764. Read L (2)

[*Translation*]

That is, sir, all that has passed since the departure of M. de Villiers. You see that the nations are in no way disposed to make peace with the English; and that, if they continue in this resolution, the English will have much difficulty in taking possession of this territory; and I am obliged to be responsible for all these evils with empty hands. I am very much embarrassed because I cannot make them hear any reason, and because I am not in a condition to assist them on account of a total lack of merchandise, and because I cannot or should not do so on account of the circumstances of the peace.

I have the honor, etc,

[*Endorsed:*] Plantations General. Extract of a letter from the Illinois to M. Aubry. F. Mr. Stuart's; in letter of January 24, 1764. Read L (2)

GAGE TO BOUQUET, November 11, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 392 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK NOV<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1764.

SIR,

I am this Moment favored with your Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of October, from Tuscorawas which gives me great Pleasure that you had succeed- ed so happily in a March of so much Difficulty; and that you had so good a Prospect of bringing those obstinate Nations, at length to

Terms; and of shewing them so properly, that their Woods should not Secure them from our Resentment. No Place so proper to make Peace with them as in the Center of their own Towns, where they boasted they were not to be got at, and out of our Reach. My former Letter of 21<sup>st</sup> of October will have given you more Latitude to accomodate Matters with them, if it gets to you in Time. All this I shall reserve for Conversation when I have the Pleasure to see you.

I send herewith a Duplicate of a Letter<sup>1</sup> Sent by yesterday's Post, as the Express who returns with this, may make more Haste. I need not explain the Consequence it will be of to us the Possessing of the Illinois, and it must be done by the Assistance of the Shawnese and Delawares, they should attend our People there, and assure them of the Peace, and all will go right and well. I know of no Tribes below the Ohio, against us, except the Akansas. If we get a quiet Possession, and reconcile the Indians of the Illinois to us, every thing below will by their Means, be soon quieted you will manage this as you think best. as Time and Circumstances will allow, either by sending an officer only or a Detachment to relieve the French, and send their Garrisons down to New-Orleans, which would Surprize them and I believe disappoint them there, to no small Degree. A Discreet Officer should be Sent on this Business. I wish you could learn what Time the Shawnese &c<sup>a</sup> Sent to the Miamie to stop the English going to the Illinois, It appears by Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris's Journal that they set out after Him just after the Peace with Colonel Bradstreet; for they describe the Englishman, and the Indians who were with Him.

I wonder Col<sup>o</sup> Bradstreet did not answer you, It looks as if your Letters were not delivered.

Baron Munster has exchanged with Major Wilkins, so there is an End of his Purchase; and I am sorry to acquaint Cap<sup>t</sup> Prévost, That The King is come to a Resolution to let no Officer Sell his Commission, who did not purchase it.

I am with great Regard, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,  
THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] General Gage. 11<sup>h</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764, Received the 26<sup>th</sup> (entered)

<sup>1</sup> This is the letter just preceding this.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, November 19, 1764  
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK Nov 19<sup>th</sup> 1764

DEAR SIR,

I am favored with your Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> and was before the Receipt of it, pretty well satisfied that the Senaca Nation, could not in general, have had any Concern in the Belts sent to the Twigtwees; from the Circumstances of Time. It does not seem likely that Capt Morris's journey to the Illinois could have been made known to the Senaca Nation Time enough for them to have got before Him to the Miamie Fort. This and many other Things remain to be cleared up and I most sincerely wish to hear that the Troops were returned from Sandusky, and that all was well on that side.

You will receive herewith a Warrant for the Pay of your own Appointments and that of your Officers. There is a mistake in the other Account, which occasions it to be sent back, in order to be rectified. You have in that Account, given Credit for a warrant made out in June, which is already settled, being a compleat Warrant with your Receipt to Mr Mortier for the amount of it; and has therefore been sent Home. You received £5000, on Account in April. This was advanced you not by Warrant, but by an Order on Mr Mortier to advance you so much on Account, which sum He should deduct out of the first Warrant granted in your Name You desired it might not be deducted in the warrant of June; therefore must be deducted from the present one But this you need take no Notice of in your Account, as the present warrant must be made out for the whole sum for which you will give your Receipt accordingly. Mr. Mortier will of Course deduct the £5000, in the Payment of it, and then the order for the said sum advanced is cancelled. And by this means, the whole sum goes Home to the Treasury in one regular Warrant. They have made a Memorandum of this in my office which I transmit to you, least I may not have explained it clearly enough. I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

FARMAR TO THE SECRETARY AT WAR, November 24, 1764

[Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:124]

SIR

I have the Honour to enclose you the Monthly returns of His Majesty's 22<sup>d</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> Regiments, to 24<sup>th</sup> Novem<sup>r</sup> and at the same time take the liberty of informing you, that I am endeavouring every necessary step, to expedite the passage of the Troops up the Mississippi; and to that purpose have sent forward Officers to assemble the different Tribes of Indians, with proper Instructions, to gain them over by every Art and Invention to our Interest, a measure I judged absolutly necessary, the prejudices of the Inhabitants all up the Banks of the River, and Its adjacent parts, being so strongly and strangly implanted against us; for to attempt the possession of the Country by violent measures, in the first place, We are too Weak, not having Men sufficient even to Row up the Boats with the Artillery and our necessary baggage; in the next place, the situation of the Savages is so very advantageous, that they must destroy a handfull of Soldiers where they are determined upon opposition, for what can the most determined resolution, on our part, avail, when the moment, a few tired & fatigued Men quit their Oars, (in order to take to their Arms) They are hurried down a rapid River, at the rate of five miles in an hour, exposed to the fire of an Enemy at every turn, that you can neither see, nor discover; the loss and disadvantage of any party so circumstanced, is too obvious to need any further representation; so that I hope at this time to answer the Expectations of my Master, by soothing and cajoling methods occasionally intermixed with threats, & softened by presents, than any force of Arms; And tho' I have been obliged to make large draughts upon the Treasury, yet I trust in the end it will save a much greater expence, and that the success of the Expedition will meet with the approbation of my Country.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect Sir Your most obedient, and most humble Servant

ROB<sup>t</sup> FARMARMOBILE 24<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE SECRETARY AT WAR

[Endorsed:] Mobile: 24<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1764—Maj<sup>r</sup> Farmar—Rd 10<sup>th</sup> March.



BOUQUET TO GAGE, November 30, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.653, f. 327 — Draft]

FORT PITT 30<sup>th</sup> November 1764

SIR

The Army returned the 28<sup>th</sup> Instant to this Post where I have found Your Excellency's Letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of November.

The Royal Americans marched yesterday down the communication.

All the Volunteers and the First Batt<sup>n</sup> of the Pennsylvania Regiment have followed this day and to morrow the second Batt. marches likewise to Carlisle.

N. B. All the Captives of which I enclose the List are Sent to their different Provinces.

Fort Pitt is garrisoned by Five Companies of the 42<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> under the Command of Captain William Murray.

Fort Ligonier has a Company of the Same Corps under the Command of Captain Stewart.

Fort Bedford another Company commanded by Captain William Grant.

Fort Cumberland half a Company under the Command of L<sup>t</sup> McIntosh.

Fort Loudoun the other half Comp. under the Command of L<sup>t</sup> Eddington.

N. B. The Cocknawaga Indians under Captain Artel's [?] Command proceed to morrow, with the Deputies of the Delawares & Shawanese to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson.

The Six hostages of the Delawares are at this Fort, as to the Shawanese, We were obliged to leave Two of theirs Sick upon the Road; One I have sent with a Delaware to the Ouabache & the means to acquaint those Nations of the Peace. Three I send as Deputies to Sir William Johnson chusing rather to seize the favourable opportunity of sending them with the Cocknawaga Indians and giving thereby an opportunity to Sir William to conclude the Peace with these Two Nations at the same time than to give the trouble of a Separate Treaty by waiting for their Deputies who are to come w<sup>h</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:283. The original from which the above is taken has many corrections and interlineations. The above copy follows the final corrections.

Captives. Besides that these Savages are So fickle and Wavering in their dispositions that there is no dependance upon their Engagements, till they are fulfilled, I have therefore for the present no other hostage of that Nation but they have promised to replace them immediately and for the Mingoes, They have behaved as usual, after Stealing seven or eight of our own Guns upon the Road they are run off. That vermin is not worth treating with them: We shall have however Two other Hostages of those Bandittis, when their Chief returns from the Lakes where I have sent him to inform those Nations of the Peace.

I shall now have the honor to answer your Letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> & 11<sup>th</sup> Instant which are come too late to execute the Plan you proposed, had I been informed sooner of your Intentions, I would have sent an officer with some Delawares & Shawanese (tho it is rather too soon yet to trust them) to the different Nations you mention; but if you permit me Sir, I shall take the Liberty to observe from my Superficial knowledge of the Character of the Savages, that it is not probable the Method would have produced the desired Effect; The distant Tribes would despise and probably insult a single Messenger, and put us under the disagreeable necessity of suffering tamely the affronts or engaging into a War with them to obtain a precarious satisfaction.

Those Nations being extremely indisposed against us owing to the perfidious Insinuations of the French & the contemptible Light in which they represent us. They would neither believe our offers sincere, nor think us able to enforce them.

The dread of English Power is in my opinion the only motive capable of Making a Solid Impression upon their minds and they must be convinced by their own Eyes that it is not out of necessity, but out of regard for them that we offer them our alliance — and I doubt whether we Shall ever root out the French Interest in that Country till we make our appearance in it with a Force sufficient to make ourselves respectable and awe both the French & the Savage.

The force of Power well established will facilitate ever after any Negotiation with them, and We might afterwards with safety reduce the Garrisons & Send Messages and even orders to them by a Single Messenger, But not before.

I dont expect that The Regiment ordered up the Mississipy will

succeed while there is a Single Native to oppose them, owing to the facility & Safety they will find to fire at them Every day with Impunity; But if instead of the crawling Progress of Ten Miles a day against a rapid stream exposed all the time to their Embushes We had to go down stream at the Rate of Fifty Miles per day, the Enemies would hardly venture to attempt an opposition, as the Same Party could not See the Batteaux Twice: & this might be effected from this Post, if Two Regiments at least & a Corps of Rangers & Savages were employed at once in that Expedition; and to prevent the Enemy getting any Intelligence of the real destination It would be easy to give out that it is intend'd to rebuild Venango, Le Boeuf and Presqu' Isle, & even navigate a day or Two up the River, letting no body in the Secret besides the Commanding officer That embarkation would reach the Missisipi before it would be possible for any Runner to carry the News; The distance from thence to Fort Chartres may be marched by Land, or gone by Water sooner than the Enemy surprised can collect a sufficient Body to resist: & That Fort once in our Possession with such a Force, it would be the proper time to offer our friendship and Trade, to the nations, as they would no longer impute it to Fear or necessity.

Time, adress, and good usage must effect the rest by attaching them to us & by degrees make them forget the French, whose Clandestine Trade & Intrigues might then be more easily discovered.

Tho' I think that such an Expedition could hardly fail of success, I am Sensible of the difficulties attending it. First we are commonly too late in our Entreprises owing to several visible Causes, but particularly to the inconveniences of waiting for orders from home and the necessity of depending (for want of Troops) upon Provincials who are never ready.

But I shall say nothing more for the present upon this Subject<sup>1</sup>

GAGE TO JOHNSON, December 6, 1764  
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK, Dec 6<sup>th</sup>, 1764

DEAR SIR,

I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you that Colonel Bouquet has reduced the Shawnese and Delawares &c to the most

<sup>1</sup>No ending.

Humiliating Terms of Peace; which they are finally to conclude with you, on such further Terms as shall be thought proper to impose upon them. For your more particular Information, I transmit you all Transactions betwixt Colonel Bouquet and those savages from his Arrival at Tuscarowas till his Return from the Forks of the Muskingham. This will give you sufficient Information into every thing that has passed, and prepare you for what you shall Judge further necessary to be done, when the Deputys come to you. A free and uninterrupted Navigation of the Ohio must be insisted upon. As for the savages of the Delaware Nation who are Prisoners here, you will settle and dispose of them to the most advantage. Likewise those who were to be delivered up by the Senacas, whose Hostages are now at Ontario for the Performance of that Article of the Treaty at Niagara. These matters you will adjust as you see best for the general Good of the service. We must shew firmness where it's proper, and yield in Trifles when it becomes necessary to gain their Affections. We may want other Posts of Trade. The mouth of the Canawa seems a good one; tho' I am not yet sufficiently informed of the Communication with that River from Augusta County in Virginia. If the Communication with Virginia and the mouth of that River is tolerably good, it seems to me the best Route to the Illinois; and that Country will probably in that Case, soon be supplied by that Route. I have wrote to Colonel Bouquet some weeks ago, in Case Peace was made, to endeavor to get an officer, if not a Detachment to the Illinois; to send People to inform all the Indians of the Miamie, ouabache &c<sup>a</sup> of the Peace, to endeavor to pacify them, and I wish Pondiac had come into us and made his Peace; for He may still do as much Mischief to the Westward. All these Matters you may likewise talk over with the Deputys. and it would be well if a Message could be sent to Pondiac, the sooner the better. He may do us much service or hurt, in the Business next in Hand. which is taking Possession of the Illinois. I hear of no Tribe on the Mississippi now averse to us, I mean below the Ohio, except the Akansas; and Pondiac's Influence reaches even to them.

It's to be hoped the Shawnese and Delawares will keep the Peace they have made. Colonel Bouquet has conducted Himself in this Business with Firmness and Ability; and has reduced and humbled them as they deserved and I am convinced without marching into



the Heart of their Country, and shewing them we would dictate a Peace on our own Terms, with that Firmness and Steadiness which Colonel Bouquet has kept up with them in all his Transactions, that we should have had no Peace at all. His March threw them into a Terror and Confusion. He has obliged them to deliver up even their own Children born of white women. Above Two Hundred Prisoners were in his Hands, and his Partys collecting the rest among the Shawnese villages, these last refused his Conditions at first, but were given instantly to understand that they should have no better Terms than the rest.

Colonel Bouquet believes from their present humble Dispositions that they are sincerely disposed for Peace; and that they will not easily break it, provided they are kept under proper Management. That no Traders are permitted to go to their Towns to cheat them. That the French are entirely excluded from coming amongst them, which cannot be effected till we possess the Illinois. And that the Mingoes be obliged to quit the Country and join the six Nations to whom they belong;<sup>1</sup> as they are the most corrupted of all Indians, live by Robberys, and always endeavor to embroil matters, to have the opportunity to plunder Friends and Foes. Those villains have stole a Number of our Horses.

Our Affairs are now brought to a Conclusion for this year; and you will be able to determine on what shall be proper to be done to cement the several Negotiations we have entered into. And we must consider that the Twigtwees and the Indians of the ouabache and the Illinois, tho' they have not struck, are greatly averse to us; and will be still spirited up to that Aversion, by the French. Pondiac's Tribe too, tho' they made Peace will not be very sincere, as their Chief was not included; we should work in that Quarter even in the Winter. I shall soon hear from Colonel Bouquet relative to these matters; and know what He has been able to do in that Quarter tho' I don't recollect that I mentioned Pondiac.

I am with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to a detached band of Hurons who were making the Ohio route unsafe at this time. Mingoes was the popular name given the Iroquois by the Pennsylvanians. The name was derived from the popular name in use among the Pennsylvania Indians. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:348.

GAGE TO PENN, December 7, 1764

[P.C.R., 9:238]<sup>1</sup>NEW YORK, Decem<sup>r</sup> 7th, 1764.

SIR:

It gives me great pleasure to be able to acquaint you that, by an Express arrived from the heads of Muskingham, I am informed that the Shawanese and Delawares, and other Tribes on the Ohio, have been reduced to the most humiliating Peace by his Majesty's Arms, under the Command of Colonel Bouquet, and that a general Peace is now made with all the Nations who had risen in arms against us.

The perfidy of the Shawanese & Delawares, the Contempt they shewed us, and the breaking through all the ties and engagements which even Savage Nations hold sacred amongst each other, made it absolutely necessary to reduce them by Force, and to march into their Country. The Troops under Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet have penetrated into the heart of their Settlement, and obliged them to deliver up all their Prisoners, even their own Children born of White Women, and to send deputies to Sir William Johnson, to settle a peace upon such further terms as should be imposed upon them; for the performance of the last, and as a Security that no further Hostilities should be committed, a number of their principal Chiefs have been delivered up as Hostages; about Two hundred prisoners had been delivered into our hands, and more were expected from the Shawanese. Several of our parties had been sent into the Villages of that Nation, to assist them in collecting the Captives and bringing them to Fort Pitt.

I take the first opportunity to congratulate you on the happy Conclusion of all Hostilities with the Indian Nations who had appeared in Arms against his Majesty, and to enable you to give such notice as you see convenient, to the Merchants, that the Trade may be again carried on with the several Nations.

In consequence of this Peace, I beg leave to observe to you that I am informed the Government of this Province intend publishing a Proclamation, not only to prohibit all Hostilities against the Indians,

<sup>1</sup> Careful and prolonged search has been made both in the archives of Harrisburg and of Philadelphia for the originals of all the documents printed herein from the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, but all was without success; the originals cannot be found.

but likewise, to open a Trade with them, on condition that the Traders take Lycences of the Governor, and give Bond and Security that they do not expose to Sale, or Sell to the Indians, but at the posts that are already, or shall be hereafter established; I should be glad to know whether you pursue the same method, or make any further regulations respecting the trade with the Indians, that I may have it in my power to give notice thereof to the Officers Commanding at the several Posts, to enable them to see that the Traders do strictly comply with the Terms of Trade prescribed to them by the Government to which they belong.

I am, with great regard, Sir, Your most Obedient, humble Servant,  
THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

HON. JOHN PENN, Esqr.

GAGE TO BOUQUET, December 7, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 396 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK December 7<sup>th</sup> 1764.

SIR,

Major Small arrived yesterday with your Dispatches of the 15<sup>th</sup> ul<sup>mo</sup> from the Forks of the Muskingham. I am very glad that my Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of October got to you in Time; not that you could have acted otherwise than you have done, in any situation; but it made you easy. I considered the Latitude given you in your Instructions as sufficient, but from the Tenor of your Letters, I perceived you did not look upon your Powers in the same Light, which induced me to write you that Letter, and being thoroughly Satisfied that every thing was very safe in your Hands.

The Peace you have made, does great Honor to yourself, and must give the greatest Satisfaction to His Majesty, as well as to every Person who wishes well to his Service. Nothing but the steps you have taken, of Marching into their Country, and prescribing your own Terms, with that Firmness and Resolution which you have shewn thro' all your Transactions with the Savages, would ever have brought those Savages, to a Serious Peace. you have by an admirable Conduct, reduced and humbled them as they deserved: and thereby made a Peace upon a solid Foundation, and

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19:287.

greatly added to the Reputation of His Majesty's Arms, amongst the Indian Nations.

I return you the Proceedings of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial with my Approbation of the Sentence, but if you see it proper that the Prisoner should retire quietly as the Regiment was to be immediately reduced, you will Manage the Affair as you Judge best. I inclose you a Pardon for Joseph Thomas of the Pensylvania Regiment.

I will take the first Opportunity to recommend M<sup>r</sup> John Lewis for an Ensigncy. His Father has been active in the Service from the Beginning of the late War, and the Publick Spirit He has exerted on this late Occasion, certainly entitles Him to some Reward from the Government; and I hope He will meet with it.

I have transmitted all your Conferences to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson, so that He can want no Insight into our Affairs, when He comes to transact Business with the Deputy from the Shawnese and Delawares. It were to be wished that Colonel Bradstreet had given you full Information of every thing that had passed on his Side. There was a sort of Peace made with Pondiac's Tribe, and it was believed He had lost his Influence; in so much, that his own Belt was cut in Pieces. But Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris found He had as much Influence as ever, and He has not come into us; affraid to trust Himself. He should if possible be gained to our Interest, The Miamies or Twightwees, Indians of the ouabache and the Illinois, tho' not openly in Arms, are greatly averse to us; and Pondiac can manage them as He pleases. The Peace lately made may possibly soften all these Nations, and if a particular Belt was Sent to Pondiac to notify the Peace, and to take Him into Favor, it may greatly advance the Service. If He could be got to Fort-Pitt, or the Detroit He might be made usefull, and as an earnest of his Sincerity would be anxious to shew us his readiness to do us some notable service. I mention these matters to you, in Case it should be in your Power to effect any thing of the kind.

Major Small mentions that you had some thoughts of Sending to take Possession of the Illinois by Land, with the assistance of Pack Horses; I fear the Season was too far advanced, the Journey too long, and the Difficulties too great, to be undertaken in that Manner. The only Method must be by Water for a Detachment. you will have received my Letters of the 9<sup>th</sup> and of the 11<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup> on this Subject, and will of Course have done every thing in it possible for you to do.



The French are Working against us privately as much as possible, I have more Proofs of it than Mr Smallman's Letter.

I must beg you would thank Colonel Reid for me, for the assistance He has given you in this troublesome Campaign. I am with great Regard, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

COL<sup>O</sup> BOUQUET.

[Endorsed:] General Gage 7<sup>th</sup> December 1764, Received the 21<sup>st</sup> at Conegochieque, answered the 22<sup>d</sup> (entered)

GAGE TO HALIFAX, December 13, 1764

[Lansdowne Papers, 131: 121 — C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage to the Earl of Halifax. New York. 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764.

.....  
I now flatter myself to be able to inform Your Lordship, that the Country is restored to it's former Tranquility, and that a general, and, it's to be hoped, lasting Peace is concluded with all the Indian Nations, who have taken up Arms against His Majesty. The Possessing of the Illinois is yet a Difficulty, which we have to encounter, tho' this last Peace with the Shawnese & Delawares 'may facilitate Our Designs in that Quarter: It seems to have opened a Door to that Country, and that Nothing might be left undone, which could be attempted, Colonel Bouquet has received Directions, in case a Peace should be concluded with the Shawnese & Delawares, to try, thro' Their Influence, to get an Officer, if not a Detachment, to the Illinois. The late Season of the Year is against us; But I have not as yet received any Answer upon those Points. The Affections of several Nations are to be conciliated, particularly Those inhabiting the Ouabache, and the District of the Illinois: and we must reckon that the French will privately give us all the Obstruction in This, that They can.

[Endorsed:] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage to the Earl of Halifax, New York. 13<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764. In M<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick's Letter of 16 Jan[ua]ry 1765.

S. WHARTON<sup>1</sup> TO B. FRANKLIN, December 19, 1764  
[P.H.S., Franklin Papers, 58:33 — A.L.S.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 19 1764.

DEAR SIR

When I wrote you last, I must confess, I did not expect, That the *Protestors* would attempt to answer the *Remarks*, or Indeed! That They would eve [*MS. torn th*]eir Cause, so Much, as to let an anonymous Reply appear, in their Behalf.

The History of this matter, as I am informed, is thus,—The *Protestors*, at the Instigation of the Chief Justice, determined an Answer should appear & That They would sign it—But Dickenson, Who heretofore was the most forward in publishing his name, greatly disapointed Them, By refusing to do it, upon this Occasion. He was induced thereto, By William Morris of Trenton, M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Richardson (The Member) & some Others of his Relations—representing to Him, The Injury He was doing Himself; as the prop—y Party dare not, desert Chew & That almost, all the Quakers, were attached to Galloway. Allison, Ewing, Smith & Edw<sup>d</sup> Shippin jun<sup>r</sup>, I have Reason to think, were the Club of Geniuses, Which composed that Compilation of Billingsgate & Misrepresentation, called an *Answer*.

<sup>1</sup> The Wharton family was one of the most important in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century. Its destinies were controlled at the time of the Revolution by several remarkable men. Although not so well known, the writer of this letter, Samuel, wielded great influence in the family councils, and, in the course of time, became an important figure in England. He was a member of the firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan which was one of the earliest firms to open up the western trade and was the first to extend its connections as far as the Illinois. Besides its trading interests, the partners entered largely into western land speculation. They were the chief promoters of the Indiana Company which was formed of merchants who suffered losses at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy and claimed, as compensation from the Indians, land situated in modern West Virginia. The firm was also the backbone of a company that planned the establishment of a colony in Illinois (see general index). Samuel Wharton was consulted freely by Johnson and others about Indian affairs. His influence seems to have been particularly important at the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. In 1769, he went to London to promote his various western interests. While there, he formed the famous Walpole Company or Grand Ohio Company which proposed the erection of the colony of Vandalia, west of Virginia. Wharton managed the English politicians so skillfully as to break down all opposition, particularly that which came from Virginia. He is the author of the famous pamphlet, the "Settlement on the Ohio," an answer to Lord Hillsborough's report on western settlement, which has always been ascribed to Benjamin Franklin. During the Revolutionary War, Samuel Wharton remained in Europe, whence he later returned to push his western schemes. Many of the letters of Thomas and Samuel Wharton have been published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 33.

They will not, however, I dare say, fa [*MS. torn*] Tho' They are so generously called upon, by your cordial Fr<sup>d</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> Hughs, In this Days *Papers*. I went to Burlington on Saturday last, to confer with the Governor, On a Publication of this Sort. Which He approved of & immediately essayed a Draft of it & On Monday, He came to Town with Me to consult with Mes<sup>rs</sup> Galloway, James, Hughs & Evans, concerning it.

I flatter myself, the Plan will please you; As it is putting y<sup>r</sup> Character, upon a fair Tryal, by your Country & in effect, silencing the insidious & poisonous Insinuations, of your rancorous & savage Enemies. The protestors expected, That their anonymous Answer, would be productive of *One* to Theirs & That Then, they should have a fair Opportunity, of adding to the Load of Lies & Malice, with which, They had so copiously abused y<sup>r</sup> Reputation; But M<sup>r</sup> Hughs's calling upon Them, In the Manner He has, Either to avow the Performance, Or take the Shame of it, To Themselves, must infallibly involve our peerless Chief Justice & his partizans, into great Distress; For He & [*MS. torn*] Protestors, Cannot adopt it, As it abounds with so much, fustian, bare faced Compliment to Themselves & neither Smith nor Allison, will be so fool Hardy, As to lend their religious & reverend Names, to patronise so infamously virulent & flagrant, a Libel. Therefore, if some person of Character, will not Own the Performance, It will undoubtedly reflect, the greatest Disreputation, upon the proprietary Party, both in England & America. But should Any One, join Issue & undertake to support those assertions, Which They have published as Facts, There will be the most happy Opportunity of proving the Contrary & delineating to the Publick, The many very important Services, You have, for a Series of Years, almost unceasingly, been doing, his Majesty & the Province.

Pardon Sir, These Intimation<sup>s</sup>

I am told that Our Chief Justice declared last Week at M<sup>r</sup> Growdon's, That He wished, He had [*MS. torn*] signed the Protest. If He did it, *then*, I am convinc'd, He will more sincerely wish it, When He comes to reflect On, the Consequen[ces of] his shame full, nameless, Answer & Especealy, As He is Now publicly, called upon, to Own it. Dickenson appears likewise, to be in a penitent Mood — For a few Days ago, He told M<sup>r</sup> Rhoads, That He would not serve as a Member of assembly, any longer, than this year, for that, He had

been used very ill, By Mess<sup>rs</sup> Norris & Pemberton. The first He alledges, earnestly press'd Him to publish *his Speech* & the Other, was constantly inflaming Him. The former, He says, He Now perceives, prompted Him to Serve his Purposes & as They did not succeed, He has retired pretty clear, of publick Clamor & The latter, He discovers, to be a vindictive man, Who has lost his Interest, with both Quakers & others.

M<sup>r</sup> Dickenson Declaration & Conduct, I think, require no Comment, As they are clearly expressive, of much Folly & great want, of either, Principle or Firmness. You will doubtless, before this reaches you, have heard of What Colonel Bouquet has done — Which is certainly, as Much [*MS. torn*] any Person could, considering, That Bradstreet did<sup>1</sup> not join Him. I am sorry however to inform you, That The Shawanese Hostages have run Off from Pittsburg. That Tribe very reluctantly gave their Hostages, As I am well advised & The Reason assigned, is, That They were not in want of Necessarys, occasioned by French Traders going from the Illinois, into Their Country, to supply Them.

It is as I mentioned in my last, of the highest Consequence, The taking Possession of that Country immediately; for Until, That is done — We cannot promise Ourselves any permanent Peace with the Indians, Either on the Ohio or in the Neighbourhood of Lakes Erie, Michigan, &c; as it is always, in the power of the French, to infuse unfavorable Notions against Us & supply Them, with Cloathing & Ammunition; I therefore hope, General Gage will immediately, fall upon some probable Plan, to establish an English Garrison at the Illinois. What renders the Defection of the Shawanese, The more alarming, is, That Colonel Bouquet sent some Canada Indians, with *One Owens*, (The Person, Who appeared before the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> & claimed the Reward for scalping so many Indians) to invite the Hostages to return to Fort Pitt; When unfortunately some difference arose between One of them & this Owens, Who immediately took up his Rifle & shot Him dead, upon the Spott.

I hope however, my next Letter will afford you, a more pleasant Relation, in respect to the Shawanese; A M<sup>r</sup> Craghan, is now with the General, waiting his Orders to proceed to the Ohio, to hold a Treaty

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of this letter has been separated from the preceding paragraphs and is found in Franklin papers, 1:113.



with the Indians. The Delawares & Mingos are in a very wild Disposition & desirous of a Confirmation of the Peace.

The first Division of the Pennsylvania Forces (& the Prisoners) are arrived at Lancaster & are to Morrow, To be paid Off & disbanded & the *Other*, it is thought, is by this Time, got to Carlisle.

Our Governor, I am told, says, He has Proposals to lay before the House; But He swears, He never will present Them — possibly, His Chief Justice, may prevail upon Him, To make Them known to the Assembly, At their next Meeting; But the Faction is at present in high Spirits, As They give Out, since the October packet is arrived, That there is not the least Fear, of a Change of Government &c.

My Father begs to be remembred to you. He is in good Health, ardently praying, for that Change, which Only will restore Peace to a divided & most distracted Province.

I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir, with the sincerest Regard y<sup>r</sup> faithfull & assured F<sup>rd</sup>  
SAM<sup>L</sup> WHARTON

DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

GAGE TO BOUQUET, December 20, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 398 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Dec<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1764.

SIR,

I am just favored with your Letters of 30<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> by Express. The Behavior of the Shawnese, is somewhat suspicious; and I could wish that your Partys were returned to Fort Pitt, who were sent to collect the Prisoners in their Villages. If they come in with the Prisoners, the Shawnese may still hold their Terms of Peace, as they will have no advantage over us.

You were the best Judge upon the Spot, whether the Shawnese and Delawares were so far reconciled, as to make it prudent to Send an officer with Them with Belts to the Several Nations mentioned in my Letter. The surest way no Doubt to take Possession of the Illinois or any other Post, is to go with a Body of Troops able to force a Compliance. But we have no Number of Troops Sufficient to do this with. The Delivery of that Country into our Hands, has been Settled by the two Courts; The French declare, that the Indians

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 19: 289.

of that District, were well reconciled to it, till spirited up by Pondiac, particularly, and by the Shawnese and Delawares. we have never been at War with Twigtwees, Ouabache or Illinois Indians; and Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris would certainly have got to the Illinois, had not the Shawnese, Delawares and Senacas, prevailed upon the Twigtwees to stop Him at the Miami Fort. Those Nations went earlier than you mention to stop up our Road to that Country, for they had just left the Miami Fort, before Captain Morris's arrival there, which was on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September. The Intention of his going there, was not known till the 26<sup>th</sup> of August, that He set off with a Number of Indians, up the Miami River.<sup>1</sup> Their view was to keep us out of that Country, and prevent us having any Intercourse with those Nations. The Miami is one Route, St Joseph's another. The Belts were sent from the Miami to St Joseph's only Three Days before Cap<sup>t</sup> Morris got to the Miami; so that every Road on that side was secured. We have made Peace with the Indians on the lower Parts of the Mississippi. But the Akansas have been spirited up to oppose us. By which means That Passage is likewise barred against us; and that Circumstance has prevented an officer going up to the Illinois from New-Orleans. The only Door that remained, was by the Ohio. This it was impossible to pass, till Peace should be concluded with the Shawnese and Delawares. and if those Nations are sincere and hearty in their Negotiations, they can conduct any Person to the Illinois in the greatest Safety. And it has been judged very proper, that a Person should be sent to enter into alliance with them, and ask their Consent to take Possession of their Country; for want of which Precaution before the Indians took so much umbrage, at our possessing ourselves of all the Posts, which had been possessed, by the French. The French no doubt have had the chief Management in these Endeavors to obstruct our Entrance into the Country. They have not dared to do it openly, but we have no Reason to doubt, that they have used all means in their Power to do it privately. The Indians of the Illinois, would never hurt a Person Sent with Belts and a proper Message from us; conducted by the Shawnese; who could even prevail on their Neighbours of the Ouabache to join them. The French also must prevent his being hurt, and give Him Protection. Should they then refuse our Alliance and Friendship, and deny their Consent, to our coming

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, xlv, 343.

into their Country, The Affair would be settled so far, as to convince us, that Nothing but Force will effect it. But how or in what Manner that Force can be raised is another Question. You have seen what the Provinces will do, or rather what they will not do, when the Enemy is at their Doors. What can be expected from them, do you think, to carry on operations at Such a Distance? I should always prefer the Ohio to the Mississippi, in Case a large Body of Troops was to be employed, but that is not the present Plan. A Regiment is to move up the Mississippi, to endeavor to take a Peaceable Possession, and we are to do every thing in our Power, from every other Quarter, for the success of this Measure. upon this Account it was, I recommended to you in my last, the gaining of Pondiac From the Accounts we have hitherto had from the Illinois; it seems that Pondiac with the Shawnese and Delawares, could put us in Possession of that Country, whenever they pleased, I must use every means to send to the Illinois, which may be effected with safety, unless the shawnese have deceived us. The Question will then be short; either force your way, or give up all thoughts of it. and it is Time, that this Business, was brought to a Crisis. From your telling me, that you had sent a Mingoe Chief to the Lakes, I conclude that you have acquainted Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell Commanding at Detroit, of the Peace you had concluded, agreeable to Colonel Bradstreet's Desire, in his Letter to you from Sandusky, I am certain you will do every thing that you see possible to be done, to forward the Service in the shape, I have represented it to you: If the Akansa Nation could be gained, we have no Enemy from the Ohio to the Ibbeville. The Illinois nation only, above the mouth of the ohio; and such allies as they can assemble. They have been spirited up against us, but never at War; and proper means used by those who have animated them, may possibly pacify them, without more Trouble.

If Captain Barnesley has been in want of Cash, it was for want of timely notice to supply Him. you will have been made acquainted before this, that I had ordered Colonel Robertson to meet Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnesley, and see that Nothing was wanting; giving Him at the same Time a further Credit of £10,000 Sterling. £7000, of which L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Robertson carried to Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnesley, and on his Return told me; that it was sufficient in the opinions of Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnesley and M<sup>r</sup> Callander to pay every thing that was necessary to be paid, up the Country.

That for the Remainder, the People would desire to be paid in Philadelphia. In Case More is wanted you may perceive there is a good Sum yet in Mr Nelson's Hands, which may be drawn, if Cap<sup>t</sup> Barnesley sees occasion. As for the Sums to be paid in Philadelphia. The Captain may give in a total of it, as soon as He can give a tolerable Guess at it; and a Credit sent there at any Time He chuses.

I am realy to hope, that Virginia will pay their Militia, who turned out Volunteers and have done so much Service to their Country. If I write about this Affair, it will be considered in this alternative. that if the Province does not pay them, the King will. And in that Case, you may Judge what will be done in it. I must not give them the smallest Hopes that the King will pay them; and indeed if He does, the Provinces will never pay them hereafter, this is so well known at Home, that I have been told, that no such Example must be given. They even begin to disapprove of feeding the Provincials. The Method you have taken in writing to Gov<sup>rs</sup> Fauquiere and Sharpe will it's to be hoped have the Weight which ought to be expected from it.

I don't apprehend that the Resolution which His Majesty has taken, in Respect of Sales & Purchases of Commissions; can affect you and Colonel Haldimand, more than the rest of the Army. No officers of your Rank can purchase any thing but Regiments. And that has never been allowed, tho' often attempted, since I came into the Service. In respect of Selling you are likewise on the same Footing, with the rest, as well as in regard to an Exchange on half-Pay. I perceive you Judge, from what you have heard of Baron Munster's affair. The Baron played his Cards ill. and many things occurred, which I can't now explain, to Settle his Affair in the Manner you have heard.

Colonel Haldimand puts affairs in the very worst Light. He was relieved by the Second Councillor in the Province, as Col<sup>o</sup> Burton was at Montreal by the Eldest Councillor. It's true, that He had been Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray's Secretary, but had also been a Captain in the Army, and was, and still is, Deputy Judge Advocate Gen<sup>l</sup> for North America. This was however an Error in Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray's Proceeding, as there was to be no Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>rs</sup> of those Districts; and they were annulled soon after. In respect of Pay for the Time He served, Twenty shillings P<sup>r</sup> Day has been issued for a certain Time, for each of those Governments; which I have told Colonel Haldimand. That Matter I therefore suppose, must be settled betwixt Him and Colonel



Burton. I should imagine they would easily settle it: But in Case of Contestation He has nothing to do, but to state the whole Affair, and transmit it to the Secretary at War, who would doubtless so regulate Matters, as to divide the Appointment betwixt them both, in Proportion to the Times they have served. They have had likewise great Disputes about Command, which has obliged me to leave them as they were, by virtue of their former Commissions, which are not superseded by Gov<sup>r</sup> Murray's Civil Commission — In a Packet or two, I expect Colonel Burton will be appointed a Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> upon the staff in North-America, and I can then give Colonel Haldimand Leave to come to York without throwing Affairs into confusion. I am with great Regard Sir, Your most obedient, humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

P: S: I hope there will be no objection to grant you the Leave of absence which you desire. If you have had, or can obtain any good Acc<sup>ts</sup>, of the Communication by James River, to the Mouth of the Canahwa I should be be [*sic*] glad you would send it me. I have wrote to Gov<sup>r</sup> Fauquiere, and told Him the advantages which would arise to his Province, from making that Communication a good one.

T: G:

COLONEL BOUQUET

[*Endorsed:*] General Gage 20<sup>th</sup> December 1764. Received the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1765 (entered)

AUBRY TO STUART,<sup>1</sup> December 20, 1764

[P.H.S., B.T.P., P. G., 25<sup>1</sup> : 285 — C.]

MONSIEUR

Monsieur Stuar [*sic*] M'a remis la lettre que vous M'avet [*sic*] fait L'Honneur de M'ecrire j'avois bein [*sic*] désiré que les affaires

[*Translation*]

SIR:

M. Stuart has sent me the letter which you have done me the honor to write. I greatly desired that the indispensable affairs

<sup>1</sup> The name of recipient is obtained from endorsement, *post*, 387. The letter itself was evidently copied by a British officer very unfamiliar with the French language. Aubry's language is always well expressed.

Indispensable qui vous ont arrêté a Pensacola, eussent peut vous permettre de venir [sic] passer quelque [sic] tems a la Nouvelle Orleans vous connoissans de reputation j'aurais eu bien de la Satisfaction de Vous Voir ici, et de pouvoir raisonner avec Vous par rapport Convoy des Illinois; Monsieur Stuart que vous avez envoye conjointement avec Monsieur Le Gouverneur Jonston, pour etablir la paix avec les Nations places sur le Misissipi, et qui est tres capable d'executer une Commission aussy delicate, vous communiquera ma façon de penser a ce Sujet.

Je vous adresse Monsieur la Copie exacte d'une Lettre que je viens de recevoir du Commandant des Illinois,<sup>1</sup> par les quelles vous verres que c'est un Enterprise bien difficile et hazardeuse aujourd'hui d'y Monter je pourrais [sic] presque vous assurer d'avance, que vous n'avez rien a Craindre depuis la Nouvelle Orleans jusqu'aux Natchez, les petites Nations qui vous ont frappé l'année passée, N'y retourneront pas un Seconde, les reproches et les Menaces que Nous leurs avons fait a ce Sujet, jointes aux bonnes façons que vous avez pour eux, les contiendront a l'avenir.

[*Translation*]

which have kept you at Pensacola could have permitted you to pass some time at New Orleans. Knowing you by reputation I would have had great satisfaction in seeing you here and of being able to confer with you in regard to the convoy at the Illinois. M. Stuart, whom you conjointly with Governor Johnstone sent to establish peace with the nations situated on the Mississippi and who is very capable of executing so delicate a commission, will communicate to you my thought on this subject.

I send you, sir, the exact copy of a letter which I have just received from the commandant of the Illinois<sup>1</sup> by which you will see that it is a very difficult and hazardous enterprise to ascend thither today. I could almost assure you in advance that you have nothing to fear in going from New Orleans to Natchez; the little nations which attacked you last year will not attempt it a second time; the reproaches and threats which we have made them on this subject joined to the good methods which you have used towards them will control them in the future.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 359.

Les Arkansas Situes a deux Cent Lieues de la Nouvelle Orleans, seront plus difficiles a rammener Mais en prenant des Sages precautions, de Part et d'autre on en viendra a bout. Ils ont une Guerre presque Continuelle avec les Chickasaws, qui nous ont tues a ce poste depuis la paix deux Officiers, et plusieurs de leur Sauvage, Nous avons eu beaucoup de peine a les empescher d'aller ranger ce Coup Selon la Coutume des hommes rouges, mais comme ils Savent que Ses Sauvage vous sont affides, malgré tout ce que Nous pouvons leur dire, il est a craindre qu'ils ne vous fissent quelques Choses quand le Convoy Montera, si on ne penoit des sage precautions pour l'empescher, c'est pour quoi je pense, qu'il seroit apropos, pour Etablir une libre Communication dans le fleuve pour vous & pour Nous de leur faire faire la paix ensamble. Il n'y a plus de poste françois n'y des Sauvages depuis les Arkansas jusqu'aux Illinois, et on y compte plus de deux cent lieux, c'est la ou est le plus grand danger, il n'y a que des ennemis a rencontrer Les Loups Chavuanon, Outavuais et les autres Nations avec qui vous estes en guerre descendants frequemment par la riviere Ohio dans le Mississipi, et si elles rencontret [*sic*] votre Con-

[*Translation*]

The Quapaw, situated two hundred leagues from New Orleans will be more difficult to pacify but by taking wise precautions on both sides one will succeed. They have war almost continuously with the Chickasaw who have killed at that post since the peace two of our officers and several of the savages. We have had much difficulty in preventing them from going to revenge this blow according to the red men's custom; but as they know that these savages are allied to you it is to be feared that in spite of all which we can say to them they may do something to you when the convoy ascends, unless wise precautions are taken to prevent it. That is why I think it would be wise to establish a free communication in the river for both you and us in order that we together may force them to make peace. There is no longer any post either of the French or of the savages from the Arkansas up to the Illinois and the distance is more than two hundred leagues. It is there where the greatest danger is. There are only enemies to be met with. The Mahican, the Shawnee, the Ottawa, and other nations, with whom you are at war, descend frequently by the river Ohio into the Mississippi; and if they should meet your con-

voy, elles vous feront éprouver un fâcheux revers, qui peuvent faire les Meilleurs Troopes de Monde, contre des hommes qu'ons ne voit point qui tirent a Merveille, ne se fatiguent jamais & subsistent partout; C'est avec la plus grande douleur Monsieur, que je vois le Mauvaise disposition des Sauvages des pais d'en haut a Votre Escard, le besoins dans lequel elles se trouvent les forcera de faire la paix avec vous avant peu de tems, c'est pourquoi il N'est pas prudent, de se presser dans une affaire aussi interessante, Dés l'instant que Nous avons eu Nouvelle de la paix, nous avons envoyé des Ordres exprés a tous les commandans de tous les postes tant des Illinois que de tout ceux qui sont placés sur le Mississippi d'en faire part aux Sauvages et de leurs dire qu'il N'y avoit plus de guerre, que les chemins estoient Blancs, qu'ils devoient regarder doresnavant les Anglois commes Nos freres et que les Arrangements que les Empereurs de France et D'Angleterre avoient fait pour resgler les Limites de leurs possessions avoient esté concertes entre ces deux Monarques, pour le bonheur des hommes rouges et des hommes blancs, Aussitot que Nous avons esté informes que votre intention etoit de vous rendre aux Illinois par le Mississippi Nous avons de Nouveau, Ordonné a tous

[*Translation*]

voy, they will cause you to experience an unfortunate reverse which might happen to the best troops of the world fighting against men who are not seen and shoot marvelously, who are never worn out and can live everywhere. It is with the greatest grief, sir, that I see the bad disposition of the savages of the upper country in regard to you. The need in which they find themselves will force them to make peace with you before long. That is why it is not prudent to make haste in an affair so interesting. From the moment that we have had news of the peace we have sent express orders to all the commandants of all the posts, both of the Illinois and all those which are situated on the Mississippi, to inform the savages of it and to tell them that there was no longer war, that the roads were white and that they ought to regard, from now on, the English as brothers and that the arrangements which the emperors of France and England had made to regulate the limits of their possessions had been concerted between these two monarchs for the welfare of the red men and the white men. As soon as we were informed that your intention



les commandans de ses Postes, d'en prevenir les Sauvages afin qu'ils ne vous troublent point dans votre Navigation et qu'ils vous laissent passer tranquillement, attendue que c'estoit la Volonté des Empereurs de France et D'Angleterre et qu'ils Vouloient que les hommes rouges S'y Conformassent.

Monsieur De Neyon L'Ancien Commandant des Illinois, avoit travaillé pour Vous avec Succés, Les Sauvages de cette partié consentoient a vous recevoir et il est certain que si vous eussiet [*sic*] pu y parvenir dans ce tems, vous en auriet pris possession tranquillement, Malheureusement le Chéf Pontiac est arrive et en une Heure de tems, il a destruit tout L'ouvrage que Monsieur de Neyon avoit eu bein [*sic*] de la Peine a faire en trois Mois. C'est le Boute-feu des toutes les Nations et c'est Lui qui les excite contre Vous.

Vous connoisset Monsieur Les Sauvage, avec de la Patience, et du tems, on en vient a bout, par Moi je ne les connois que trop pour Mon Malheur, car j'ay esté pris par eux, et ils M'ont bein Maltraité; vous N'avet point besoin de Conseils et vous savés Mieux que Moy ce que vous avéz a faire, mais Mon devoir M'oblige de vous repré-

[*Translation*]

was to go to the Illinois by the Mississippi, we again ordered all the commandants of these posts to warn the savages of it in order that they should not trouble you in your navigation and should permit you to pass peacefully, seeing that it was the wish of the emperors of France and England to which they wished that the red men conform. M. de Villiers, former commandant of the Illinois, has worked for us with success. The savages of that territory consented to receive you; and it is certain that, if you had been able to accomplish it at that time, you would have taken possession of it peacefully. Unfortunately Chief Pontiac arrived and in an hour's time destroyed all the work that M. de Villiers had had so much trouble in accomplishing in three months. He is the firebrand of all the nations and it is he who excites them against you.

You know the savages, sir; with patience and time one succeeds with them. For myself I know too much of them for my own good, for I have been with them and they have mistreated me much. You have no need of advice and you know better than I what you have to do; but my duty compels me to bring to your attention that it would

senter; qu'il ne seroit pas prudent dans une circonstance pareille de brusquer les affaires et qu'il veut mieux aller Pied a Pied: Monsieur Stuart vous communiquera ce que jay eu L'honneur de lui dire a ce Sujet; la revolution que cette Colonie éprouve M'obligera beintot de la quitter, tant que j'y resterai vous pouvit [*sic*] estre certain, que je feray tout ce qui despendra de moy pour contribuer au bonheur réciproque des deux Nations; c'est L'Intention de mon prince et je m'y comformeray avec d'autant plus de Zéle que personne Ne respecte et N'estime plus votre Nations que Moi, et qui se desire bien sincérement que une très longue paix subsiste entre Nous.

J'ay l'honneur d'estre le respect, et la Consideration la plus grande. Monsieur Vostre tres humble et tres obeissans Servitur

Signé AUBRY

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS 20 Decembre 1764.

P. S. Monsieur de la Gautraie va a Pensacole avec Monsieur Stuart. cet Officier a un grand Connoissance des Sauvages, et des pais d'en haut, et on peut S'en rapporter a ce qu'il dit.

[*Translation*]

be prudent in such circumstances not to hasten the affair and that it would be better to go foot by foot. M. Stuart will communicate to you what I have had the honor to tell him on this subject. The revolution which this colony has experienced will oblige me soon to leave it. So long as I remain you can be certain that I shall do everything that depends upon me to contribute to the reciprocal welfare of the two nations. It is the intention of my prince and I shall conform with the greatest zeal. No person respects or esteems your nation more than I do and there is no one who desires more sincerely that a very long peace subsist between us.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect and consideration, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

signed AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, December 20, 1764

P. S. M. de la Gauterais is going to Pensacola with M. Stuart. This officer has a great knowledge of savages and of the country and you may depend upon what he says.

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Copy of a Letter from Monsieur Aubry N. Orleans 20 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764 D. In M<sup>r</sup> Stuart's Letter of 24 Janry 1765. Read L (2)

[*Translation*]

[*Endorsed:*] Plantations General. Copy of a letter from M. Aubry, New Orleans, December 20, 1764. D. In Mr. Stuart's letter of January 24, 1765 Read. L (2)

GAGE TO BOUQUET, December 24, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.638, f. 402 — A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Dec<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1764

SIR,

I would be glad that you found a proper Officer to send to the Illinois. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is here, whom I intend shall accompany the Officer whom you shall pitch upon for this Business. The Rank of the Officer is immaterial, a Volunteer mentioned to be a Cadet in the French Stile, would do as well as a Commissioned officer. It's necessary only, that He is intelligent, and speaks French. I am preparing a Letter for Mons<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Ange, a Speech for the Indians, and Manifesto for the Inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Croghan will take the Chiefs of the Delawares & Shawnese who have the most Interest with the Illinois Nations; and proper Belts and Messages from these Nations, to them. If you send me the Name of the Person you fix upon, for this Service, it would be inserted. But to Save Time, I may send the Papers to you, to insert his Name and Regiment in the Blanks to be left, for that Purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore Croghan will leave this, as soon as the several Instruments are made out, and I shall write further by Him, I am with great Regard, Sir, your most obedient, humble Servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] General Gage 24<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup> 1764, Received the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1765 (entered)

<sup>1</sup> The manifesto to the inhabitants is printed *post*, 395. The other documents have not been found.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Fraser was sent as a companion of Croghan. His letters concerning this expedition are printed *post*, 491, *et seq.*

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, December 26, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 1 — L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL, Dec<sup>br</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1764

MY LORDS

Since my Letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> of October,<sup>2</sup> at which time I transmitted my Sentiments on the Plan for Indian Affairs &c<sup>a</sup>, I have had the honour of writeing to your Lordships on the 3<sup>d</sup> Ult<sup>o</sup> concerning the iniquitous grant in this Province called *Kayadarusseras*, & transmitted some Papers necessary for Illustrateing the fraud thereof, but there being at present, fresh Matter for your Lordships information by the return of the two Armys who marched against the Enemy, I cannot avoid laying the same before you, as I would rather acquire the Character of a most constant Correspondent, than at any time neglect laying before your Lordships w<sup>t</sup> it is my duty to communicate.

There is doubtless an Acc<sup>tt</sup> transmitted to His Majestys Ministers of the proceedings of both the Expeditions which, it is not my business to enlarge upon, or explain, I shall therefore cheifly confine myself to the effects they will have upon the Several Indian Nations within my Department.

Yours Lordships will perceive from the procedure of Coll. Bradstreet's Army, that at first setting out of the Troops from Niagara, they were met at *L'ance aux feuilles* on Lake Erie by Ten Indians, with whom He too readily treated (contrary to the advice and inclinations of our Indians) whereby they imposed on our Troops and prevented their Action, for altho they agreed to deliver up within a certain time All Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> at Sandosky, as well as to stop all Hostilities, yet, they never observed to perform either. Coll. Bradstreet next endeavoured to send a party to the Illinois, Whom the Twightwees would not suffer to pass thro their Country, & were about to put the officer to Death. On the Arrival of the Army at the Detroit the Commanding Officer entered into a solemn Treaty of Peace with some Ottawaes, and Chippawaes Several of whom had before treated with me at Niagra. In this last Treaty these Indians are said to acknowledge Subjection, Dominion &c<sup>a</sup> but *Pondiac* is not included. On the Coll<sup>'s</sup> return to Sandosky he proposed pro-

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7: 685.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 327.



ceeding against the Shawanese & Delawares, but it is reported that it was found impracticable, & that the Indians appeared averse to it, but the fact is, that the Indians who were prevented from knocking the Impostors on the Head at L'ance aux feuilles, & greatly concerned at the commanding Officer's Manner of treating with them, had resolved not to Interest themselves any farther (so warmly) in the Issue of the Campaign, and therefore declared at Sandosky that they would readily march with the Army, but would not of themselves go in partys against an Enemy whom the Coll. had treated with, and was not disposed to attack w<sup>th</sup> his Troops. The result of this Expedition is, that after loosing near one Half of the great Boats, the Troops are returned in a most shattered scituation, many have perished in the Woods, and above forty are now daily fed by the Senecas, 'till they become able to march, neither are all my Officers or Indians yet come in, haveing been turned adrift without any provision on Lake Erie, together with several Hundred of the Troops. These are a few general Heads which can all be enlarged upon, & fully proved by the best Authority.

On the other Hand Coll. Bouquet under all the disadvantages of a tedious & hazardous Land March, with an Army little more than half that of the Other has penetrated into the Heart of the Country of the Delawares and Shawanese, obtained above 200 English Captives from amongst them, with 14 hostages for their comeing here, and entering into a Peace before me in due form &c<sup>a</sup>, & I daily expect their Chiefs for that purpose.

Haveing just run over some of the most material circumstances of the Expeditions, it remains that I should lay before your Lordships the State of the Indians at present, & the Effect these occurences will have upon them. For altho an Account of the Campaign has been sent to England it is my Duty to describe the scituation of affairs as they really are, & as they regard my Department.

In the first place, give me leave to observe to your Lordships how our late Military operations are considered by the Friend Indians, & what effect they will have upon our Enemies.

As to the first Coll. Bradstreet made choice of 300 Indians out of the Number I brought to Niagra, in these were comprised near 100 Coghawagaes & other Canada Indians, whose presence was Judged highly necessary, and of whose fidelity I can have no doubt

from the verry good behaviour of these People since the reduction of Canada. I therefore earnestly wished that they might return Home prejudiced in favour of the English Conduct, & satisfied with the treatment they would receive, as it was the first time, they ever had an oportunity of Joining His Majestys Troops, and I can affirm no Men of any Denomination expressed a greater desire to go against the Shawanese & Delawares in particular, which were the Nations I had in an especial manner pointed out as our most inveterate Enemys, but to my infinite mortification, I find that not only these Coghawagaes but all the rest of the Indians, My own Officers, & all those of the Troops whom I have since conversed with, are returned in the utmost Chagrin at their own treatment, & the Transactions of the Campaign What they all report may be in some degree foreign to the affairs of my Department, and as I was never inclined to do any Person an ill office, I willingly suppress them, but I am convinced I cannot do so, with regard to what relates to the Indian Interest, without being guilty of a notorious neglect, & being accessary to any troubles which may hereafter proceed from the misconduct of one of the Armys, therefore I cannot avoid Expressing the great uneasiness of all our Indians at the late Transactions, they say that those Impostors who met the Army at L'Ance Aux Feuilles only desired to know of the Commanding Officer whether he was comeing upon Peace or War to the Country, that the latter was Every Whit as agreable as the former, To which he answer'd that He was glad they were so peaceably disposed, as he was himself of that Disposition, & then contrary to the inclination of our Indians whom he never consulted made a Treaty with them, telling them after all was over in general Terms that the Shawanese & Delawares were become his Friends. That this was the real proceeding at that place can be proved by all the Indians who were present, as well as Ind<sup>n</sup> Officers who understood the language of these Impostors, and the Inconsistency thereof occasioned our Indians to resolve not to take upon themselves any thing for the rest of the Campaign, as these were the People they flattered themselves they should have marched against That haveing appointed a certain day for the Enemy to bring in their Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> to Sandosky He proceeded to Detroit, & on his return from thence some time after he asscended Sandoskey River where he encamped Waiting their Arrival, but suddenly on the report of an

Enemys Approach decamped & retired with the Utmost precipitation to the Lake leaving Indians behind who haveing waited till long after the appointed time, retired, & joined the Army greatly disgusted that he had slipped so good an oportunity of marching to the plains which were not four Days March for an Indian, nor above six for the Troops.

That afterwards the Commanding Officer asked them to proceed against the Enemy, to which they answered, that it was verry extraordinary for him to require them to proceed alone against a People that he had treated with contrary to their advice & was afraid to go ag<sup>st</sup> himself, but that they would readily accompany him, & the Army, & then do Every thing he desired, but that he laid aside the attempt. Altho had he only gone Two days March it would have thrown the Enemy into the utmost confusion & greatly favoured Coll. Boquet as well as releived the Frontiers, who daily suffered from the Enemys Scalping Partys notwithstanding the Treaty. That all this has been misrepresented, and put on another footing can be fully proved by those who understood the Words which *really* passed between the Coll. & the Indians. That a Treaty was huddled up with some of the Nations at Detroit, on which occasion not a syllable was mentioned concerning Subjection or Dominion. That the Commanding Officer pardonned Miny Chein & Godfroy the two notorious Villains so often represented by Major Gladwin, as Principals in the late War, & solely confided in them & some other French Men, by one of whose means the boats were cast away, as by his advice the Army halted at an open beach when there was a fine river within two miles of them that the whole of the Transactions being in French were never explained to our Indians, neither did they know anything that past from time to time, except of those languages with which they happened to be acquainted, that the Commanding Officer had likewise taken upon him to grant several Tracts of Land about Detroit, & Lake Erie, as well to some of the Officers, as to some French Inhabitants, & lastly that they the Indians with their Officers were set to shift for themselves on Lake Erie without an Ounce of provisions & destitute of every thing, neither was any order left at Niagra for supplying them, & the Commanding Officer did it there for the good of the Service at his own risque by the desire of my Officers. These are a few of their general Subjects of Complaint,

on which the six Nations have sent me Messengers to acquaint me that they are all coming here, and I leave your Lordships to judge, after what has passed whether we can readily expect their Assistance on any future occasion, for besides that our errors (to give them no worse name) have made us look less in the Indians eyes than ever, they are greatly disgusted at the Ill treatment of their own People, alarmed at the specious Words of Subjection & Dominion, & astonished at the granting of Lands within their Rights, which is really an unaccountable Transaction. In a word it is evidently necessary that these Matters be cleared up to their Satisfaction, and notwithstanding the success of Coll. Bouquet will be much noticed by the Indians of Ohio, & have a good effect upon them, yet the Conduct of Affairs in the other Quarter will require the application of an Immediate Remedy. Matters thus circumstanced with regard to Our Friends, it remains to show, how Affairs stand between us and the Nations who have been at War with us, which I shall introduce with the following Remarks.

Yours Lordships will please to observe that for many Months before the March of Coll. Bradstreet's Army, Several of the Western Nations had expressed a Desire for Peace, & had ceased to commit Hostilities, that even Pontiac inclined that way but did not chuse to venture his Person by coming in to any of the Posts. This was the State of Affairs when I treated with the Indians at Niagra, in which Number were 1500 of the Western Nations, a Number Infinitely more considerable than those who were treated with since at Detroit, many of whom were the same people, particularly the *Hurons & Chippewaes*. In the mean time it now appears from the very best authority, and can be proved by the Oaths of several reputable persons Prisoners at the Illinois & amongst the Indians, as also from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> of the Indians themselves, that not only many French Traders but also French Officers<sup>1</sup> came amongst the Indians as they said fully authorised to assure them that the French King was determined to support them to the utmost, & not only invited them to the Illinois where they were plentifully supplied with ammunition, & other necessarys but also sent several Canoes at different times up the Illinois River to the Miamis, & others, as well as up the Ohio to

<sup>1</sup> For the French side of such statements as this, see the introduction, *ante*, xxxiii, and Dabbadie's journal, *ante*, 162, *passim*.



the Shawanese and Delawares, as by Major Smalmans Acc<sup>tt</sup> & several others (then Prisoners) transmitted me by Coll. Bouquet, & one of my Officers who Accompanied him will appear. That in an especial manner the French promoted the interest of Pondiac, whose Influence is now become so considerable as Gen<sup>r</sup>l Gage observes in a late letter to me that it extends even to the Mouth of the Mississippi, & has been the principal occasion of our not as yet gaining possession of the Illinois, which the French as well as Indians are interested in preventing. This Pondiac is not included in the late Treaty at Detroit, & is at the Head of a great number of Indians privately supported by the French, an Officer of whom, was about three Months ago in the Miamis Castle, at the Sioto Plains, Muskingum & several other places. The Western Indians who it seems ridicule the whole Expedition, as they must before this have heard of the Grants of the Lands in that Country, and the Assertion that they acknowledged themselves to be subjects &c<sup>a</sup> to all intents & purposes, their Jealousy will be inflamed to such a pitch by the Interested French on the one side, & the Influence of Pondiac on the other, that we have great reason to apprehend a Renewal of Hostilities, or at least that they & the *Twightwees* will strenuously oppose our possessing the Illinois, which can never be accomplished without their consent, & indeed it is not to be wondered that they should be concerned at our occupying that Country, when we consider that the French (be their motive what it will) loaded them with favours, and continue to do so, Accompanied with all outward marks of Esteem, & an Address peculiarly adapted to their Manners, w<sup>h</sup> infallibly gains upon all Indians, who Judge by Externals only, & in all their Acquaintance with us upon the Frontiers have never found anything like it, but on the contrary, harsh treatment, Angry Words, and in short every thing which can be thought of to inspire them with a dislike for our manners, & a Jealousy of our views, I have seen so much of these matters, and I am so well convinced of the Utter aversion our People have for them in General, & of the imprudence with which they constantly express it, that I absolutely despair of ever seeing Tranquility established until your Lordships Plan is fully settled, so as I may have proper Persons to reside at the Posts, whose business it shall be to remove their prejudices, and whose Interest it becomes to obtain their esteem & friendship.

The importance of speedily possessing the Illinois and thereby securing a considerable branch of Trade, as well as cutting off the Channel by which our Enemys have been & will always be supplied, is a matter I have verry much at heart, and what I think may be effected this Winter by Land by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan in case matters can be so far settled with the Shawanese, Twightwees & Pondiac as to engage the latter with some Cheifs of the before mentioned Nations to accompany him with a garrison, the Expence attending this will be large, but the end to be obtained is too considerable to be neglected, I have accordingly recommended it to the consideration of Gen<sup>r</sup>l Gage & shall, on the arrival of the Shawanese Delawares &c. here, do all in my power to pave the way for effecting it, I shall also make such a Peace with them as will be most to the Credit and Advantage of the Crown, & the security of the Trade & Frontiers, & tye them down to such conditions, as Indians will most probably observe.

The Expences I have been at by acting as a Military Officer without any allowance on that Head, the Losses I have sustained by the neglect of my own Concerns, as well with regard to business, as to the several Tracts which I have paid large Sums for, but never possessed, & the inconceivable trouble & Expence I am involved in by my Department have induced me at last to think of addressing a Memorial to His Majesty, and I flatter myself if your Lordships are satisfied with the zeal I have shewn in my office, that you will be pleased to honour me with your Interest on this occasion, which shall always be considered with the utmost gratitude, by

My Lords Your Lordships most Devoted & Most Obedient  
Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

THE RIGHT HONR<sup>BLE</sup> THE LORDS OF TRADE

[Endorsed:] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>*. Letter from S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson Superintendant of Indian Affairs, to the Board dated Dec<sup>r</sup> 26. 1764, relative to the expeditions of Col<sup>o</sup> Bradstreet & Bouquet, and the present state of Indian Affairs Rec<sup>d</sup> March 20<sup>th</sup> 1765 Read K2

GAGE TO BOUQUET, December 30, 1764

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21638, f. 404—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1764

SIR,

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Fraser who served with you a volunteer has desired to be employed on the Service of the Illinois, and I am to acquaint you that I have accepted his offer. He will set out with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan in two Days Time for Fort-Pitt, where I must beg you will send orders that They are supplied with Boats and as much Provisions as they shall have occasion for and every other Assistance, the Commanding Officer of that Fort, can afford them in their Expedition.

M<sup>r</sup> Mallett arrived here last Night, and I hear Colonel Reid is expected. I hope you find that the Affair relative to the Payment of the Waggon and Horses at Fort-Loudoun had met with no Interruption, but was settled in a regular Manner. I am with great Regard Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant  
THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE  
COLONEL BOUQUET.

[Endorsed:] General Gage 30<sup>th</sup> December 1764, Received the 4<sup>th</sup> January 1765 (entered)

PROCLAMATION OF GAGE TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ILLINOIS,  
December 30, 1764<sup>1</sup>

[*American State Papers; Public Lands*, 2: 209]

By His Excellency Thomas Gage, Major General of the King's armies, Colonel of the 22d regiment, General commanding in chief all the forces of His Majesty in North America, &c.

Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris the 10th of February, 1763, the country of the Illinois has been ceded to His Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois by the troops of His Majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon, we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants —

That his Majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois the

<sup>1</sup> Printed also in Dillon, *Indiana*, 80. Search for the original of this proclamation has been made without result. Naturally it was expected to find it among the Kaskaskia MSS., but these for this period are few and unimportant. There is no copy of the proclamation in London as far as can be learned. Probably the copy in the *American State Papers* is from an original found at Kaskaskia. This proclamation was carried to the Illinois by Stirling, see *post*, 2: 108.

liberty of the Catholic religion, as it has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman church, in the same manner as in Canada.

That His Majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who have been subjects of the Most Christian King, may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any other part of Louisiana, although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of His Catholic Majesty; and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of His Majesty, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without restraint, upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts or of criminal process.

That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of His Majesty shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the King.

That they are commanded by these presents to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to His Majesty, in presence of the *Sieur Sterling*, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all cause of complaint against them.

That they act in concert with His Majesty's officers, so that his troops may take peaceable possession of all the posts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare His Majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

We direct that these presents be read, published, and posted up, in the usual places.

Done and given at head-quarters, New York. Signed with our hand, sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our secretary, this 30th December, 1764.

THOMAS GAGE.

By His Excellency:

G. MATURIN.



BOUQUET TO GAGE, January 5, 1765

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.637, f. 85<sup>b</sup> — C.]PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1765

SIR

I have the Honor to acknowledge Your Excellency Letters<sup>1</sup> of the 20<sup>th</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> & 30<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> which I find at my Arrivall here, I answered the 22<sup>d</sup> Instant from Conegocheque that of the 7<sup>th</sup>.

The Party I had sent to Wakatamihie was return'd to Fort Pitt before I left it with fourteen Captives delivered by the Shawanese after the Departure of the Army.

Another Party left with Sick Children amongst the Delaware is returned since having been very kindly treated by them, and there remains only in the Indian Country six Virginia Volunteers who went at their own Request to the Lower Shawanese Town to bring some of their Relations from thence.

The Communication from Fort Pitt being shut by the Snow I can have no Accompts from thence.

No Body can be Answerable for the Conduct of Savages, but unless the French are uncommonly Active amongst the Shawanese I dont doubt from several Strong Circumstances but they will hold their Terms.

You have been pleased to State so Clearly the Case of take [*sic*] possession of the Illionees Country, that it admits of no doubt but the Way of Negotiation is the only one admissable at present as no Assistance can be expected from the Provinces.

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is the fittest Person in America to Transact that Business, in the favourable Terms which Sir William Johnson appears in his Letter to me inclined to give to the Delaware, can not fail of attaching them to our Interest, they can bring over the Shawanese and with their Assistance all the Rest.

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will be furnished at Fort Pitt with Batteaux Provisions &c<sup>a</sup> I will only observe that he will more easily succeed if the Deputies of the Delawares are returned with favourable Conditions of Peace and their Hostages and Prisoners are released before he go's to that Nation.

I am glad that M<sup>r</sup> Frazer has offered his Services. I could not have proposed to You an Officer so well qualified for that Expedition.

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 377, 387, 395.

As soon as I receive an Answer from Governor Fauquier Concerning the Pay of their Voluntiers I shall have the Honor to Answer that Part of Your letter.

I can not give a Satisfactory Account of the Communication by James River to the Mouth of the Kanahawa, I only know that it is a favourite Scheme in Virginia where it is represented as very Convenient, and they would I believe readily build and Garrison a Fort at the Mouth of the Kannahawa to participate in the Indian Trade and Cover their Frontier; but they will probably expect to be permitted to settle that Part of the Country which is hitherto Contrary to the Kings Proclamation; and would enlarge a Province which already appears unwieldy.

MANUEL TO LANGLOIS, January 10, 1765

[K. MSS. — L.S.]

MONSIEUR ET AMY

M'Etant déterminé a rester à la N<sup>lle</sup> orléans, Et que j'ay laissé une habitation, comme vous le sçavez; Je ne puis mieux la ceder qu'a vous, en reconnoissance de Nôtre ancienne amitié; ainsi Je vous en fais par la presente un pur et entier abandon, Moy et mon Epouse vous n'avez qu'en conséquence de ce, si vous voulez, aller au Greffe retirer la procuration que j'avois faite au s<sup>r</sup> Lachanse; Mais pour Eviter les frais, ma presente vous est plus que Suffisante pour vous donner toutes les seuretés Necessaires à ce sujet, attendre que les pieces y Sont jointes. Mon Epouse et famille vous assure de leur respects ainsi qu'a tout ce qui vous

[*Translation*]

SIR AND FRIEND:

Having decided to remain at New Orleans and having left a house, as you know, I can do no better than give it to you in recognition of our old friendship; so by this I make you a complete and entire deed, I and my wife. Consequently, you have only to go to the clerk and secure the legal authorization I had made to M. Lachanse; but to avoid expense, this will be more than enough to give you all the security necessary, provided the articles

appartient Et Moy qui suis Monsieur Et Amy Vôte tres humble  
et affectionné serviteur

MANUEL

DE LA N<sup>LLE</sup> ORLEANS ce 10 janvier 1765.

Enregistré au greffe a la page Cent quatre vingt dix folio premier  
au KASKASKIAS Le 1<sup>e</sup> juilliet 1783.

O. L. S. P<sup>RRE</sup> LANGLOIS, Greffier

Je moi pierre Langlois jai Cedé tous mes pretention a M<sup>r</sup> Egaid  
des terres qui ma Eté Enbandonné par M<sup>r</sup> Jean manuele Cy devant  
Explique &c Et avont signé pour le pris et somme de trois Cent Cin-  
quante livre En marchandise.

P<sup>RRE</sup> LANGLOIS

au KASKASKIAS ce 8<sup>e</sup> Janvier 1785.  
copie livre ce 8<sup>e</sup> janvier 1785.

JOHN EDGAR

[Addressed:] A Monsieur Monsieur Pierre Langlois, Habitant aux  
Kascacias Illinois

[Translation]

are attached to it. My wife and family assure you and yours of their  
regard. And I, sir and friend, am Your very humble and affec-  
tionate servant,  
NEW ORLEANS, January 10, 1765

MANUEL

Registered in the office of the clerk on page one hundred ninety,  
first folio. KASKASKIA, July 1, 1783

O. L. S. PIERRE LANGLOIS clerk

I, Pierre Langlois, deed to M. Edgar all my claims to the lands  
which have been given to me by M. Jean Manuel, as explained above,  
etc., and I have signed, for the price and sum of three hundred-fifty  
*livres* in merchandise.

PIERRE LANGLOIS

KASKASKIA, January 8, 1785  
Copy delivered, January 8, 1785

JOHN EDGAR

[Addressed:] To M. Pierre Langlois, inhabitant of Kaskaskia,  
Illinois.

ORDERS FOR THE REGULATION OF TRADE, January 16, 1765  
[Johnson MSS., 10:91 — C.]HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK 16<sup>th</sup> January 1765.

## Orders

As the Indian Traders will be provided with particular Passes by their Respective Governors, The Officers Commanding in the several Posts and Forts,<sup>1</sup> will Endeavor to make Them Comply with the Conditions upon which their Passes shall be granted. Care to be taken, on the Opening of the Trade that the Traders are guilty of no Imposition upon the Indians.

When the Traders bring Spiritous Liquors to any of the Forts or Posts where they intend to Remain & Trade, the said Liquors are to be taken into Store, marked with the Traders Names, and Receipts given Them for the Quantity put into Store, And no Spiritous Liquors are to be allowed to be Sold to the Indians in the Posts or near them, But when the Indians shall have finished their Trade, and going away, the Traders to have as much of their Spirits out of Store as they shall have Sold to such Indians, upon their Engaging to carry it at least Two Leagues from the Post, and their deliver it to the Indians. And in Order to prevent any Disputes concerning Liquors put into Store, The Stores are to be fastened with Two Locks, and the Key of one to be kept by the Commissary or Officer Commanding, the other by the Person whom the Traders shall fix upon for that purpose.

The Officers Commanding at the Posts will at all Times inform Sir William Johnson, of every thing which shall come to their Knowledge relative to Indian Business which shall be worth His Notice.

Presents are not to be made to the Indians but on Occasions as shall render such Measures unavoidable. And when it so happens the Occasion of the Presents and the Quantity delivered to be Certified by the Commanding Officer, and Two other Officers next in Rank to the Commander, where so many shall be, as likewise by the Commissary if any such Person in the Post, And when there is a Necessity to take up Liquors or other Goods from the Traders for these Purposes, the Current price of the Goods to be Certified in like manner in the Traders Bill. These Certificates to be transmitted to the General's Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Special Indian commissaries had not yet been appointed at the various points. See *post*, general index.





By the Honorable  
JOHN PENN, Esquire,

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *Pennsylvania* and Counties of *West-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex* on Delaware.

To all to whom they. Pr. ients shall me or may con. n; (Greeting:

**W**HILE R L A S  
Licence to trade with the Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom his Majesty is con-  
nected, and who live under his protection, and shall give security to observe such Regula-  
tions as his Majesty shall at any Time think fit, by himself, or by his Commissioners to be appoin-  
ted for that Purpose, to order and direct for the Benefit of the Trade with the said Indians; and  
not to trade or traffick with; or vend, sell, or dispose, of any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of  
any kind whatever, to any Indian or Indians within the Country of any the said Nations afore-  
said, beyond the Settlements of the Inhabitants, except at  
the Ports or Ports which are already, or shall hereafter be established by his Majesty, and garrisoned  
by his Troops. I Do therefore hereby authorize and empower the said *Commissioner*, to  
trade with the said Nations or Tribes of Indian for the Space of one  
year from the date hereof. This Licence to be void, and the Security forfeited in case the said  
*Commissioner* shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as aforesaid.

GIVE ME under my Hand, and Seal at Arms, at Philadelphia, the 10th of 1776.  
 Day of 2d Decr. 1765 In the 10th Year of the Reig of George the 3d  
 Choose the Third, by the Grace of G. O. D. of GREAT-BRITAIN, IRELAND, KING,  
 Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

By H. HENCK'S Command. 2  
March 1797. 1797

Where any Deputy of Sir William Johnson's shall be in the Posts, He must be employed in delivering the Presents. The Occasion Quantity and Price of Them to be Certified as above.

SIR W<sup>M</sup> JOHNSON Bar<sup>t</sup>

[Endorsed:] New York 16<sup>th</sup> Janr<sup>y</sup> 176[5] Orders to the officers Commd<sup>s</sup> to the Westward. regard<sup>s</sup> Trade.

TRADE LICENSE ISSUED TO ALEXANDER LOWREY, June 28, 1765

[Lancaster County Historical Society]

BY THE HONORABLE JOHN PENN, Esquire,

Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *Pennsylvania* and Counties of *New-Castle*, *Kent* and *Sussex* on DELAWARE.

*To all to whom these Presents shall come, or may concern; Greeting:*

WHEREAS Alexander Lowrey of Donegal, in Lancaster County, hath prayed my Licence to trade with the Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom his Majesty is connected, and who live under his protection; and hath given security to observe such Regulations as his Majesty shall at any Time think fit, by himself, or by his Commis-saries to be appointed for that Purpose, to order and direct for the Benefit of the Trade with the said Indians; and not to trade or traffick with; or vend, sell, or dispose, of any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of any Kind whatever, to any Indian or Indians within the Country of any the Indian Nations aforesaid, beyond the Settlements of the Inhabitants, except at the Forts or Posts which are already, or shall hereafter be established by his Majesty, and garrisoned by his Troops. I DO THEREFORE hereby authorize and empower the said Alexander Lowrey to trade with the said Nations or Tribes of Indians for the Space of one Year from the date hereof. This Licence to be void, and the Security forfeited in Case the said Alexander Lowrey shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as aforesaid.

*Given under my Hand, and Seal at Arms, at PHILADELPHIA, the twenty Eighth Day of June 1765 In the fifth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of G O D, of GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE and IRELAND, KING, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.*

*By His Honour's Command,*

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jun<sup>r</sup>  
Secretary

SCHEDULE OF EQUIVALENTS FOR BARTER OF GOODS AND SKINS,  
Probably 1765

[Johnson MSS., 25:47 — A.D.]<sup>1</sup>

A Strowd of 2 yards long to be sold at 2 large Bevers or 3 dressed bucks  
Strowd Stockings to be sold for a Buck Skin

Penniston Stockings of 1 yard &  $\frac{1}{4}$  — a good Doe Skin or small Bever  
Skin

Womens worsted Stocking  $\frac{3}{4}$  pair a good Buck Skin

Womens Yarn Stockings — a Martin, or small Doe

Childrens Stockings — 2 Musquash or small Raccoon

Men or Womens large white Blankets 1 large & 1 small Bever or 2  
large Bucks

White Blankets of 24 Blk<sup>ts</sup> in a peice 2 middleing Bevers, or a large  
buck & a Doe

D<sup>o</sup> of 30 to a p<sup>s</sup> for Children — 1 large Bever, or 2 Does

Mens Penniston Coats w<sup>th</sup> Gimps 3 Bucks, or 2 Bever

Boys D<sup>o</sup>, of 16 years old w<sup>th</sup> D<sup>o</sup> — 2 Middleing Bever, or 3 Does

Childrens D<sup>o</sup> with D<sup>o</sup> — 1 Buck, or Midd<sup>e</sup> Bever

Mens Coarse Garlix Shirts 1 Buck, or 1 Middleing Bever

Mens Ruffled Shirts 2 Bucks or 2 middleing D<sup>o</sup> or 2 otters, or 7 Raccoons

Childrens Shirts from five to two years old a Doe Skin or 2 large  
Raccoons

Black Wampum  $\frac{3}{4}$  C<sup>t</sup> if good 1 Small Bever 1<sup>lb</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$

white Wampum  $\frac{3}{4}$  C<sup>t</sup> 2 large Raccoons, or 1 Martin Skin

Cutteau large knives — 1 large Raccoon, or 3 Musquash

Small knives for Women 1 Small Raccoon or 2 Musquash

1 P<sup>s</sup> of best Roll Gartering 1 Bever, or 2 Doe Skins, or 6 Raccoons

2 fathom of Ribbond — 1 Buck, or Middle Sized Bever

1 pound of Virmillion — 2 Bevers, or 3 Bucks,—

1 fathom Calicoe — 1 Bever, or 3 Doe Skins

1 D<sup>o</sup> of Calimancoe — 1 middleing Bever, or 2 Doe Skins

Large Silk Handkercheifs — 1 Bever, or 2 good Doe Skins

<sup>1</sup> The document is in the handwriting of Sir William Johnson. The date is doubtful as such schedules were drawn up at various times, but this one belongs to this general period, being possibly a year or two earlier or a year later.



Brass Kettles as they Weigh at the rate of 1 <sup>lb</sup> Bever $\frac{7}{8}$ pound,	
Tin or Camp Kettles of a Gallon 1 Bever, or 1 Buck & Doe	
Silver Arm Band well made, 4 Bucks, or 3 Bevers	
Rist band Silver D <sup>o</sup> 2 Bucks or 2 small Bevers	
Broches of Silver — 1 Racoon <sup>1</sup> Musquash	
1 p <sup>r</sup> Silver Ear Bobs — 1 good Doe Skin, or small Bever	
large Silver Cross — 1 buck, or middleing Bever	
Womens Silver Hair plate large 4 bucks, or 3 Bevers large	
Gun powder 1 <sup>lb</sup> one small Bever, or 1 middle sized buck	
5 bars of lead — one buck or middleing Bever	
12 Flints — 1 Small Racoon, or 2 Musquash	
Looking Glass middle sized 2 Racoons, or 6 Musquash	
Emborsed Serge, a Fathom 1 Buck, or midd <sup>s</sup> Bever	
Red Trunks according to the Size the outside or largest 2 Bucks, or 2 middleing Bevers	
the middle sized D <sup>o</sup> — 1 Buck, or Bever	
the Smallest 2 Racoons — or 6 Musquash, or a Martin	
Jews Harps 6 for a large Racoon	
Bever Traps. 2 Bevers middle Sized, or 2 Bucks	
Brass Rings 6 for a small Racoon, or 2 Musquash	
Wire by the Fathom if thick 1 Racoon, if verry small 1 Musquash	
horn Combs, 2 for a Racoon, or 3 Musquash or 1 Mink	
3 Gallon Cag of Rum, 3 large Bevers — or 4 large Bucks	
10 quart Cag of Rum — 2 large & 1 Small Bever, or 3 bucks & a Doe	
8 quart Cag of D <sup>o</sup> — 2 large Bevers, or 3 bucks	
6 quart Cag of D <sup>o</sup> — 1 large & 1 Small Bever or 2 Does & 1 Buck	
4 quart Cag of D <sup>o</sup> — 1 large Bever — or 2 Doe Skins, or 5 Racoons	
the Expençe of a Middle Sized Battoe w <sup>th</sup> 3 Men to work her to Detroit as $\frac{7}{8}$ other side is	£85 4 -
her Cargoe am <sup>ts</sup> in Rum & Goods to	357 15 -
Cent $\frac{7}{8}$ C <sup>t</sup> profit on s <sup>d</sup> Cargoe at Detroit is	357 15 -
	<hr/>
Totall ...	£800 14 -
the Cargoe & Expençe deducted being	£442 19 -
	<hr/>
	£357 15 -

<sup>1</sup> "Each or three" is crossed out in the original.

the Expence of a Battoe to Detroit with 10 barrels Rum & 300 pound in dry Goods am<sup>ts</sup> as ₤ other side £442 19 -

... ..

the Cargoe of a middle sized Battoe to Detroit viz<sup>t</sup> 10 barrels Rum & £300 in light or dry Goods am<sup>ts</sup> to }

as ₤ the other Side ... .. } £357 15 -

the profits to be Cent ₤ C<sup>t</sup> is ... £357 15 -

the Expence out of that is ... .. £ 90 15 -

Clear Profit £267 0 -

Battoe for 3 Hands to work will carry 10 barrels of Rum, & 3

Hundred pounds worth of dry Goods and will cost at

Schenectady .. £10 - -

330 Gall<sup>s</sup> Rum at 3/6 ₤ 57 15 -

140 Cags for D<sup>o</sup> at 2 ₤ 14 - -

in dry Goods 300 - -

3 men to work S<sup>d</sup> Battoe at 26 days to Detroit at 6 ₤ 23 8 -

to 3 Men returning 20 Days at 6 ₤ 18 - -

to provisions & liquor for the 3 Men 13 16 -

expence at the Severall carrying places }

comeing & returning 6 - -

£442 19 -

Cent ₤ Cent profit on the Cargoe w<sup>h</sup> is }

£357 15 - is £357 15 -

£800 14 -

the Expence of one Battoe as above £ 85 4 -

£715 10 -

the am<sup>t</sup> of the Cargoe is £357 15 -

£357 15 -

## CHAPTER X

BRITISH MESSENGERS ARE SENT TO THE ILLINOIS  
COUNTRY, JANUARY 13, 1765—FEBRUARY 24, 1765

LA GAUTERAIS AND SINNOTT ARE SENT — FRASER AND CROGHAN PREPARE FOR THEIR JOURNEY — GALLOWAY WRITES FRANKLIN — THE INDIAN SITUATION — PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW EXPEDITION UP THE MISSISSIPPI — THE DEATH OF DABBADIE — AUBRY SENDS HIS REPORTS — A LETTER FROM ST. ANGE — LIEUTENANT ROSS AT FORT DE CHARTRES — THE SHAWNEE AND ILLINOIS INDIANS TELL THEIR THOUGHTS.

STUART TO DE LA GAUTERAIS, January 13, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 307—C.]

MOBILE 13<sup>th</sup> January 1765.

SIR,

His Excellency Governour Johnstone, Major Farmar, and I, Entertaing [*sic*] the most Favourable Opinion of your Knowledge in Indian Affairs, Particularly [*sic*] Relating to the Tribes on the Mississippi, and having An Entire dependence on your Honour and abilities, Judged it for the Good of His Majesty's Service, to lay before you the Annexed Proposals For going up that River, and Endeavouring to Negotiate, a Thorough Reconciliation, and Firm Peace, with the Arkanzas, and the Several Tribes of Indians, at Illinois, to Prevent their Obstructing the Passage Of His Majesty's Troops, under Major Farmar's Command, to take Possession of that Country; and to Induce them, and the French Inhabitants, to Contribute all in their Power to

<sup>1</sup> Besides the few documents printed at the beginning of this chapter, there will be found numerous notices to De la Gauterais, and his companion, Sinnott, a deputy of John Stuart, who succeeded in reaching the Illinois country by going up the river. Like Lieutenants Ross and Fraser they were unsuccessful in their negotiations and were obliged to leave hurriedly to save their lives. Search has been made for some report by these two men, but nothing has been found except the few documents here printed and the meager notices in other letters and journals. (See *post*, 408, 410, 416, and index.) We are obliged to conclude that their report was made by word of mouth, or was not considered of sufficient importance to preserve.

his Assistance. Major Farmar will give you such Instructions as he shall Judge Necessary for Forwarding his Expedition, and the good of His Majesty's Service in general: and will Furnish you with a Batteau, Canoe, & Hands, who are to be Supplied with Provisions, Necessaries, and Pay, Agreeable to the Annexed Proposals.

I shall send a gentleman Authorised by me, to be Assisting in your Negotiations, who shall be Provided, With a Sufficient Quantity of Presents, proper for the Indians, which He shall issue, as you think Proper to direct: and he shall be Instructed to Consult you, and be directed by your advice and Opinions, In all Concerns and Bussiness, with the Indians and Inhabitants Of the Illinois.

M<sup>r</sup> Steuart, who Accompanies you to New Orleans, Shall have Instructions to assist you in Forwarding M<sup>r</sup> Girardeaux And Agreeing with the Arkanzas Interpreter for their Voyage. I Shall as Soon as Possible, Remit you, the Two Hundred dollars with The 3 months advance of your own as well as of M<sup>r</sup> Girardeaux and The Interpreter's Appointment, as mentioned in the Proposals. and 3 Months advance of your, and their Appointment, may Constantly be drawn for by you and them upon Mess<sup>rs</sup> Shaw & Steuart Merchants in Panzacola, at the Expiration of each Term, while you Continue upon The Service, to be Certified by the Commanding Officer on the Expedition, or At the Illinois.

I will further add that if you Succeed in your Negotiation, or if the Commanding Officer on the Expedition, Approves of your Endeavours: that Governour Johnstone has authorised me to Promise For him, that he will Join with Major Farmar, and me, in Recommending you to the Protection, and Favour of His Majesty's Ministers, and the Commander in Chief in North America. I have the Honour of being With Sincere Esteem, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant

Signed J S

MOBILE 10. January 1765.

AGREED with Captain Monsieur de la Gauterais that he is to Proceed To the Illinois to Facilate [*sic*] the Passage of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment to that Country and to observe Such Instructions as he may Receive upon the Following Terms.

1. . . . THAT in his Instructions he is to be Considered as a Captain. That all Officers are to Treat him as a Person Entitled to that Rank and Character and to have 10/ <sup>90</sup> day.



2 . . . THAT he is to be Accompanied by a gentleman Chose by him as an Assistant and Interpreter for the Illinois Language and who he may dispatch by land from the Arkanzas which Gentleman is to be Paid As a Lieutenant in His Majesty's Service.

3 . . . THAT Monsieur de la Gauterais and the gentleman he Shall Choose to Accompany him. shall have Three months Pay advanced them in Cash before they Set out.

4<sup>th</sup> . . . THAT Monsieur de la Gauterais shall be Paid before he sets out Two Hundred dollars to Supply himself with Necessaries for the Voyage.

5 . . . THAT he shall be Furnished with an Interpreter for the Arkanzas Language who shall be allowed a dollar a day and Three months Pay in advance.

6 . . . THAT Monsieur de la Gauterais Shall be allowed Servants who are To be paid and Victualled as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service for Whom also Three months Pay to be advanced.

7 . . . THAT he is to go before the Troops in a Batteau with Fourteen Oars And a Patron. the Fourteen Rowers to be hired by the Voyage not Exceeding the Rate of Sixty dollars each the Patron One Hundred & Twenty dollars one Third of their hire to be advanced in Cash before They set out the Remainder to be paid at Illinois in goods at the Mobile Price.

8 . . . THAT he is Likewise to be Attended by a Cannoe Five men upon the Same footing.

9 . . . THAT the above hired People are to have Provisions as usual when In the Service of French Merchants. That is to say one pound and a half Of Bread. Biscuit or Rice with one pound of Salt Beef or Nine Ounces of Pork  $\frac{7}{8}$  day that they are Likewise to be Furnished Each with a Gun. Powder Shot and Other Such Necessaries as are usually Furnished by the French on like Occasions.

10 . . . THAT a Person Authorised by the Superintendent is to Proceed with Him who shall be Furnished with such a Quantity of Presents for the Indians as may be deemed Necessary which are to be disposed of as Monsieur de la Gauterais shall Judge most for the good of His Majesty's Service and the said Person Shall have the Necessary Powers and Instructions to act upon all Occasions.

J S

[Endorsed:] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Copy Letter to Mon<sup>r</sup> De la Gauterais. w<sup>th</sup> propositions Mobile 13 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1765 H In M<sup>r</sup> Stuart's Letter of 24 Janry 1765. Read L (2)

GAGE TO DE LA GAUTERAIS, February 15, 1767<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21671, f. 160—C.]

Copie Lettre de M<sup>r</sup> le G<sup>l</sup> Gage en datte du 15<sup>e</sup> fev. 1767 à M<sup>r</sup> La Gauterais à la N. Orleans

M<sup>R</sup>

Il y a quelques jours que M<sup>r</sup> Chalons est Arrivé, & Qu'il Ma remis Vôte Lettre du 20<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>be</sup> avec les Contes & Certificats que Vous Mavés envoyé, Le Narré que Vous aves fait dans Votre Lettre Au Sujet de la Negotiation dans la quelle Vous avés été employé, paroît être tres Juste, Mais je N'avois en General entendu Autre Chose jusqu'à present, Mais que M<sup>r</sup> Stuart Vous avoit employé à passer Aux Illinois Avec M<sup>r</sup> Sinnot, pour facillittér Aux Troupes de S: M: la prise de possession de ce Pays la, en tranquillisant l'Esprit des Sauvages. J'ignore entièrem<sup>t</sup> les Conditions de Vôte Agrem<sup>t</sup>; & je Serois for. Surpris quil eut eté Violé par M<sup>r</sup> Stuart, qui ne me paroît Avoir Aucune Interest à Vous frustrér de ce quil pouroit Vous avoir promis, & peut être du A Vos Services—jecriray a ce M<sup>r</sup>, Sur ce Sujet, Mais M<sup>r</sup> Chalons Mayant asseuré, que M<sup>r</sup> Stuart avoit deja reçu un Dupli-

## [Translation]

Copy of the letter of General Gage, dated February 15, 1767, to M. de la Gauterais at New Orleans.

SIR:

M. Chalons arrived some days ago, and delivered to me your letter of the twentieth of November with the accounts and certificates which you have sent me. The narrative which you gave me in your letter on the subject of the negotiation in which you have been employed, appears to be very just; but I have, in general, never heard anything until now except that M. Stuart had employed you to go to the Illinois with M. Sinnott to pacify the Indians in order to facilitate the taking possession of that country by the troops of his majesty. I am entirely ignorant of the conditions of your agreement and I should be very much surprised if it had been violated by M. Stuart who does not appear to me to have any cause to disappoint you in what he might have promised you and perhaps owed to your services. I shall write to that gentleman on that subject; but M. Chalons having assured me that M. Stuart had already received a duplicate of your

<sup>1</sup> Placed here out of chronological order on account of its contents.

cata, de Vos pièces, il ne Sera pas necessaire de l'envoyér Copie de Ceux que Vous m'avés présenté.

Quant à ce que Vous dittes Au Sujet des Colliers de paix, que Vous avés reçu des Sauvages, auxquels on Aurait du repondre par d'Autres; Je ne Saurois prendre Sur Moy de rien Dire à Ce Sujet, ne Connoissant point, les formallités qu'on Opserve [*sic*] dans Ce Cas la, & je ne puis que Vous renvoyer à M<sup>r</sup> Stuart, en lui faisant Savoir Mes Sentiments— Ces Sortes d'affaires etant toutes de report de Son Departem<sup>t</sup>.

Je Suis aussi Surpris M<sup>r</sup> que Vous n'avés pas fait Mention de Ces Colliers à M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, pendant Son Sejour à la N: Orleans, Com[m]e Vous pouriez bien Savoir qu'il avoit été envoyé Aux Illinois pour travailler aux affaires des Sauvages, Jay lui parle depuis Son arrivée; Mais il n'a rien Sçeu de Ces affaires.

Je Suis M<sup>r</sup> V: tres humb. & ob: S<sup>r</sup>

Signé (TOMAS GAGE)

[*Endorsed:*] Copie Dune Lettre du G: Gage à M<sup>r</sup> La Gauterais a la Nouvelle Orleans Dattée N: Y: le 15. f<sup>r</sup> 1767

[*Translation*]

documents, it will not be necessary to send him a copy of those which you have presented me.

As to what you say on the subject of the belts of peace which you have received from the savages, to which a reply ought to have been made by means of others, I shall not take upon myself to say anything on that subject, since I do not know the formalities to be observed in such a case; and I can only refer you to M. Stuart, making known to him my sentiments concerning them — matters of that kind being entirely carried on in his department.

I am also surprised, sir, that you did not make mention of those belts to M. Croghan, during his sojourn at New Orleans, as you certainly ought to have known that he had been sent to the Illinois to act in Indian affairs. I have spoken to him since his arrival but he knew nothing of those affairs.

I am, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

signed THOMAS GAGE

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a letter of General Gage to M. de la Gauterais at New Orleans, dated New York, February 15, 1767

HALDIMAND TO GAGE, February 25, 1768<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21663, f. 196—Draft]

PENSACOLA le 25<sup>e</sup> fe 1768 LIVE OCK.

MONSIEUR

Il y a quelques jours que M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye (un Ancien Cap<sup>t</sup> françois qui fut employe, par Mess<sup>rs</sup> les Gou. Johnston Farmar & Stuart, du Consentem<sup>t</sup> de Mess<sup>rs</sup> La Badie & d'Aubry, pour faire la paix avec les sauvages & faciliter la prise de possession des Illinois) Vient me présenter une Lettre de M<sup>r</sup> Stuart le surIntendant, p<sup>r</sup> etre payé d'un restant de Conte qui lui est deu [*sic*] depuis trois Années N'ayant Aucunne Idée de ces Affaires la, je me suis informé de M<sup>r</sup> Charles Stuart qui fut envoyé avec M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye à la N: Orlean p<sup>r</sup> preparer son Expedition, & j'ay fait examin<sup>n</sup>er ces Contes par M<sup>r</sup> le Maj. Chisholm & deux Cap<sup>t</sup>, & a qui ils paroissent Justes; & je ne puis attribuer le retard de la balance qui lui reste due, qu'aux Brouilleries qui ont Subsisté entre Mess<sup>rs</sup> Johnston & Farmer; Au retour de ce dernier des Illinois à la N: Orlean; M<sup>r</sup> La Cotraye le pria beaucoup de Vouloir examiner Ces Contes, & d'en acquittér le solde & après

[Translation]

PENSACOLA, February 25, 1768 LIVE OAK

SIR:

A few days ago M. de la Gauterais, a former French captain, who was employed by Governor Johnstone, and MM. Farmar and Stuart, with the consent of MM. Dabbadie and Aubry, to make peace with the savages and to facilitate taking possession of the Illinois, came to give me a letter from M. Stuart, the superintendent, that he might be paid the balance of an account which has been due him for three years. Having no idea about such affairs, I was informed by M. Charles Stuart who was sent with M. de la Gauterais to New Orleans to prepare his expedition, and I have had these accounts examined by Major Chisholm and two captains to whom they appear just. I can only attribute the delay of the balance which is due him to the disagreements which existed between MM. Johnstone and Farmar. On the latter's return from the Illinois to New Orleans, M. de la Gauterais asked him kindly to examine the accounts and pay them off, and after

<sup>1</sup>Placed here out of its chronological order on account of its contents.



plusieurs instances ils en Com[m]encerent l'examen en presence de deux Marchands; Mais après quelques jours de travail M<sup>r</sup> Farmer lui dit qu'il ne pouvoit rien finir, sans que M<sup>r</sup> Sinnot ne fut present, la dessus M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye Crut devoir envoyer Ces Contes à M<sup>r</sup> le G: Johnston en se plaignant du retard qu'on lui faisoit essuyér, Mais ne recevant point de reponce, il en envoya une Autre Copie à M<sup>r</sup> Clifton le Procureur General, pour le prier de le examiner & lui faire rendre Justice, Celui cy dans l'Intervalle fut demis de son Employ par M<sup>r</sup> le Gou<sup>r</sup> Johnston, & passa a Londres sans repondre à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye; sur quoy il en envoya une troisieme Copie à M<sup>r</sup> Stuart le SurIntendant; & ne recevant encorre de reponce; parce qu'ils avoient été envoyés a Londres par Meprise; on lui Conseilla enfin de s'adresser en droiture a V: Ex., & ce n'est qu'après cette derniere demarche qu'il à enfin reçu une reponce; M<sup>r</sup> Stuart ayant tire hors de son Grand Conte les Articles qui regardant son Departem<sup>t</sup>, Ordonna a son Deputte icy de lui en payer la balance, & le renvoye a Moy pour le payement des Articles qui regardant le Millitaire:

Il est facheux p<sup>r</sup> ce M<sup>r</sup> au lieu des recompences quil se flattoit

[*Translation*]

much solicitation they began the examination of them in the presence of two merchants, but after a few days of work, M. Farmar told him he could not finish unless M. Sinnott were present. Then M. de la Gauterais thought he should send these accounts to Governor Johnstone, complaining of the delay he was forced to endure; but not receiving any reply he sent another copy to M. Clifton, the attorney general, asking him to examine it and give him justice. In the meanwhile, the latter was dismissed from his position by Governor Johnstone and went to England without replying to M. de la Gauterais. Upon which he sent a third copy to M. Stuart, the superintendent; still he received no reply because it had been sent to England by inadvertence. Finally he was advised to address himself directly to your excellency, and it was only after this last course that he at last received a reply, M. Stuart, having taken from his large account the articles concerning his department, ordered his deputy here to pay the balance and he sent it to me for the payment of the articles which concern the military.

It is annoying for this gentleman that instead of the recompense

d'optenir pour les Services réels, qu'il a rendus, & les dangers qu'il à essuïé, de se voir privé Cy longtemps d'un Argent qu'il a déboursé pour le Service du Roy; & qu'on l'a obligé de payér en partie par des Arrest du Conseil de la N: Orlean.

M<sup>r</sup> Ch: Stuart & tous les personnes de quelques Conciderations de la N: Orlean, donnent un tres bon themoignage à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye, & plaignants on sort Je joins icy la Lettre que M<sup>r</sup> d'Aubry Mecrit a son Sujet; Les Extremittés par les quelles il à passé Chargé d'une fem[m]e Infirme & d'unne famille; qui n ont d autre soutien que lui, Merittent la Concideration de V: Ex: pour qu'Elle ordonne le remboursement de ce qui lui est deu; d ailleurs après les promesses qu'on lui a faittes, & les Succes qu'il à eu dans Sa Negotiation; il paroît avoir droit a quelques recompences, & M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye par l'influence qu'il à parmis les Sauvages & lart qu'il a de savoir les Menagér; pèut nous être tres Utile, & sera d autant plus attaché au Service du Roy; qu'il est bien né, & qu'il à une famille, pour la quelle il faut qu'il forme une ressource parmis nous, ayant refusé le Comandement de la partie que les Espagnols possèdent opposé

[*Translation*]

which he hoped to receive for real service that he had rendered, and for the dangers he had undergone, to see himself deprived for so long a time of money he had disbursed for the services of the king, and that he had been obliged to pay in part by decrees of the council at New Orleans.

Charles Stuart and everyone of importance in New Orleans give M. de la Gauterais a very good recommendation and regret his lot. I inclose the letter which M. Aubry wrote me with reference to the matter. The extremities through which he had passed, burdened with a sickly wife and a family who have no other support, merit the consideration of your excellency that you order the reimbursement of what is due him. Besides, after the promises that have been made to him and the success that he has had in his negotiations it seems he has the right to some recompense. M. de la Gauterais by the influence that he has among the Indians and the art with which he can manage them can be very useful to us, and he will be all the more attached to the service of the king since he is well bred, and has a family for whom he must provide among us since he has refused the offer of the com-

aux Illinois que M<sup>r</sup> D Ulloa lui offrit a son arrivée dans ce Pays & qu'il refusat, parce qu'il avoit déjà prêté serment de fidelité a S:M: Britanique; & peutêtre aussi dans la Crainte de perdre ce qu'il lui étoit dû.

Les Depredations Continuelles des Sauvages Chacktaws des Six Villages, qui Chassent & frequentent Continuellement les environs des Lacs Pon Chartrain & Maurepas; ou ils pillent les habitants, tuent leurs Bestiaux, & introduisent les traitteurs françois dans leur Pays, exigent qu'on aye quelqu'un de Confiance & d'autorité parmi eux qui repriment leurs des Ordres; & me persuadant avec M<sup>r</sup> C. Stuart que personne n'est plus en Etat de remplir ce But que M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye; J'ay engagé M<sup>r</sup> Stuart à le nom[m]ér Com[m]issaire pour Cette partie la; J'espere M<sup>r</sup> que vous Voudrez bien approuver cette demarche; j'en Ecris au Sur Intendant; qui je pense se trouvera fort heureux de faire cette acquisition. Cette partie du District par sa proximité avec la N: Orlean, & les Ancennes liaisons qui subsistent entre les françois & les Sauvages, demande une person[n]e resoluë qui Connoisse la Carte du Pays, & puisse Veiller aux Interrest de la Nation; il par-

[Translation]

mand of the country possessed by the Spanish opposite the Illinois, which M. d'Ulloa made him at his arrival in this country. This offer M. de la Gauterais refused because he had already sworn fidelity to his Britannic majesty, and perhaps also because of the fear of losing what was due him.

The continual depredations of the Choctaw Indians of the six villages, who hunt in and frequent continually the neighborhood of lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas where they pillage the inhabitants, kill their animals, and introduce French traders in their country, require that there should be some one of confidence and authority among them who would repress their outbreaks, and being persuaded as M. Stuart that no one is more able to attain that end than M. de la Gauterais, I have engaged M. Stuart to appoint him commissary for that country. I hope, sir, that you will approve this course. I am writing to the superintendent about it, who, I think, will be quite happy to make this acquisition. This part of the district, by its proximity to New Orleans and the old intimacy which exists between the French and the Indians, requires a determined person who knows

tira sous peu de jours pour ces Cottes la, pour Avertir encore tous les françois, de se retirer; & pour demander Satisfaction aux Sauvages pour avoir pillé dernièrement deux familles qui sont établies au Billoxi, & avoir tue leurs Bestiaux, & je Saisiray cette occasion pour prier encore M<sup>r</sup> Daubry de faire publier à la N: Orlean que tous les traitteurs françois qui seront trouvés de Notre Cotté des Lacs Seront Conduits Prisonniers icy;

Je Joins icy le rapport qui Ma été fait de l Examen des Conts de M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye, M<sup>r</sup> Farmer (& M<sup>r</sup> Stuart qui étoit present) n'a pû objecter sur l'employ d aucun des Articles que M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye n'aye éclaircy sur le Champ en presence de ces Mess<sup>rs</sup>; il ne disconvient pas qu'il ne soit deu à M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye Mais il se retranche par dire qu'il ne lui à pas donne le pouvoir de faire de la depense, & que lui même n a plus le pouvoir de tirer pour de l'argent sans Un Ordre particullier; Si des raisons Com[m]e celles la peuvent privér une Personne (dont la reputation paroît etablie) du remboursement des fraix aux quels la necessité de des temps, & le bien du Service l ont obligé;

[*Translation*]

all the country and who can look after the interests of the nation. He will soon leave for that country to warn all the French to leave and to ask satisfaction of the Indians for having recently pillaged two families who are established at Biloxi, and for having killed their animals. And I shall take this opportunity again to ask M. Aubry to publish at New Orleans that all French traders who are found on this side of the lakes will be brought here as prisoners.

I inclose herewith the report which has been made me of the examination of the accounts of M. de la Gauterais. M. Farmer, and M. Stuart who was present, could not object to the use of any of the items that M. de la Gauterais did not clear up at once in the presence of these gentlemen. He does not deny that it is due M. de la Gauterais but he defends himself by saying that he did not authorize him to make the expense and that he himself did not have the right to draw money without a special order. If such reasons as those can deprive a person, whose reputation seems established, of the reimbursement of the expenses to which the necessity of the times and the good of the service have obliged him, few honest people will be found who



On trouveroit peû d honnetes gens qui voulussent se Chargér de Com[m]issions un peû difficilles; Ces Circonstances; Celles ou M<sup>r</sup> de la Cotraye se trouve; & la Lettre que M<sup>r</sup> Stuart lui escrit, Me font esperér M<sup>r</sup> que Vous approuverés que je lui fasse payér une partie de ce qui lui est deû; Jusques a ce que je reçoive Vos Ordres pour le reste, & j'écriray à M<sup>r</sup> d'Aubry, dans des terms qui tranquilliseront sa famille, & les Créanciers; & le mettront en Etat de pouvoir traiter immediatement pour Nous.

J'ay l'hon: d'etre &c

NB. Je feray payer 4. ou 500 piastes à M<sup>r</sup> la Cotraye a Conte de ce qui lui est deu;

A tous les Papiers que Contiennent ce Paquet; Je joins une Letter de M<sup>r</sup> Louys Perrot, que j'ay Connu aux trois Rivieres Com[m]e un tres honnet home; & qui se donne toutes les penes possibles, pour faire subsister Six Enfants qui ont perdu leurs mere fort Jeunes; Si V: Ex peut lui rendre Service; ce sera une bonne action que je Crois veritablement qu'il meritte.

[Translation]

would like to take charge of rather difficult commissions. These circumstances, in which M. de la Gauterais finds himself, and the letter which M. Stuart wrote him cause me to hope, sir, that you will approve that I have ordered him to be paid a part of what is due him, until I receive your orders concerning the rest. And I shall write to M. Aubry in terms which will calm his family and his creditors, and put him in condition to be able to treat for us immediately.

I have the honor to be, etc.

N.B. I shall have four or five hundred *piastres* paid to M. de la Gauterais on the account of what is due him.

To all the papers which this packet contains I add a letter from M. Louis Perrot whom I knew at Three Rivers as an honest man and who is doing all he possibly can to support six children who lost their mother when very young. If your excellency can render him some service it will be a good deed which I believe he really deserves.

SINNOTT TO [HALDIMAND], September 10, 1772<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21729, f. 301—A.L.S.]

LONDON 10<sup>th</sup> Sept 1772

SIR

I Am Honour'd with your Excellency's letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> May desiring to be inform'd why my Certificate to M<sup>r</sup> Blouin of Illinois of twelve hund<sup>d</sup> Livers for four Horses purchas'd for the Kings Service was not paid or accounted for. in answer to which I have the Honour to acquaint your Excellency that I was no way concern'd in making out the accounts. M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais having undertaken that Business, & thought any assistance from me unnecessary. I have however endeavour'd to recollect the circumstances attending that Transaction, & hope they may prove satisfactory.

When I heard at Kaskakias that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan was arrived at the little Fort Cherokee on the Ohio; I express'd a desire of sending a letter to him, to hasten his presence, as I was apprehensive of the goods being carried off by the Indians, as most of the Inhabitants endeavour'd to persuade them to it—M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais inform'd me (for I was by excessive fatigue confin'd in Bed) no Horses could be got for the Messengers, but from M<sup>r</sup> Blouin, and that only on condition of my signing a Certificate for their value; for some how, most of the French we had any dealings with, insisted on that mode of payment instead of taking goods, tho carried in preference to Cash for contingencies, at the particular desire of M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais. the critical situation I was in, & the hopes I had of succeeding with the Indians when joyn'd by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, induced me to come into the agreement made by M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais; and the more readily, as that Gentleman promis'd to dispose of as much Goods as would cancel the certificate, & to pay other incident Expences. And I am at a loss to know why M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais did not perform that promise before he left the Country; especially as the effects of both Batteaus were wholly at the discretion of himselfe & family; particularly some days after the above Transaction, when I went to Fort Chartres to consult with M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Ange, as

<sup>1</sup> Placed here out of its chronological order on account of its contents. Sinnott was at the time of the writing of this letter lieutenant governor of Niagara, but was permitted to remain in England "on account of an impaired Constitution from Accidents received on the Missisipi and at Illinois in the year 1765." (Sinnott to Carleton, March 5, 1783, Royal Institution, 53:118.) He died April 30, 1794, according to a notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

well as to wait the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> Croghan. indeed another reason for my leaving Kaskakias, was to be out of the way of signing Certificates that were daily presented for expences incur'd on account of the Indians some of which I kn<sup>ew</sup> nothing of untill the demand was made, others I was publickly informed were calculated to serve the Friends and old Creditors of M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais more than to promote the Kings Service.

I never saw the Horses, or heard what became of them, but I should suppose they return'd with the Messengers to Kaskakias as M<sup>r</sup> Croghan was attacked and taken prisoner, according to our information, the same day they set out, and if M<sup>r</sup> Lagautrais was not present M<sup>r</sup> Blouin seems the most likely person to have claim'd them as I believe there had been some other Transactions betwixt them. I must beg leave to observe, I have no papers to assist my memory but should any further explanation be wanted. I will most chearfully obey Your Excellency's Commands; and should have wrote sooner but was prevented by a fit of sickness in Ireland, from whence I am but just return'd.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest respect Your Excellency's Most Obedient and most Humble Servant

PIERCE SINNOTT

[*Endorsed:*] Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor Sinnitt, London Sept: 10<sup>th</sup> 1772 Rec<sup>d</sup>  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>.

JOHNSON TO COLDEN,<sup>1</sup> January 22, 1765

[Johnson MSS., 10:99—E.]<sup>2</sup>

JOHNSON HALL, Jan. 22, 1765.

It seems the Spainards are certain to take immediate possession of New Orleans &c. I could wish at the same time that the French Inhabitants at and about the Illinois would withdraw themselves, or behave better, but I believe this is not very probable. At least there will remain enough of them to poison the minds of the Indians, either for their own private interest or as Agents for the Spainards, who of themselves are not neighbors who may be much dreaded.

<sup>1</sup> Cadwallader Colden.

<sup>2</sup> One of Carter's extracts made before the Albany fire.

GALLOWAY<sup>1</sup> TO B. FRANKLIN, January 23, 1765[P.H.S., Franklin Papers, 1:119—A.L.S.]<sup>2</sup>PHILAD<sup>A</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 23. 1765

DEAR SIR

I wrote you a few Lines this morning, in a hurry, not expecting to meet with another Opport<sup>y</sup> by this Packet, but in that I am agreeably disappointed, by an Express that Sets off for N. York in the morning.

The Assembly has been now Setting Since the Seventh of this Instant, and no Terms of accommodation from the Governor has yet appeared, nor is there any probability thereof. It seems, instead of them, the Governor has Sent down to the Provincial Commissioners of Appeal, A Letter, Direction or Mandate, a Copy of which Inclose, From a View whereof we find that altho at last the Prop<sup>rs</sup>, from the dread of the displeasure of men who he has found means grossly to deceive consents to an Equitable Taxation of their uncultivated Located Lands, yet they cannot prevail on themselves to do the people of Pennsylvania the same Justice with respect to their [*MS. torn*] the Injustice is proportionably much higher.

But with what Propriety, this Letter was directed to the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> of appeal, I am not able to discover. The words of the Law is to be the rule of Assessment to the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> and assessors, They have taken a Qualification to obey and execute them, and as they are plain and Explicit & enacted by men who well understood the different Qualities of this kind of property How then can the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> of Appeal deviate from the words of the Law which are, that the "Un-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Galloway was born in the town of West River, Maryland, about the year 1731. In 1740, his father moved to Kent, on the Delaware, not far from Philadelphia. Before he was twenty years of age Galloway was admitted to the bar and soon acquired a large practice. In 1746, he was elected to the assembly, and became very prominent in public affairs, being a supporter of the Assembly party in opposition to the Proprietary. Galloway was closely associated, both in politics and business, with Benjamin Franklin and the Whartons. With them he entered into the various land schemes which they promoted. In 1766 he was chosen speaker of the assembly, an office he held without interruption until 1774. He took an active part in the struggle of the colonies against Great Britain, and was appointed a delegate to the First Continental Congress, where he proposed a plan of union. Although elected to the second congress, he refused to serve. His many pamphlets showed that he was not in favor of violent measures, and finally he was obliged to come out openly on the British side. He died in England, August 29, 1803. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, 1:561; Baldwin, "Joseph Galloway," in *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 26:161 *et seq.*; *Encyclopedia Americana*.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this is found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Parkman Miscellanies, from which a few words, torn out in the original, have been supplied.



cultivated Lands belonging to the Propriet<sup>rs</sup> shall not be assessed higher than the lowest rate at which those of the Inhabitants shall be assessed," and the best of the latter are by the same Law directed to be assessed at £ 15. ꝥ C<sup>o</sup> and the lowest or worst at £ 5 ꝥ c<sup>o</sup> only? Did the Gov<sup>r</sup> Conclude he had the Power of the pope to dissolve these Gentlemen from their Qualifications — Or is not this letter of a piece with all the rest of their Iniquitous & trifling Conduct? For, why have not the Gov<sup>r</sup> in all this Time lay this desire of the Prop<sup>rys</sup> to have this part of their Lands taxed [?] with Equity before the Assembly, the only place to obtain it? Is it because they are afraid to own themselves unjust in this late Claim? Or is it because they Suspect that if they shou'd agree to do Justice to the people in this respect they will demand it also with respect to his City Lots, which trifling as it is in the whole, their Sordid Souls cannot Consent to Give up?

The Majority, you left at your Departure in Assembly, continue firm and resolved in their Desires to get rid of a Proprietary Government. The minority are so sensible of their want of Power that the [*sic*] have not made the least Attempt to Oppose or prevent it by any measures in the House. And the people are every day growing more unanimous in the Same wishes.

Mr. Croghan tomorrow Set of for Carlisle on his way to the Illinois Country, to take possession thereof In behalf of the Crown, and Expects to Complete his Design by the month of May, he is to be attended by another Gentleman an Officer of the Army & 100 of the Troops from Fort Pitt, But before he departs from that Place he proposes to obtain Hostages from the Delaware & Shawanese for his Safe passage through their Country and his return. In short the precautions he intends to take should he succeed in them renders it very probable he will meet with success, and do that at a trifling Expencc which has Cost the Crown & this Province as I am informed near half a million.

Your Family were well a few hou[rs ago] as was the Gov<sup>r</sup> Your Son who left My House this Mo[on]ing — But I conclude they will write. I am Dr Sir Your Affectionate humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOS. GALLOWAY

[*Addressed:*] To Benjamin Franklin Esquire Deputy Post Master general of N<sup>o</sup> America — Craven Street London. ꝥ Packet

GAGE TO HALIFAX, January 23, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 465—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK January 23<sup>d</sup> 1765

MY LORD,

I have had the Honor to receive Your Lordship's Letters of the 27<sup>th</sup> of October and 10<sup>th</sup> of November, together with a Letter for Governor Murray, and a Copy of a Petition of Mons<sup>r</sup> Joncaire Chabert to the King. The Lands claimed by that Gentleman, were granted by the Senecas to the King, in the Treaty they made last Summer with Sir William Johnson, at Niagara. I am perfectly acquainted with Mons<sup>r</sup> Chabert's Person and Character; if He determines to remain with his Family in Canada, and become a Subject of Great Britain.—he may hereafter be made useful: In the Mean Time, I shall observe the Caution your Lordship gives me, and forward Him directly to Montreal, in Case he disembarks at New-York: and I shall take Care to have Him watched at Albany, to prevent any Design He might have, to take the Route of Niagara.

Since my last to your Lordship of the 13<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> an Event has happened, which has given some Suspicion of the Shawnese. The Moment Peace was made with that Nation and the Delawares, they were treated with the greatest kindness, and so much Confidence placed in them, that even the Hostages remained at Liberty with the other Indians. and when the Deputys from the Delawares were ready to sett off from Fort Pitt towards Sir William Johnson, Colonel Bouquet, to save Time, proposed that the Shawnese Hostages should go with them, and act as Deputys, till other Deputys should arrive from their Nation. They agreed to this; but changed their Minds on a Sudden and ran away. The Delawares in Conjunction with us, sent Belts and Messages to their Nation, and assured Colonel Bouquet, that nothing was to be apprehended, as this step only proceeded from the Folly of young Men, and contrary to the Sentiments of the Nation: That were the Shawnese to break the Engagements, they had so lately entered into, they were ready to join us, to compel them to perform their Promises. There is good Reason to believe, that it has not been done by the Contrivance, or Knowledge of the Nation, as the Partys detached from the Army to collect the Prisoners in their Towns, after the Return of the Army from their Country, were very well treated and the Indians shewed a Desire to assist them,

by conducting them to every Cabin, where the Prisoners lived. The Delawares proceeded in their Journey to Sir William Johnson, and the uncommon Falls of snow which has since stopped up the Communication with Fort-Pitt, has prevented my having further Accounts of this Affair. There has been a Report, that a Volunteer of Maryland had produced an Indian Scalp, said to have been taken near Fort-Pitt, and had claimed the Reward for it; and some suppose, this the Reason of the hasty Flight of the Shawnese Hostages. Colonel Bouquet, who came with the Troops into the Country, sent immediate Notice of this Report to Governor Sharpe, in order to have the Man Secured; and likewise to inform Him of other Rumours, that Several lawless People upon the Frontiers, had gone into the Woods, with Design to lay in wait for some Straggling Indians, in the Hopes of getting the Reward for their Scalps. The Result of the Governor's Enquiries into these Matters, has not yet been received. I have the honor to transmit your Lordship the Conferences held by Colonel Bouquet with the Shawnese and Delawares at the Camp of the Muskingham.

Mr Steuart His Majesty's Agent of the Southern Indians, writes from Pensacola, that he had sent to the Creeks, Chactaws, and Chikesaws to meet Him at Mobile, and that he was taking every Measure necessary to facilitate the Progress of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment up the Mississipi. The Sickness was very great amongst the Troops at Mobile, the Beginning of October, My Advices go no farther, tho' there are Letters from thence, late in November. I am not able to give your Lordship any Information concerning the Ibbeville, or of the Preparations making by Major Farmar, in order to proceed to the Illinois;<sup>1</sup> but am to hope, that the Kings Service is carried on in that Country, with the Alacrity and Spirit which it ought; and that Major Farmar will begin his voyage up the Mississipi by the End of February at farthest, which is the latest Time in the Spring that it can be attempted. If the Necessity of the Service should require, that an Officer of Rank and Experience should be sent to take the Command in Chief of the Troops in the Floridas; I trust, that my taking such a Step will meet with His Majesty's Approbation, unless I should first receive Information, that the Brigadier for the Southern District had been appointed.

<sup>1</sup> On Farmar's expedition see *post*, 2: 127, 129.

As the Sending Persons to the Illinois Country before the Arrival of the Troops to take Possession, must if accomplished, produce the best Effects, and tho' Colonel Bouquet had not Time to effect it; that Design will nevertheless be prosecuted, as far as possible. Lieutenant Fraser, of the late 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment offered Himself for this Service, and I have dispatched Him with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, (a Deputy of Sir William Johnson, a Person well known to the Western Indians, and for whom the Shawnese have long had a particular Attachment,) to the Frontiers of Pensylvania, in order to proceed to Fort Pitt in their way to the Illinois, as soon as the Roads are passable. Mr. Croghan apprehends no Consequence from the Flight of the Hostages, and is in no Doubt, that he shall meet but with little Difficulty to perswade the Principal Chiefs of the Shawnese and Delawares to go with Him to the Ouabache, and from thence to the Illinois. And as these Nations have long governed the Western Indians, he doubts as little of the Success of his Mission.

When Sir William Johnson shall have Settled everything with the Delawares, and it's to be hoped also with the Shawnese, it will be considered what Measures are the most proper to be taken, to cement the Negotiations of last year. There is nothing immediately Necessary to be done, but to gain Pondiac, who has not been treated with. And this treacherous Savage, retaining his Influence, may still do Mischief. On this Account, Orders have been Sent to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Campbel of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment, now Commanding at the Detroit, to send him a particular Message, to come to Him, and make Peace for Himself.

It becomes Necessary for me, to acquaint your Lordship, that the Difficultys in Carrying on the Service in North America, increase very fast. It is declared generally, that the Mutiny Act, does not extend to America, but in such Clauses only where it is particularly Specified to extend to the Plantations, or to His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas. Soldiers are seduced from the King's Service, Deserters protected and Secreted, Arms Cloaths &c<sup>a</sup> purchased. Quarters and Carriages refused, without incurring any Penalty. Officers have been prosecuted and fined for Seizing Deserters, Seduced from their Regiments, and indented as private Servants; sent to Jail for being in the Quarters which had been allotted for them, and prosecuted for getting Carriages on their March. The Report of Such Examples tho' not as yet frequent, spread abroad, and the People in general begin to be Sensible, that they are not obliged to



do, what they submitted to, in Times of Danger. It will soon be difficult in the present Situation, to keep Soldiers in the Service; or possible to March and quarter them where the Service shall require, or however urgent the Occasion, without Numberless Prosecutions, or perhaps worse Consequences. I have the Honor to transmit your Lordship a Memorial on this Subject, presented to me by Lieutenant Colonel Robertson, Deputy Quarter Master General, respecting his Department, relative to Quarters and Carriages; together with a Paper, submitted to His Majesty's Consideration, which contains Additions proposed to the Mutiny Act, that the Difficultys set forth may be removed, and calculated to Suit the particular Circumstances of North America.

I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Regard, Respect, and Esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's Most obedient and most humble Servant

THO<sup>S</sup> GAGE

RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> E: OF HALIFAX

[*Endorsed:*] New York. 23 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1765. Ma<sup>i</sup>r Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage. R 1<sup>st</sup> March. (Extract sent to the Sec<sup>y</sup> at War the 2<sup>d</sup> March 1765.) Informing of Indian Affairs — Pontiac ought to be gained over to our Interest.—Measures taken respecting the Illinois Country — The Difficulties in carrying on the Service in North America. with 4 Inclosures Bundle D. N<sup>o</sup> 1.

DABBADIE TO THE MINISTER, January 29, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup> A45: 80-82—L.S.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M Dubuq

À LA N<sup>ELLE</sup> ORLÉANS, le 29. j<sup>er</sup> 1765.

MONSEIGNEUR,

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous informer par ma Lettre<sup>l</sup> du 16. 8<sup>bre</sup> der que le Command<sup>t</sup> de la Mobile avoit envoyé ici un Officier pour les

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

NEW ORLEANS, January 29, 1765

MY LORD:

I have had the honor of informing you, by my letter of October 16 last,<sup>1</sup> that the commandant of Mobile had sent here an officer in order

<sup>1</sup> Not printed.

arrangemens de la nouvelle expedition qu'il compte faire pour monter aux ilinois. Cet officier ayant passé plusieurs jours ici sans pouvoir conclure aucun marché Faute d'argent et de crédit, s'adressa à moi pour lui procurer une Somme de 10. m<sup>ll</sup> comptant de la Caisse du Roi; mais je ne jugeai pas à propos de le faire comme vous le verrés, Monseigneur, par la Copie ci-jointe de la Lettre que j'écrivis au Commandant de la Mobile, cependant avant son départ de la Nouvelle Orléans il passa un marché avec le S. Monsanto, Negociant, pour la fourniture des Bateaux, ustenciles, etc. qui seroient necessaires pour ce Convoi, par lequel il promit de lui envoyer 10. m<sup>ll</sup> aussitôt son arrivée à la Mobile, et des avances proportionnées aux dépenses successives qu'il pourra être obligé de Faire; mais la premiere somme n'ayant pas été envoyée l'expédition est restée là, et les dispositions que le S. Monsanto a Faites en l'attendant consistent dans le radoub de cinq ou 6. Bat<sup>x</sup>.

Sur ces entrefaites MM. Johnstone Gouverneur civil, et John Stuart surintendant des sauvages arriverent à la Mobile et à Pensacole, et m'écrivirent les Lettres dont Copie est ci-jointe avec celle de ma

[Translation]

to make arrangements for a new expedition which he is expecting to send to the Illinois country. After this officer had remained here several days without being able to conclude any bargain on account of the lack of money and credit, he addressed himself to me in order to obtain a sum of ten thousand *livres* in cash from the royal treasury; but I did not judge it fitting to do this as you will see, my lord, by the copy of the letter herewith joined, which I wrote to the commandant at Mobile. Before he departed from New Orleans, however, he struck a bargain with M. Mansanto, a merchant, for furnishing bateaux, utensils, etc., which would be necessary for this convoy, by the terms of which he promised to send him also ten thousand *livres* upon his arrival at Mobile, and to send advances in proportion to the successive expenses which he will be obliged to make; but, since the first sum has not yet been sent, the preparations for the expedition have stopped and the only activities that M. Mansanto has performed while waiting consist in repairing five or six bateaux. In the meanwhile, MM. Johnstone, civil governor, and John Stuart, superintendent of the savages, arrived at Mobile and Pensacola, and wrote me letters,

reponse des 17. 8<sup>bre</sup> 3. 1<sup>er</sup> et 2. 9<sup>bre</sup>, et 15. x<sup>bre</sup>. vous verrés, Monseigneur, que ces Lettres n'ont pour objet que de procurer au Convoi anglois toutes les Facilités qui pourront dépendre de moi pour qu'il parvienne a sa destination. je suis toujours dans les mêmes sentimens que j'ai fait paroître à cet egard, mais je vois avec peine que le mécontentement des sauvages devient général, et que rien ne peut les engager à être tranquiles: vous en jugerés par les Extraits des Lettres que M. de s<sup>t</sup> ange m'a ecrit à ce sujet depuis le 16. 8<sup>bre</sup> d<sup>er</sup>, et par le Discours d'un Chef Chaouanon descendu des ilinois ici Deputé de 47. villages, le tout ci-joint.<sup>1</sup>

La seconde tentative que les anglois ont faite pour le débouchement de la Riviere d'iberville a eu plus de succès du Coté du Fleuve que de celui du Lac: le Capitaine Campbell qui etoit chargé de cette entreprise, après six Semaines de travail, est passé dans une petite Pirogue de cette Riviere au Lac Maurepas, et de là est allé à la Mobile. cependant il S'en Faut de beaucoup qu'elle soit navigable pour de gros Bateaux, même lorsque les eaux seront aux deux tiers de leur crüe,

[*Translation*]

copies of which I herewith join with that of my answer of October 17, January 1, November 2, and December 15. You will see, my lord, that these letters concern only the procuring for the English convoy all the facilities that might depend upon me in order that it should reach its destination. I remain always in the same sentiments that I have shown on this subject, but I see with pain that the discontent of the savages is becoming general, and that nothing can persuade them to remain quiet. You will judge of this by the extracts of the letters which M. de St. Ange has written me on this subject since October 16 last, and by the talk of a Shawnee chief who came here from the Illinois as representative of forty-seven villages; all these I herewith join.<sup>1</sup>

The second attempt that the English have made to open the river Iberville has been more successful on the side of the river than on that of the lake. Captain Campbell who has charge of this enterprise, after six weeks' work passed in a little pirogue from this river to Lake Maurepas and from there has gone to Mobile. It will be necessary to do much more, however, before it will be navigable for large bateaux

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, 354, 359, *post*, 444.

tant par ses sinuosités que par la nécessité de faire un portage de près de quatre lieues. Les soins que j'avois pris de Faire contenir les Sauvages des environs n'ont pas peu contribué à la facilité des travaux du Capitaine Campbell. je joins ici l'Extrait de la Lettre qu'il a écrite à ce sujet le 19. 9<sup>bre</sup>, au S. Baurans interprète pour la Langue angloise; mais je crains qu'il ne compte trop legerement sur l'amitié que lui ont témoigné ces Sauvages, car j'ai sçu que quelques uns d'eux ont été au moment d'oublier la promesse qu'ils m'avoient Faite d'être tranquilles.

j'attends reponse, Monseigneur, à la Lettre du 16. x<sup>bre</sup> d<sup>er</sup> dont copie est ci-jointe que j'ai écrit à M. Johnstone sur les difficultés de commercer a la Mobile. D'après les témoignages qu'il m'a donnés de ses dispositions pacifiques pour tout ce qui interesseroit le bien de nos deux Colonies, je ne doute pas qu'il n'arrange le tout à notre satisfaction reciproque.

Je suis avec un profond respect, Monseigneur, Votre très-humble et très obéissant Serviteur.

DABBADIE

[Translation]

even when the water stands at two-thirds flood, both on account of the sinuosity of the stream and the necessity of making a portage of nearly four leagues. The care I have taken to restrain the savages of the neighborhood has not a little contributed to the ease of Captain Campbell's work. I join herewith the extract of the letter which he wrote on this subject, November 19, to M. Baurans, interpreter of the English language, but I fear that he counts too much upon the friendship which these savages have shown him, for I know that some of them have been on the point of forgetting their promises to remain tranquil.

I am awaiting an answer, my lord, to the letter of December 16 last, a copy of which I herewith join, which I wrote to M. Johnstone on the difficulties of trading at Mobile. After the evidences which he has given me of his pacific disposition in regard to everything that concerns the good of our two colonies, I do not doubt that he will arrange everything to our mutual satisfaction.

I am with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

DABBADIE



[*Endorsed:*] Colonies N<sup>o</sup> 7. aff<sup>res</sup> angloises M Dabbadie Ne contient rien d'interessant sinon que les sauvages sont toujours fort acharnés contre les anglois M Dabbadie envoie copie de la lettre quil a ecrite au Gouverneur anglois contenant des plaintes sur la facon dont les françois sont traités a la mobile

[*Translation*]

[*Endorsed:*] Colonies No. 7. English affairs. From M. Dabbadie. Contains nothing of interest except that the savages continue very much angered at the English. M. Dabbadie sends a copy of the letter which he wrote the English governor, containing complaints of the manner in which the French in Mobile are treated.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, February 2, 1765  
[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK Feb 2, 1765

DEAR SIR,

I have had the Pleasure of seeing your Son with Lieut Johnson by whom I received your Favor of the 22<sup>d</sup> Ul<sup>mo</sup>. The Affair of the Shawnese Hostages will I hope be cleared up, by the Deputys of the Delawares: you seem apprehensive of the last, as they were not arrived. you had certainly Reason, but as they were accompanied by a Canadian officer, some Prisoners whom they desired might go with them, and about twenty Caghnawagas, who were very anxious to return Home, I conceive they have been retarded by the snows. Had the Delawares changed their Minds & turned back, the Chaghnawaga Indians would have been with you. of the six Shawnese Hostages Two fell sick & sent back to their Nation, a Third sent with another Indian to the Lakes. The other Three ran away as you have been told, sending back the sick &c<sup>a</sup> was enough to satisfy them, that no Hurt was intended them. you will judge of this when you see the Delawares. Col<sup>o</sup> Bouquet was very well satisfied of the Sincerity of these last, who assured Him, they would join us against the Shawnese in Case they refused to fullfill their Engagements.

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is supplied with Presents &c<sup>a</sup> for the Indians of the Illinois and the Nations He shall pass thro'. Lieut. Fraser has Letters to the French Commander & a Proclamation for the Inhabitants. As

they will probably be stopped for some Time by the Weather, you will have Time to send M<sup>r</sup> Croghan any Instructions you shall Judge proper.

Lieut Johnson mentioned to me the appointing of Commissarys for the Ilinois, according to the proposed Plan:<sup>1</sup> But as that is not yet fixed and may possibly be altered, at least in part, I think it had better be postponed till the Plan is ordered to be put in Execution. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will send Advice of his Proceedings from the Ouabache and also from the Ilinois. We shall then know for certain, what Turn Affairs are likely to take in that Quarter; and by that Time, affairs may be finely regulated. He had better remain at the Ilinois as long as it is proper to have Him stay amongst those Savages. — and till the Troops shall have taken Possession of the Posts.

I am with great Regard Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, February 4, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup> A45:34-37—L.S.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

N<sup>lle</sup> ORLEANS le 4. fev 1765

MONSEIGNEUR

Ayant représenté a M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie, que les soldats de cette Colonie n'avoient Reçu aucun habillement depuis plusieurs années, il a fait donner en consequence a ceux qui ont été conservés, une Veste, Culotte, deux peires de Bas, chapeaux, deux chemises et deux peires

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

NEW ORLEANS, February 4, 1765

MY LORD:

Having represented to M. Dabbadie that the soldiers of this colony had not received any clothing for several years, he has, in consequence, caused to be distributed to those who have been retained, a jacket, trousers, two pairs of stockings, hats, two shirts, and two

<sup>1</sup>This refers to the board of trade plan (printed *ante*, 274). Superintendent Stuart appointed commissaries in the southern district, but Johnson did not do so in the northern until 1766. See general index.

de Soulliers; à l'égard de l'habit comme c'étoit une depense plus considerable, et que Nous attendons les Espagnols de jour En jour, nous n'avons pas jugé a propos de leur en donner.

Par des lettres dattées du 20 decembre que j'ay reçu de M<sup>r</sup> s<sup>t</sup> Ange, commandant aux illinois,<sup>1</sup> il paroist que, une grande partie des Sauvages du Nord, est toujours extremement animée contre les Anglais; ils ne veulent point absolument leur laisser prendre possession de ce poste, et en consequence quinze cent hommes de differentes nations, doivent y venir au petit printems pour leur Boucher le passage. au cas qu'ils voulussent y aller par le Mississipy.

Ce commandant se trouve dans un Embaras extrême, assailly continuellement par une multitude de Barbares qui viennent luy demander des armes et des munitions, pour faire la guerre aux anglais; il est obligé de leur dire qu'il ne peut ny ne doit leur en donner, que la paix est faite, que les anglais sont nos freres, et que les Roys de france et D'angleterre ont fait ces arrangemens entre eux, pour le Bonheur des hommes rouges, et des blancs, Pour toute reponse, ils

[*Translation*]

pairs of shoes; as the coat was a considerable expense and as we are expecting the Spaniards daily, we did not judge it fitting to give any to them.

By letters dated December 20 which I have received from M. de St. Ange commandant at the Illinois,<sup>1</sup> it appears that a great part of the northern savages are always extremely incensed against the English; they are absolutely unwilling to let them take possession of this post; and consequently fifteen hundred men of different tribes are going to come there in the early spring to prevent their passage in case they should desire to go there by the Mississippi.

This commandant is in an extreme embarrassment, continually visited by a multitude of barbarians who come to demand of him arms and munitions to make war on the English. He is obliged to tell them that he cannot and ought not give them anything, that peace is made, that the English are our brothers, and that the kings of France and England have made arrangements between them for the welfare of the red and white men. The only response they give is, that they

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

disent qu'ils ne veulent point d'autre pere que le Français, et qu'ils n'en auront jamais d'autre.

Cependant les irroquois de quelques autres nations du canada, ont fait la paix avec eux, et comme les anglais, ont presentement dans leurs armées (dont L'une est au fort duquesne commandée par le general Bouquet, et l'autre à L'Embouchure de la riviere des Mis, dans le lac Erié, commandée par le general Bradstreet.) des Sauvages et beaucoup de canadiens, peut etre par leur moyen pouront y parvenir mais ce ne sera pas sans une grande effusion de sang; il paroît qu'ils ont renoncé absolument di monter par le mississipy et ils font très sagement, ils se contentent seulement cette année d'Etablir le poste des natchéz et d'ouvrir la communication qui étoit Bouchée depuis longtems entre le lac maurepas et le Mississipy.

Il paroît aussy que la traitte avantageuse que l'on fait avec les Sauvages du Nord donne Beaucoup d'ombrage aux anglais, ils se plaignent amerement que, par ce moyen, lon donne des armes et des munitions a leurs ennemis, que cela les met en état de continuer la

[*Translation*]

do not wish another father than the French and that they will never have another.

However, the Iroquois and [?] some other nations of Canada have made peace with the English; and, as the latter have now in their armies (one of which is at Fort Duquesne, commanded by General Bouquet and the other at the mouth of the river Maumee [?] which flows into Lake Erie, commanded by General Bradstreet) some savages and many Canadians, they can perhaps by their means accomplish it but it will not be without a great shedding of blood. It appears that they have absolutely renounced the idea of ascending the Mississippi and they are acting very wisely. They content themselves this year with establishing only a post at the Natchez and opening communication, which has been cleared out for a long time, between Lake Maurepas and the Mississippi.

It appears also that the advantageous treaty which has been made with the northern savages gives much umbrage to the English; they complain bitterly that by this means, arms and munitions are given to the enemy and that this puts them in a position to continue war against them [*the English*] and hinders the latter from taking



guerre contre eux, de les empêcher de prendre possession des pays qui leur ont été cédés. J'ay parlé plusieurs fois a M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie a ce sujet et luy ay representé que je pensois quil estoit convenable, de ne pas laisser monter dans les circonstances presentes une trop grande quantité de poudre aux illinois.

Il est a craindre que l'arrivée des espagnols que nous attendons de jour en jour ne cause une revolution très favorable aux anglais; toutes les nations de ce continent sçavent par tradition, les cruautés quil ont exercées autrefois dans L'amerique, et elles les detestent generallement; le mexique est Bordé depuis la Baye s<sup>t</sup> Bernard jusqu'au Nord; de nations quil n'ont jamais pu soumettre, malgré quelles n'ayent que des arcs et des fleches, ils Veulent les convertir le Sabre a la main, et il arrive souvent que des missions armées et composées de plus de mil hommes sont entierement detruites; il est certain que, si ils veulent se comporter de meme a la louisianne, tout est perdu; à la premiere guerre les anglais auront des legions de Sauvages a leurs ordres, qui ayant des armes et des munitions et se joignant aux anciens ennemis des espagnols penetreront facilement jusques aux

[*Translation*]

possession of the countries which have been ceded to them. I spoke several times to M. Dabbadie on this subject and represented to him that I thought it was right not to permit, under the present circumstances, a too great quantity of powder to be sent up to the Illinois.

It is to be feared that the arrival of the Spaniards which we are expecting every day will cause a revolution very favorable to the English. All the nations of this continent know by hearsay about the cruelties which the Spaniards have practiced elsewhere in America and detest them generally. Mexico is bordered from Bay St. Bernard to the north by nations which the Spaniards have never been able to subdue although the former have only bows and arrows. They wish to convert them with the saber in the hand, and it often happens that missions, fortified and composed of more than one thousand men, are entirely destroyed. It is certain that if the Spaniards try to act in the same way in Louisiana, all will be lost. In the first war, the English will have legions of savages at their orders who, with arms and munitions and joined to the old enemies of the Spaniards, will pene-

minnes qui ne sont pas a trois cent lieux du Mississipy et detruiront la source de leurs richesses un jour a venir.

.....

J'ay Lhonneur destre avec un proffond respect Monseigneur  
Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

AUBRY.

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS le 4 fevrier 1765.

p. s. au moment que je cachéte ma lettre Dieu a disposé de Monsieur Dabadie, le 4 février a deux heures après midy aussitost que ce malheur est arrivé conjointement avec Monsieur foucaut qui fait les fonctions d'ordonnateur et Monsieur de la frésniere procureur général nous avons rémpli les formalitéz requises en pareil cas j'auray L'honneur de vous informer de tout ce que nous avons fait a ce sujet, par un vaisseau qui part dans dix jours, le prompt départ de celui cy qui met a la voile dans l'instant ne me permet pas d'en dire davantage.

[Endorsed:] M. Aubry

[Translation]

trate easily as far as the mines which are not three hundred leagues from the Mississippi and will destroy the source of the Spanish riches on some future day.

.....

I have the honor to be with profound respect, my lord, your very humble and very obedient servant,

AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, February 4, 1765.

P. S. At the moment that I sealed my letter, God removed M. Dabbadie, February 4 at two P.M. As soon as this misfortune happened, I, conjointly with M. Foucault who performs the functions of *ordonnateur* and M. de la Frenière, procurator general, have performed the formalities required in such a case. I shall have the honor of informing you of all that we have done in this event, by a vessel which sets out in ten days. The immediate departure of this one which sets sail at this instant does not permit me to write more.

[Endorsed:] M. Aubry

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, February 12, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A45:38—L.S.][*Ministerial reference:*] M Dubuq

MONSEIGNEUR

.....

A L'égard de la guerre des anglois avec les Sauvages dans la partie du nord, Par des lettres<sup>1</sup> dattées du 20. x<sup>bre</sup> que j'ay reçû de M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange qui commande aux illinois, il paroît qu'une grande partie des hommes rouges de ce Continent est toujours Extrêmement animée contre eux; ils ne veulent point absolument leurs laisser prendre Possession de ce poste; Et en consequence 1500. hommes de differentes nations commandées par Pondiak Celebre a jamais dans les annales de l'amérique du nord, doivent y aller au petit printemps pour leurs barrer le passage, au cas qu'ils voulussent y aller par Le Mississipy. Ce commandant que nous avons laissé avec 40. hommes dans ce Poste, jusqu'a ce que les anglois pussent y parvenir, se trouve dans un embarras extrême, assailly par une multitude de sauvages qui viennent de plus de 600 lieuës luy demander des armes et des munitions, pour faire la guerre aux anglais, est obligé de leur dire, qu'il ne le peut, ni

[*Translation*][*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

MY LORD:

.....

It appears by letters dated December 20 which I have received from M. de St. Ange who commands at the Illinois,<sup>1</sup> written concerning the war of the English with the savages in the North, that a great party of red men of this continent is always incensed against them. Absolutely they do not wish to let them take possession of that post, and in consequence fifteen hundred men of different nations commanded by Pontiac, celebrated forever in the annals of North America, are going to go in the early springtime to bar the passage of the English in case they wish to go there by the Mississippi. This commandant whom we have left with forty men in the post until the English can arrive is put in an extremely embarrassing situation by a multitude of savages who come for more than six hundred leagues to demand arms and munitions in order to make war on the English.

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

ne le doit, que la paix est faite, que les anglois sont nos freres, que les Roys de france et D'angleterre, ont fait Ces arrangements entre Eux pour le bonheur des hommes blancs, et rouges, et qu'ils doivent s'y Conformer attendu que C'est la volonte de leur pere. Pour toute reponse ils disent qu'ils sont libres, qu'ils ne veulent point d'autre Pere que le françois, et qu'ils n'en auront jamais d'autres.

Cependant comme les anglois ont fait la paix avec les iroquois, et quelques autres nations du Canada, et qu'ils ont presentement dans les armées qu'ils opposent aux hommes rouges, des sauvages et des canadiens, Peut etre Pourront ils par leur moyen y parvenir, mais il faudra auparavant que Pondiak soit tué, et bien d'autres sauvages avec luy.

M. de s<sup>t</sup> ange me marque en meme temps que si on ne luy Envoye quelques prompts secours de la nouvelle orléans, sa foible garnison et les habitans des illinois se trouveront Exposés à la fureur des sauvages, qui desesperés de Ce qu'on les à abandonnés, et de ce qu'on ne leurs donne plus rien, seroient Capables de se porter aux Extremités les plus facheuses, dans des circonstances pareilles je suivray Le plan de

[*Translation*]

He is obliged to tell them that he cannot and ought not to do it, that peace is made, that the English are our brothers, that the kings of France and England have made these mutual arrangements for the welfare of the red and white men, and that the Indians ought to conform to this agreement seeing that it is the wish of their father. The only response they make is that they are free, and that they do not wish any other father except the French, and that they will never have others.

As the English have, however, made peace with the Iroquois and with some of the other nations of Canada, and since they have now in the armies with which they are opposing the red men both savages and Canadians, perhaps they can, by their resources, reach there, but it will be necessary that Pontiac be killed and many other savages with him.

M. de St. Ange informs me at the same time that if there is not sent to him some prompt succor from New Orleans, his feeble garrison and the inhabitants of the Illinois will be exposed to the furor of the savages, who, driven to desperation because they are abandoned and because they are given nothing, would be capable of proceeding to the most terrible extremities. I shall follow the plan of M. Dabbadie



M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie qui avoit resolu de luy envoyer 7 ou 800<sup>l</sup> de poudre, et quelques petits présents, pour Les distribuer avec la plus grande Economie, et circonspection, afin de ne pas les reduire au desespoir.

Mais en Meme têmes, Monseigneur, je me trouve dans le plus grand Embarras, attendu que La compagnie<sup>1</sup> de neg<sup>ts</sup> qui a entrepris la traite Exclusive des Postes de ce país avec L'agrement de M. D'abbadie et dont il a Eu l'honneur de vous rendre compte, doit au Roy trois milliers de poudre que M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie leurs preta L'année passée, et qu'ils n'ont pas pû acquitter N'en ayant pas reçu de france; il n'y a plus au Magasin que de la mauvaise poudre achettée au Mexique dans la guerre derniere, et qui n'est bonne a rien, de sorte que pour pouvoir faire face aux affaires, je me trouve forcé d'En prendre a quelques negotians de la n<sup>lle</sup> orléans, que je feray rendre par Ceux qui en doivent au Roy, en nature ou en argent.

il Est presque malheureux de se trouver à la teste d'une Colonie,

[*Translation*]

under similar circumstances who had resolved to send to him seven or eight hundred pounds of powder and some little presents to be distributed with the greatest economy and care in order that the savages be not reduced to desperation.

But at the same time, my lord, I am in the greatest embarrassment seeing that the company<sup>1</sup> of merchants, who had undertaken the exclusive trade of the posts of this country with the consent of M. Dabbadie and concerning whom he has had the honor of rendering you an account, owes the king three hundred pounds of powder which M. Dabbadie lent them last year and which they have not been able to pay back since they have received none of it from France. There is in the magazine only some poor powder bought in Mexico in the last war which is good for nothing except to meet our engagements. I am forced to take some of it from some merchants at New Orleans which I shall have returned either in kind or in money by those who are indebted to the king.

It is very unfortunate to be at the head of a colony such as

<sup>1</sup> This is the firm of Maxent, Laclede, and Company, which began its operations just at the close of the war. The right to the trade on the Missouri River was originally granted the company in 1762 by Governor Kerlérec and confirmed by Dabbadie. It has been pointed out that the superior council of Louisiana later disallowed the right to such an exclusive trade. Houck, *Missouri*, 2:1 *et seq.*

telle qu'est la Louisianne Aujourd'hui, il n'y a plus d'argent, plus de commerce, les terres, et les nègres sont diminués de la moitié, les débiteurs ne payent plus; les trois quarts des dettes sont remises á L'arrangement des finances qui n'arrive pas, un Esprit d'insubordination inconcevable regne depuis dix ans dans ce païs; tous Ceux qui sont hors d'état de payer leurs dettes trouvent un azille assuré a la mobile, ou le gouverneur M. jonson les reçoit a bras ouverts, et leurs procure de bons emplois.

il est temps, Monseigneur, que les Espagnols arrivent, jusqu'a ce moment je feray toujours de mon mieux pour meriter votre approbation, et me rendre digne de l'honneur de vos bontés, et de votre protection: j'agiray toujours avec la plus grande Economie, j'entre-tiendray autant que je pourray la paix Entre les anglois et les sauvages Et les françois et je feray mon possible pour preparer la voye aux Espagnols.

je suis Monseigneur avec le plus grand respect Votre Très humble  
et très obéissant serviteur

AUBRY.

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS ce 12 février 1765

[*Translation*]

Louisiana. Today there is no longer any money, any commerce; the lands and the Negroes have lessened by a half; the debtors no longer pay; three-fourths of the debts are remitted until the arrangement of the finances which does not take place. A spirit of inconceivable insubordination has reigned for ten years in this country. All those who are unable to pay their debts find an assured asylum in Mobile where Governor Johnstone receives them with open arms and procures them good employment.

It is time, my lord, that the Spaniards arrive. Until that moment I shall always do my best to merit your approbation and to render myself worthy of the honor of your kindness and protection. I shall act always with the greatest economy. I shall maintain so far as I can the peace between the English, the savages, and the French. I shall do all that is possible to prepare the way for the Spaniards.

I am, my lord, with the greatest respect your very humble and very obedient servant,

AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, February 12, 1765

[Endorsed:] La Louisianne M<sup>r</sup> aubry. 12 fe<sup>r</sup> 1765 Detail sur la mort de M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie preparation pour recevoir les Espagnols.

[Translation]

[Endorsed:] Louisiana M. Aubry. February 12, 1765. Information concerning the death of M. Dabbadie; preparation to receive the Spaniards

JOHNSTONE TO POWNALL, February 19, 1765

[Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1:271]

Extracts of a Letter from George Johnstone Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor of West Florida to John Pownall Esquire, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, dated the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1765.

There is another Fortification, or Post, which we are about to Establish at Point Iberville. Major Farmar had employed an Officer, Captain Campbell, with fifty Negroes, for six months past in opening the Channel of that River with the Mississippi, his Labors have been great, and his Success in Proportion. The large Sum, which has been expended in that work, would be lost, in case, some Post was not established in Consequence. The fluctuating State of affairs at New Orleans gives us an opportunity to improve this advantage. But what above all renders it necessary, is the Eager desire, which the Germans and Swiss, and also the French have to settle in those Rich Tracts of Land, to which they can easily move their Effects: more than four Hundred Families, with all their Slaves and Stock, have already engaged to come over and live with us, If we can give them Protection. The facilitating the Passage of our Troops to the Illinois is likewise another Object; for matters have been so long delayed, and so strangely managed, respecting that Expedition, that it will be impossible to get higher than the Natches at furthest this Year; and in case they don't reach Natches, there is no place to retreat to, and then all the Expence will be thrown away, and they must come back here and begin anew, which Experiment, in last Year's operation only has cost the Government, at least, Three Thousand Pounds. It was a great Fault in Major Loftus, not to have established himself at Point Iberville, last year, in his precipitate Retreat. The Thing was proposed by Captain Campbell, and agreed to by Major Loftus and the Troops were actually landed. But why

he did not continue in the Resolution is as little to be accounted for, as any other part of his Conduct. The sincere Friendship I had cultivated with M<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie and the chearfull Assistance he promised to this Work, was also another Reason for not delaying the Operation 'till I could report Home in which Case the Spaniards will undoubtedly be arrived, and then we may expect every Obstruction.

M<sup>r</sup> D'Abbadie is since dead, in whom I have lost a worthy Neighbor, and the English a sincere Friend, as far as was compatible with the Interest of his own Country. From the moment the intended Cession of New Orleans to the Spaniards was publicly notified, he has given me every Information and Assistance in his Power. Monsieur Aubrey, by whom he is succeeded, has likewise favored me with his Friendship; he is a Man of real Worth, and of generous extended Sentiments. I enclose to their Lordships a Letter I have just received from him, which will best shew this disposition towards us.

I am conscious how much I risk for the good of the Publick in establishing this Post, at Point Iberville: But as I have acted with the utmost Precaution in taking the Opinion, in writing, of every Man of any Power in the Province, Friend or Foe, who are all unanimous, that it was a measure essentially necessary, and the opportunity not to be lost; and as I am conscious their Lordships will approve of my Conduct, when I can transmit the original Papers, proving the great advantage which the Trade of Great Britain will derive from it, and that the opening of the Iberville never can be effected, or of any Consequence without it, I am hopefull their Lordships will recommend the Payment of the Bills, which I have been obliged to draw, on so extraordinary a Case, on the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, being one thousand Pounds in different hundred Pound Bills at sixty days Sight, to be negotiated at New Orleans by the Engineer, as will be seen by my Orders to him; and when it is considered, that the principal Expence arises in building of Lodgements for the Troops, which must be done here, if not done at Point Iberville, I think it will more readily induce the Payment. However in Case my best Endeavours should not meet the Approbation I wish, and that, Notwithstanding every Argument, the Bill should be rejected, As the Credit of the Nation, as well as my own Credit, is concerned, I am willing they should be deducted from my Pay, till Time shall evince the good Effects of the Measure; for there is nothing, on which I would pawn my Reputation so soon.



The next Point would be the establishing the Post at Point Iberville, on a large extended Plan capable of containing a Regiment, at least; — There is no Place of so much Consequence to this Province as that Settlement, now the Iberville is opened, and which will command the whole Trade of the Mississippi, an Object of the highest Importance; since not less than seven hundred thousand Skins have been shipped from New Orleans, this year, in Consequence of the Session of Canada by which most of the Furs have come to Illinois, and so by the Mississippi.— Besides that this Province cannot subsist without such a Settlement to furnish Provisions & Bricks, unless we extend ourselves up those shallow Rivers, where Ships of Force cannot go, which may be productive of many Evils with the Indians.

[*Endorsed:*] Extracts of a Letter — from Geo: Johnstone Esq<sup>r</sup> — Gov<sup>r</sup> of West Florida — to John Pownall Esq<sup>r</sup> — Secretary to the Lords — Commissioners for — Trade and Plantations — dated the 19<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1765. In M<sup>r</sup> Coopers, of the 21<sup>st</sup> — Oct<sup>r</sup> 1765.

## ST. ANGE TO DABBADIE, February 21, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A45:53—C.]

Copie de la lettre Ecrite par M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange commandant aux illinois a M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie en datte du 21 fevrier 1765.

MONSIEUR

J'ay reçu par M<sup>r</sup> Roze off<sup>er</sup> anglais,<sup>1</sup> party de la mobille dans les derniers jours de novembre ou premier decembre, arrivé icy le 18 du

[*Translation*]

Copy of letter written by M. de St Ange, commandant in the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie dated February 21, 1765.

SIR:

I have received by M. Ross,<sup>1</sup> English officer who set out from Mobile in the last days of November or first of December and arrived

<sup>1</sup> This is Lieutenant John Ross of the Thirty-fourth Regiment who was sent overland to the Illinois. Later he made a survey of the Mississippi River which was published in June, 1775, and is to be found in Jefferys' *American Atlas* (London, 1778). Ross served in the Thirty-fourth Regiment until his death or retirement in 1789, at which time he held the rank of major. During the Revolutionary War, he was with his regiment in Canada. For other information on Ross's expedition to the Illinois see *post*, 442, 468, 481, 483.

present avec 4 hommes de sa Nation; une lettre en datte du 16. juillet dernier, que vous m'avés fait lhonneur de m'ecrire par M<sup>r</sup> Pitmann, et une autre de M<sup>r</sup> farmar, commandant de la mobille, sans datte, et qui est conforme a la vostre, la demarche de cet officier est pour le meme objet que celle que devoit faire M<sup>r</sup> Pitmann, il a des Instructions a ce sujet de M<sup>r</sup> farmar, que je n'ay pu encore faire traduire.

Cet officier ma dit que le meme M<sup>r</sup> farmar, devoit commander aux illinois, et qu'il pouvoit etre party de la Nouvelle orleans dans le commencement de ce mois pour aller camper aux natchez ou il doit attendre des nouvelles de la disposition des sauvages, c'est ce qu'il ne pourra pas apprendre par cette occasion cy, attendu qu'ils sont tous en hivernement: je crains bien qu'il se soit trompé dans son attente, car je vois tous ces mesmes sauvages dans leurs premieres Resolutions, Pondiak, et Minawouanons, pouroient detruire tout ce que nous aurions pu faire avec les illinois, mais cela ne m'empeschera pas de travailler avec autant de force, et plus que si je devois reussir; Soyés Persuadé Monsieur, que je ne negligera rien a ce sujet et qu'il ne dependra pas de moy de mettre fin a toutes les difficultés que M<sup>rs</sup> les

[*Translation*]

here the eighteenth of the present with four men of his nation, a letter dated July 16 last which you did me the honor to write me by M. Pittman, and another, undated, from M. Farmar commandant at Mobile and which is in conformity with yours. The business of this officer has the same object as that which M. Pittman was to accomplish; he has instructions on this subject from M. Farmar which I have not yet been able to have translated.

This officer told me that the same M. Farmar was to command in the Illinois and that it might be that he had set out from New Orleans, at the commencement of this month, to go and camp at Natchez where he was to await news of the disposition of the savages. He was not able to learn of this on this occasion seeing that they [*the Indians*] are all in winter quarters. I fear, indeed, that he has deceived himself in his expectation for I see all these same savages clinging to their first resolutions; Pontiac and Minawouanon were able to destroy all that we could do with the Illinois, but that will not prevent me from working with as much strength and more than if I were going to succeed. Be persuaded, sir, that I shall neglect

anglais ont pour prendre possession de cette partie, enfin M<sup>r</sup> je me conformeray ponctuellement a votre lettre et a tous les ordres que Vous m'avez adressés pour reconcilier les Sauvages avec les anglais.

Ce meme officier est logé et nourry chez moy, les autres sont dans le fort, je feray tout ce qui sera possible pour les contenter et donneray toutes les connoissances a cet officier, qui pourront rendre sa mission aussi avantageuse quil peut le desirer.

Le Nommé Chacoretony,<sup>1</sup> chef de guerre des Kaskakias, est descendu avec un des siens dans le batteau du s<sup>r</sup> Vallée, il ignore l'arrivée de ces anglais, et il est porteur de plusieurs colliers quil vous expliquera, j'ay fait tout ce que j'ay pu pour larrester, mais en vain.

Le meme officier m'a dit que les Tcherakis avoient tués et pris plusieurs chasseurs français rependus dans les rivières, et cela n'est occasioné que par les differens coups que les nations du ouabache ont fait sur eux, et sur lesquels ils n'ont pas (depuis la dernière paix faite avec eux) mordu.

[Translation]

nothing in this matter and that it will not depend upon me to put an end to all the difficulties which the English are experiencing in taking possession of this territory. Finally, sir, I shall obey exactly your letter and all your orders which you have sent me in regard to reconciling the Indians with the English.

This same officer is lodged and nourished at my house; the others are in the fort. I shall do everything that will be possible to content them and shall give all the information to this officer that will render his mission as advantageous as he can desire it.

The Kaskaskia war chief, named Chacoretony,<sup>1</sup> has descended the river with one of his warriors in the bateau of M. Vallé; he is ignorant of the arrival of these English and is the carrier of several belts which he will explain to you. I did everything I could to stop him but in vain.

The same officer told me that the Cherokee had killed and captured several French hunters who had gone on the rivers and this is occasioned only by the various blows which the Wabash nation have made on the Cherokee and against whom [*Wabash Indians*] they have not made an attack since the last peace.

<sup>1</sup> No further reference to him has been found.

Cet officier rend compte a son commandant de sa mission, ainsy que de tout ce que je luy ay dit concernant leurs pretentions sur cette partie et de quelle façon estoit les affaires sauvages a ce sujet. il ne s'est rien passé de nouveau depuis ma derniere. tout est tranquile, tant de la part des françois que des Domiciliés entre eux.

J'ay Lhonneur destre etc.

Signe S<sup>t</sup> ANGE.

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la lettre de M. Aubry du 24. avril 1765

[*Translation*]

This officer is writing an account to his commandant of his mission as well as of everything I have told him concerning their rights in this region and how the affair with the savages in this matter stood. Nothing new has occurred since my last letter; all is tranquil both on the side of the French and of the natives.

I have the honor to be,

signed ST. ANGE

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to the letter of M. Aubry, of April 24, 1765

ROSS TO FARMAR, February 21, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 677—C.]

Copy of a Letter from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Ross of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment, To Major Farmar, which came inclosed in a Letter to the Commander-in-Chief Dated 24<sup>th</sup> March.

FORT CHARTRES, AT ILLINOIS 21<sup>st</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1765.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform You of my safe arrival here upon the 18<sup>th</sup> Instant, and having shewed the Letters from Monsieur D'Abbadie and Yourself, was very agreeably received by the Commandant here; For to enter into a Detail of the Disposition of the Savages I cannot at present pretend to not having heard any late Accounts of them, but their enraged Disposition last Year was not represented in a Worse light than it in reality was, and if We may believe report, is not as Yet in the least Diminished.

Captain Morris of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment being Ordered by Colonel Bradstreet for this Place, upon the same intentions that I had the Honor to be sent by you, was taken by the Savages at Miamces



but had the good Fortune to Escape out of their Hands, and returned to Detroit, after which Colonel Bradstreet sent Two French Inhabitants who arrived here the 15<sup>th</sup> of December last, and having Offered the Calumet of Peace to several Indian Chiefs here, was utterly rejected, after which they returned to Detroit, having according to Colonel Bradstreet's Orders desired the attendance of the Chiefs of all Nations at Detroit in the Months of June or July, first it is reported here that Pondiack will be at the Mississippi in a few Weeks with Three Thousand Men in Order to Oppose Your Passage, but how far that report is to be Credited I cannot say, tho' I Am afraid it is but too true.

I shall do all my Endeavor to appease his Fury and shall not want the Assistance of Cap<sup>t</sup> St Ange likewise, upon that Occasion, it is He that is the Instigator of all the Savage Nations, many of which might otherwise be easily brought to terms, especially this Nation here, with whom I am to have a Talk in a Short time. I have nothing more Material at present to mention only the Scarcity of Grain, in this Place occasioned by the Inundation of the Mississippi, so that One Hundred Men more here, would be likely to raise a Famine.

I Am, Sir, Your Most Obligated, and Most Humble Servant

(Sign'd) JOHN ROSS

Lieu<sup>t</sup> in the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

P. S. It would give Me the greatest Satisfaction to be favored with a Letter from You the first Opportunity; There is an Indian Chief belonging to the Nation gone from this Place on His way to Orleans, He is in a Boat belonging to One M<sup>r</sup> Valise an Inhabitant here, He goes with the Intention to carry the Belt to Several Nations in that District, and is one of our greatest Enemy's, if You can but take him, You may in all probability make a Peace with him, which would be a Considerable Advantage, He being a Man of Interest; he departed the 19<sup>th</sup> Instant.

J. R.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Ross of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment, To Major Farmar, Dated, Fort Chartres, at Illinois. February 21<sup>st</sup> 1765. Concerning Pondiac & the Indians in that Quarter in Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's of June 1<sup>st</sup> 1765. Inclosure 4. in N<sup>o</sup> 7. Bundle D

## SPEECHES BY INDIAN CHIEFS, February 24, 1765

[A.C., C., F<sup>3</sup> 25:229—C.]<sup>1</sup>

Copie du discours faits par Le Sauvage Chaouanon nommé Charlot Kaské a M<sup>r</sup> dabbadie.<sup>2</sup>

Je viens de bien loing, Le maitre de la vie a permis que je me rendisse jusqu'icy, et mon Coeur est satisfait de te voir. Quoy que je sois sans suite je n'en suis pas moins un consideré de la nation Chaouanons deputé du grand Chefs pour te voir Et te parler; voila un colier a Cinq Branches qu'il ma Chargé de te remettre; il contient les noms de 47. villages qui veulent mourir attachées aux francois en deffendant leurs terres jusques a la derniere goutte de leur Sang; ils esperent que tu les secoureras, et ne les abandonneras jamais. je suis venu icy autres fois tout Le monde paroissoit gay et content, aujourdhuy tout est triste, je vois beaucoup de personnes que je ne connois pas, je Suis triste moy meme, Cependant puis que je te vois, mon Coeur est content; et mes yeux vont s'eclaircir; je diray dans ma nation Comme je tay vû, et comme tu mas recû.

## [Translation]

Copy of the speech made by the Shawnee Indian, called Charlot Kaské, to M. Dabbadie.<sup>2</sup>

"I come from far away. The Master of Life has permitted me to come here, and my heart is satisfied at seeing you. Although I am without followers, I am none the less a beloved man of the Shawnee nation, commissioned by the great chief to see you and to talk to you. Here is a belt with five branches that he asked me to give you. It contains the names of forty-seven villages, the inhabitants of which wish to die attached to the French, defending their lands to the last drop of their blood. They hope you will aid them and never abandon them. When I came before, everybody appeared gay and content. Today everyone is sad. I see many persons whom I do not know. I, too, am sad. However, since I see you, my heart is content and my eyes are going to brighten. I shall say to my nation how I have seen you and how you received me.

<sup>1</sup> Although not attested, this is probably the original copy sent by Aubry.

<sup>2</sup> According to Dabbadie's journal (*ante*, 203), this discourse was delivered on December 20, 1764. On account of the death of Dabbadie, it was reported by Aubry.

Je te demande mon Pere de Secourir tes Enfans les Chaouanons qui ont toujours tenu la main des françois, nos guerriers, nos vieillards, nos femmes et nos Enfans sont tristes de ne plus voir les françois chez moy Les Anglois y viennent et disent que la terre est a Eux, Et que ce sont les françois qui la leur ont vendüe; tu sçais bien que nos Peres nous ont toujours dit que la terre estoit a nous, que nous y Etions Libres, que les françois ne Sont venus s'y Etablir que pour nous proteger et nous deffendre comme un bon pere protege et deffend ses Enfans tu nous a mis Le cassetete a la main pour fraper sur les anglois, Ce que nous avons fait, nous Le conserverons Eternellement, et nous repetterons sans cesse a nos Enfans qu'ils doivent Le Conserver de meme pour La deffense de leur terre.

Je suis deputté de tous les Chefs pour te demander des secours pour continuer la guerre, et Scavoir de toy, Ce que tu veux que nous fassions nous t'avons adopté, pour notre pere, et nous n'ecouterons jamais que ta parole, Envoye nous des traiteurs, nous les payerons bien, nous sommes riches En peleteries, nos femmes, et nos Enfans sont tous nuds depuis que les françois ne viennent plus traiter dans La nation, si les françois ne nous abandonnent pas Les anglois ne s'empa-

[*Translation*]

"I ask you, my father, to help your children, the Shawnee, who have always held the Frenchman's hand. Our warriors, our old men, our wives, and our children are sad because they see the French no more at my house. The English come there and say the land is theirs and that the French have sold it to them. You know well our fathers have always told us that the land was ours, that we were free there, that the French came to settle there only to protect us and defend us as a good father protects and defends his children. You put the tomahawk in our hands to strike the English, which we did; and we shall preserve it forever; and we shall recall ceaselessly to our children that they should preserve it likewise, for the defense of their lands.

"I am commissioned by all the chiefs to ask you for help to continue the war, and to know from you what you wish us to do. We have adopted you for our father and we will never listen to any save your word. Send us traders; we shall pay them well; we are rich in peltry. Our wives and our children are all naked since the French come no

reront jamais de nos terres, et si nous voyons les françois chez nous, nos Coeurs seront Contens.

Reponce de M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie.

Ton pere M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon m'a prevenu de ton depart les Chefs qui sont icy presents, et qui te Connoissent m'ont dit il y a long temps que tu Es. je remercie Le grand Esprit de t'avoir Conduit Chez ton Pere, il te recoit comme un Enfant Chery, et il pourvoira à tes besoins, Ce que tu me dis de la nation Chaouanons, et des autres nations qui veulent mourir attachées aux françois, est sensible a mon Coeur, mais si elles sont tristes de ne plus voir les françois; Les françois et ton pere le sont aussy de voir toujours la terre teinte du Sang des hommes rouges et de Celuy des blonds.

Votre Pere M. de Neyon ne vous a t il pas annoncé de la part des grands Chefs, que les grands Empereurs de France et d'Angleterre avoient fait La paix, que par Cet arrangement de valeur, les Anglois Et les François étoient amis, et que Les hommes rouges partisans des uns et des autres, devoient se regarder comme freres. Pourquoi continuéz vous la guerre mes Enfans? et que vous en revient il de

[Translation]

more to trade in the nation. If the French do not abandon us, the English will never take our lands; and, if we see the French in our homes, our hearts will be content."

Reply of M. Dabbadie: "Your father, M. de Villiers, had already told me of your departure. Your chiefs who are here present and who know you have told me a long time ago who you are. I thank the Great Spirit for having led you to your father's. He receives you as a beloved child and he will see to your needs. What you have told me of the Shawnee nation and of the other nations who wish to die bound to the French has touched my heart; but if they are sad because they are no longer to see the French, the French and your father are also sad to see that the land is always stained with the blood of the red men and that of the white men.

"Did not your father, M. de Villiers, announce to you for the great chiefs that the great emperors of France and England had made peace; that by this strong compact the English and French were friends, and that the red men, partisans of both, should consider them as brothers? Why will you continue the war, my children, and what will it benefit



rougir ainsy la terre de votre Sang? La nature y repugne Et le grand Esprit Le deffend, Lorsque les nations ont fait la paix entre elles. elles oublient tout Ce qui S'est Exercé pendant la guerre, et Enterrent leur Cassetete; si Les francois se retirent sur leurs, vous êtes libres sur les vôtres, et pour tout ou seront les Chefs francois, et tous leurs guerriers, ils vous porteront toujours dans leurs Coeurs, ils pourvoiront avec plaisir a vos besoins par les traiteurs, tu Sais qu'ils sont Etablis Sur la rive droite du grand fleuve Mississipy, mais la poudre et les balles qu'ils vous porteront ne doivent Etre Employéz que pour la chasse afin de nourrir et habiller vos vieillards, vous, vos femmes, et vos Enfans; Cesséz donc de faire la guerre mes Enfans, et rejettéz comme de mauvaises parolles tout ce qu'on vous dit des anglois, La Pais ramenera L'abondance dans vos villages, et les anglois eux memes s'empresseront a vous donner vos besoins par des marchandises de traite.

Ecoutez bien cette parolle, faites la valoir dans les nations, et assurés les que les grands Empereurs de france et d'angleterre, nont fait leur Paix que pour le bonheur des hommes rouges Et celuy des blancs.

[*Translation*]

you to redden the land thus with your blood? Nature is offended by it and the Great Spirit forbids it. When nations have made peace between themselves, they forget all that happened during the war, and bury their hatchet. If the French withdraw their troops you are free on your lands; and everywhere where there are French chiefs and their warriors they will always carry you in their hearts; with pleasure they will provide for your wants by means of traders. You know that they are settled on the right bank of the great Mississippi River, but the powder and balls they will carry you should be used only for hunting in order to feed and clothe your old men, yourselves, your wives, and your children. Cease, then, to make war, my children, and reject as bad talk all that has been told you about the English. Peace will bring abundance again into your villages and the English themselves will hasten to satisfy your needs with merchandise for trade.

"Listen well to this talk and cause it to have weight among the nations and assure them that the great emperors of France and England have made peace only for the happiness of men, red and white."

Discours fait Par le Chef Chaouanon Et Celuy du Chef illinois en Presence de M<sup>r</sup> Aubry, des officiers de la colonie, et des anglois.

Cette harangue a Ete tenüe le 24. fevrier 1765 par le chef chaouanon apellé Charlot Kaské En presence de M<sup>r</sup> Aubry et de tous M<sup>rs</sup> les officiers de la Colonie Et de M<sup>rs</sup> stuart synnot, et garnét, officiers anglois.

Ce Chef a Pris la Parolle en disant qu'il va parler C'est Le maitre de la vie qui dispose de tout; qu'il va Donner la main a M<sup>rs</sup> Les officiers anglois qui Sont icy, mais qu'il ne veut point qu'ils aillent a Son village parcequ'il ne Les recevra pas, qu'ils sont ingrats<sup>1</sup> de leurs terres et qu'ils veulent Les conserver.

Il dit qu'il a Eu le bonheur de voir M<sup>r</sup> Dabbadie mais que C'est comme s'il ne l'avoit vu qu'une nuit parce que Le maitre de la vie a disposé de luy, qu'il fait sombre et noir, qu'il pleure la mort de Son pere, ainsy que leurs femmes et leurs Enfants, qu'ils seront tristes, et auront les yeux mouilléz puisque notre pere est mort, tout Le monde

[Translation]

Speeches made by the Shawnee chief and the chief of the Illinois in the presence of M. Aubry, officers of the colony, and Englishmen.

This speech was made by the Shawnee chief called Charlot Kaské, February 24, 1765 in the presence of M. Aubry and of all the officers of the colony and MM. Stuart, Sinnott and Garnet, English officers.<sup>1</sup>

This chief took up the word saying he is going to speak. It is the Master of Life who disposes of all things; that he is going to give his hand to the English officers who are here, but that he does not wish them to come to his village, because he will not receive them; that the Indians are anxious<sup>1</sup> about the lands and that they wish to keep them.

He said he had had the good fortune to see M. Dabbadie, but that it was as if he had seen him only one night, because the Master of Life had disposed of him. He said that it was dark and gloomy; that he mourned the death of his father, just as their wives and their children mourn it; they will be sad and their eyes will be wet since our father has died; all the world will open their ears when he announces

<sup>1</sup>Two copies of this document have the reading as above. For the sake of sense, we suggest the reading "inquiets" and have so translated it.

ouvrira les oreilles quand il annoncera Cette mort. **A** Qu'il alloit

**A** pour Effacer la douleur de la mort de son pere, il a donné a M<sup>r</sup> aubry une branche de porcelaine en disant qu'il ny avoit plus de deuil, et que par le Moyen de cette branche il Blanchissoit la maison qui Etoit noire et sombre.<sup>1</sup>

Blanchir La maison et qu'il n'y auroit plus de deuil, que c'est M<sup>r</sup> Aubry qui Est leur Pere presentement.

Mon Pere je te prie d'Ecouter ma parolle, j'avois mal dans tout Le Corps, je Suis presentement degagé C'est toy qui es notre pere, et tous les Chefs d'icy te reconnoissent pour tel. Mon pere tu Peux jetter la vue du Costé de nos villages, nous Ne lacherons jamais la main des françois et les Enfants qui deviendront grands auront le meme attachement pour les françois. **B**.

**B** j'ai voulu lengager a En dire d'avantage mais il ma dit que j'avois Entendu sa harangue a m dabbadie que Cela suffisoit, et qu'il ne parleroit plus.  
Discours du Chef illinois.

[*Translation*]

that death. **A** And that he was going to whiten the house and that

**A** To efface the grief for the death of his father he gave M. Aubry a string of wampum, saying there was no more mourning and that by means of that string he whitened the house which was black and dark.<sup>1</sup>

there would be no more mourning and that it is M. Aubry who is their father now.

"My father, I pray you to listen to my talk. I was sick in all my body; now I am free from it. You are our father, and all the chiefs here recognize you as such. Father, you may cast your eyes away from our villages, we shall never loosen the hand of the French people, and our children when they become of age will have the same attachment for the French." **B**

**B** I tried to get him to say more, but he told me that I had heard his speech to M. Dabbadie, that that was enough and that he would not speak any more.

<sup>1</sup> This is a marginal note in the original and the other marginal notes in this document are printed solid like this one. Here begins the later conference with the Indians held by Aubry.

j'ay deja presenté a M Dabbadie Le calumet que je te présente, Cest toy M<sup>r</sup> Aubry qui Es le chef des françois.

Je suis surpris que le grand Empereur des françois ait donné notre terre, mon bras est a moy, et il n'appartient a L'empereur que ce qui est au dela du grand Lac je suis surpris qu'on ait Cédé le païs aux anglois attendu qu'il est aux Espagnols. **C**

**C** ils savent par tradition que les Espagnols sont venus les premiers dans ce contenant et que la terre devroit plutot leurs appartenir qu'aux autres blancs qui ne sont venus qu'apres.

Je suis venu des illinois pour Scavoir sil Etoit vray que le Païs eut été cédé aux anglois, et l'ayant appris je suis surpris que L'empereur L'ait cédé Et puisqu'il nous rejette, nous sommes maitres de nos Corps et de nos terres.

Ce rond de porcelaine **E** que je te presente designe toutes les na-

**E** il ma donné un petit morceau de peau ovalle auquel sont attachés 60. grains de porcelaine pour designer la quantité de nations avec lesquelles il est allié.

[*Translation*]

Speeches of the Illinois chief:

"I have already presented to M. Dabbadie the calumet which I present to you; you, M. Aubry, are the chief of the French.

"I am surprised that the great emperor of the French has given away our land; my arm belongs to me; there belongs to the emperor only what lies across the great lake. I am surprised that they have ceded the country to the English since it belongs to the Spanish. **C**

**C** They know by tradition that the Spanish came first to this continent and that the land should belong to them rather than to other white men who came only afterward.

"I came from the Illinois to see if it were true that the country had been ceded to the English and having learned it I am surprised that the emperor has ceded it; and since he rejects us, we are masters of our bodies and our lands.

"This circle of beads **E** that I give you designates all the nations

**E** He gave me a little round piece of skin to which were attached sixty porcelain beads to indicate the number of nations with which he was allied.



tions avec lesquelles Je suis allié je ne tiends pas la main des françois par la main mais bien par le bras—ainsy que toutes les nations sauvages qui sont dans la partie des illinois.

Je Suis surpris que les anglois demandent que L'on fasse deffense de porter des poudres dans Le pais d'Enhaut, ils veulent donc que nous Mourions de faim. Mais quand bien Meme on n'en portera pas, nous ne Serons pas Embarrassés ayant des arks et des fleches, et S'il manquoit des bois nous trouverons des joncs.

vous autres M<sup>rs</sup> Les anglois **F** vous ne demandés qu'a tuer,

**F** en disant ces parolles il a regardé les anglois qui Etoient presens.

vous avéz fait mourir les hommes rouges, Ne soyéz pas surpris si vous parle Le meme, ni si je vous gronde, mon Coeur est encore ulceré d'avoir vu mourir tant de françois, et des Sauvages Ensemble. Quand les anglois **G** se comporteront bien avec les hommes rouges nous les

**G** il est singulier qu'apres les avoir tant menassé il se soit radoucy ainsy.

regarderons avec plaisir.

[*Translation*]

with which I am allied. I do not take hold of the Frenchman's hand but of his arm as do all the Indian nations who are in the country of the Illinois.

"I am surprised that the English demand that commerce in powder be forbidden in the upper country; they wish then that we starve. But even though it is not carried, we shall not be embarrassed, having bows and arrows, and if there were no wood we should find rushes.

"You English **F** only ask to kill; you have caused the red men

**F** While saying these words he looked at the English who were present.

to die; do not be surprised if I speak to you likewise; if I scold you, my heart is still sore because I have seen so many French and Indians die together. When the English **G** conduct themselves well toward

**G** It is strange that after having menaced them so, he should have softened his speech thus,

the red men, we shall look upon them with pleasure."

Reponce de M<sup>r</sup> Aubry.

Charlot Kaské Chef Chaouanon et levacher Chef illinois, en Presence de M<sup>rs</sup> Les anglois, et des chefs francois que voila je vais vous parler.

Vous étés venu de bien loing pour voir votre Pere, Le maitre de la vie a disposé de luy, et mon Coeur en a Eté affligé que j'ay été long temps sans pouvoir vous Entendre, C'est moy qui suis aujourd'hui en Sa place, et je vais vous parler. je vous connois tous deux j'ay été dans vos villages et ay fait de grands voyages avec vous.

La parolle que vous m'avéz dit hier ma Percé le Coeur, et vous alléz entendre ma reponce.

L'empereur de france a fait la paix avec celuy d'angleterre pour le bonheur des hommes rouges et des hommes blancs. M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon votre ancien Pere aux illinois vous a deja annoncé Cette parolle de Sa Part, et je vous la repette aujourd'hui.

au dela des mers, et par tout Lunivers tous les hommes sont unis et tranquilles, vous Etés les seuls qui dans Ce Coin du monde. vouliez faire la guerre Et c'est pour votre Malheur.

[*Translation*]

Reply of M. Aubry: "Charlot Kaské, Shawnee chief, and Levacher, chief of the Illinois, in the presence of the English and the French chiefs, behold, I am going to speak to you.

"You have come from far away to see your father. The Master of Life has disposed of him, and my heart has been grieved that I have been a long time without being able to hear you. It is I who am today in his place, and I am going to speak to you. I know both of you; I have been in your villages and I have made long trips with you.

"The talk you made me yesterday pierced my heart and you are going to hear my reply.

"The emperor of France has made peace with the emperor of England for the happiness of the red and white men. M. de Villiers, your former father in the Illinois, has already announced this talk to you and I shall repeat it to you today.

"On the other side of the seas, and throughout the universe, all men are united and peaceful; you are the only ones who, in this corner of the world, wish to make war and it is for your misfortune.

Les anglois sont aujourd'hui nos freres, et nos amis, et j'ay Le Coeur Percé de Douleur de voir que vous rependiez leur Sang.

Ils ne veulent point vous faire Esclaves Comme vous le pensés, vous étés hommes Libres et le seréz toujours.

Lorsque je jette la vüe sur vos villages, j'ay Compassion de la misere ou vous étés. faites La paix avec Eux, vous seréz dans L'abondance—vous, vos femmes, et vos Enfants.

il ne M'est pas possible de vous Envoyer de la poudre, et des Munitions pour les detruire, je ne le pus, ni ne le dois, Le grand Empereur me le deffend.

C'est Le maitre de la vie qui a voulu que nous fassions la paix pour votre bonheur, Et pour le nôtre nous n'avons point donné vos terres comme vous Le Croyéz, et les anglois ne veulent point vous Les prendre.

Les arrangements que Les deux Empereurs ont pris Ensemble, n'ont été que pour vous procurer la tranquillité et vos besoins; Ne rougisiez donc plus la terre, enterréz Le Cassetete, et faites La paix avec Eux.

Les anglois placés sur la rive Gauche du fleuve vous donneront tous vos besoins, et quand vous irés voir Les Chefs françois placéz sur la

[*Translation*]

"The English are today our brothers and our friends and my heart was grieved to see that you were shedding their blood.

"They do not wish to make you slaves as you think; you are free men and will be always.

"When I look on your villages I have compassion on the misery in which you are. Make peace with the English and you will have abundance, you, your wives and your children.

"It is impossible for me to send you powder and ammunition to destroy them. I cannot and ought not. The great emperor forbids it.

"The Master of Life wanted us to make peace for your happiness and for ours. We have not given away your lands as you believe, and the English do not wish to take them away from you. The arrangements the two emperors have made together were only to procure peace and help for you; so then, do not redden the land any more; bury the hatchet and make peace with them.

"The English situated on the left bank of the river will give you all you need, and when you go to see the French chiefs situated on

rive droite ils vous serreront la main et seront toujours ingrats<sup>1</sup> de vous, et de Cette facon vous seréz toujours heureux.

Voila La parolle que votre Pere avoit a vous dire, que Le vent ne L'emporte point repettéz La a tous les hommes rouges qui vous ont Envoyé icy, et n'en Ecoutez point d'autres, il vous portera toujours dans son Coeur Et ne vous oubliera jamais.

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la lettre de M. Aubry du 25. fev<sup>er</sup> 1765

[*Translation*]

the right bank they will shake your hand and will always be anxious<sup>1</sup> for you, and thus you will always be happy.

"This is the talk that your father had to tell you; may the wind not carry it away. Repeat it to all the red men who sent you here and do not listen to the others. He will always keep you in his heart and will never forget you."

[*Endorsed:*] Joined to M. Aubry's letter of February 25, 1765

<sup>1</sup> Again we read "inquiets."



## CHAPTER XI

### THE FIRST BRITISH AGENTS REACH THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY FEBRUARY 25, 1765—JULY, 1765

AUBRY DESCRIBES CONDITIONS — THE BRITISH HAVE ABANDONED THEIR PLAN OF GOING UP THE MISSISSIPPI — THE PERPLEXITY OF ST. ANGE — MAJOR FARMAR'S DIFFICULTIES — JOHN ROSS AND OTHERS GO TO THE ILLINOIS BY LAND — ST. ANGE DESCRIBES A COUNCIL WITH THE INDIANS — THE DANGEROUS POSITION OF ROSS — CRAWFORD TELLS OF THE EXPEDITION — ALEXANDER FRASER REACHES THE ILLINOIS — THE LETTERS OF FRASER — PONTIAC PROTECTS THE ENGLISHMEN — JOHNSON DEFENDS HIMSELF TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

AUBRY TO THE MINISTER, February 25, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A45:41—L.S.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

MONSEIGNEUR

J'ay Eu l'honneur de vous informer de la mort de M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie, et des arrangements que j'ay pris conjointement avec M<sup>r</sup> foucault, pour que le bien du service du Roy ne souffrit point par la perte que la colonie vient d'Eprouver; jusqu'a l'arrivée des Espagnols, je feray tout ce que je pourray pour entretenir la paix, et la tranquillite Entre les françois, Sauvages, et Anglois, Ce qui n'est pas facile; je me

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

MY LORD:

I have had the honor to inform you of the death of M. Dabbadie and of the arrangements which I have taken conjointly with M. Foucault in order that the welfare of the royal service should not suffer by the loss which the colony has just experienced. Until the arrival of the Spaniards I shall do everything that I can to maintain the peace and tranquillity between the French, the savages, and the English, which is not easy to do. I flatter myself in acting this

flatte en agissant ainsy, Monseigneur, remplir vos intentions, et travailler au bonheur de la colonie.

Il Paroit que les anglois ont renoncé du moins Pour cette année au dessein d'aller aux illinois par le mississipy, ils se contenteront seulement d'establir un poste aux natchers et a la riviere d'hiberville. afin d'Empecher que nos petites nations ne les attaquent en montant, comme elles l'ont fait déjà fait l'année passée, Ce qui pourroit Avoir de tres mauvaises Suittes, je vais mander leurs Chefs, et leurs consideréz à la nouvelle orleans, et leurs diray Ce que je croiray de plus convenable pour les en detourner.

Les arkansas placés a moitié chemin des illinois ont aussi reçeu des Colliers de Pondiak dans le dessein de fraper sur Eux lorsqu'ils monteront; En Conséquence je Leurs Envoye un officier leur Parler de ma part avec des présens convenables afin de les en Empescher. Comme Cette nation à toujours ecouté la Parolle du françois j'espere y reussir. A l'egard des sauvages du Nord avec qui ils sont en guerre, ils sont trop Eloignés de moy pour que je puisse avoir beaucoup d'influence sur Eux; je me contente seulement d'ordonner à tous les

[*Translation*]

way, my lord, that I shall carry out your intention and work for the welfare of the colony.

It appears that the English have renounced, at least for this year, the design of going to the Illinois by the Mississippi. They will content themselves with establishing a post only at Natchez and at the river Iberville. In order to prevent our little nations from attacking them while going up the river, as they did last year, an event which could have very grave consequences, I am going to summon their chiefs and their beloved men to come to New Orleans and shall tell them what I believe most suitable to prevent them from such a course.

The Quapaw situated half way to the Illinois have also received belts from Pontiac for the purpose of persuading them to strike at the English when they shall ascend the river. Consequently I am sending them an officer to speak to them in my behalf, with presents suitable to prevent them from it. As this nation has always listened to the word of the French, I hope to succeed. As regards the northern savages with whom the English are at war, they are too far distant

voyageurs qui vont commercer dans la partie des illinois, de ne point porter de poudre, ni de munitions de guerre, dans leurs villages. Je marque a M<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> ange qui commande dans ce Poste d'y tenir la main, je scay bien Monseigneur, qu'il en passera toujours, mais ce sera en moindre quantité, et je seray par la à l'abry de tout reproche.

J'envoye aussy à M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange quelques petits presens qui luy sont necessaires dans la Circonstance ou il se trouve, afin de les distribuer, avec la plus grande Economie aux differentes nations qui l'obsèdent de toutes parts, La seuretté de sa foible garnison, et des habitans établis à Ce Poste Exigent ce sacrifice; je voudrois Monseigneur s'il étoit possible ne faire aucune depense Mais la position de cette colonie, la situation de nos Postes, la Correspondance continuelle que nous sommes obligés d'avoir avec les sauvages et des événements imprevis, nous forcent quelque fois d'En faire d'indispensables, Par Exemple 200. acadiens hommes, femmes et Enfans, rebuttés du Climat de s<sup>t</sup> Domingue, viennent de débarquer icy, et mourroient reellement de misere, si on ne Les Secouroient; J'ay Cru

[Translation]

from me for me to have much influence upon them. I am contenting myself simply with ordering all the *voyageurs*, who carry on commerce in the territory of the Illinois, not to carry powder nor munitions of war into their villages. I told M. de St. Ange, who commands at that post, to seize them; I know well, my lord, that some powder will always pass through, but that will be only in small quantities, and I shall be on that account protected from all reproach.

I am sending also to M. de St. Ange some little presents which are necessary in the circumstance in which he is, in order that he may distribute them with the greatest economy to the different nations who importune him from all sides. The security of his feeble garrison and of the inhabitants established at this post demand this sacrifice. I should wish, my lord, if it were possible, not to make any expense; but the position of this colony, the situation of our posts, the continual intercourse which we are obliged to have with the savages, and unexpected events compel us sometimes to make indispensable expenses. For example, two hundred Arcadian men, women, and children, repelled by the climate of Santo Domingo, have just disembarked here and will actually die from want if they do not receive

que l'humanité, et l'honneur de la nation m'obligeoient à faire quelque chose en faveur de ces Pauvres familles Errantes depuis dix ans. et qui ne sont malheureuses que par leur attachement inviolable a leur patrie, et a leur religion, je vais tacher de les placer sur la rive droite du fleuve, et le plus proche de la ville qu'il sera possible; On ne peut se dispenser de leurs donner des armes, des munitions, des outils pour travailler á la terre, et des vivres, sans cela que deviendront ils? ils seront necessaires aux Espagnols quand ils seront arrivés, et il sera de leur interest de les menager.

Les anglois qui se melent souvent de ce dont ils n'ont que faire voudroient les engager á aller avec Eux á la riviere d'hiberville, mais il n'est pas á craindre que des hommes qui depuis le traité d'utrec n'ont pû se soumettre á leur domination, et qu'ils ont traité avec autant de dureté depuis le commencement de Cette derniere guerre, aillent presentement se joindre a Eux.

Il est arrivé aussy a la nouvelle orleans un chef Chaouanon, et un autre des illinois deputés par plus de 40. villages qui sont en guerre avec les anglois pour venir voir leur Pere, qui demeure à la

[*Translation*]

succor. I believed that humanity and the honor of the nation obliged me to do something in favor of these poor families who have been wandering for ten years and are unfortunate only because of their inviolable attachment to their fatherland and their religion. I am going to try to place them on the right bank of the river and as near as possible to the town. One cannot help giving them arms, munitions, tools for working the ground, and provisions. Without these what will become of them? They will be necessary for the Spaniards when they arrive, and it will be for their interest to take care of them.

The English who often intermeddle with things which do not concern them will desire to engage them to go with them to the river Iberville; but it is not to be feared that men, who, since the treaty of Utrecht, have not been able to submit themselves to the English domination and whom the latter have treated with so much harshness, since the commencement of this last war, are going now to join themselves to them.

There has arrived also at New Orleans a Shawnee chief and another of the Illinois tribes, delegated by more than forty villages which are at war with the English, to come and see their father who lives at



ville Chaude, et luy demander des secours pour continuer la guerre contre Eux, afin de faire voir aux anglois qui ne sont que trop mefiants, qu'il n'y a point de mistere ni de connivance entre ces sauvages et moy; je leurs donneray Audiance En presence de quelques uns de leurs officiers qui ne quittent la Ville, et de tous les officiers françois de cette Colonie, j'écriray Exactement leur harangue et ma reponse que j'auray l'honneur de vous envoyer par la premiere occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Le gouvernement de cette colonie dans la position ou il se trouve est très Epineux; il est très difficile de pouvoir contenter a la fois les françois, Sauvages et anglois, je tache autant qu'il est en moy d'entretenir la tranquillité entre les uns et les autres, et de pouvoir preparer la voye aux Espagnols. Je leurs donneray a leur arrivée un memoire sur la connoissance de cette colonie, et sur la conduite qu'ils doivent y tenir qui j'espere ne leur sera pas inutile, je chercheray toujours, Monseigneur, icy, et partout ailleurs a meriter l'honneur de vos bontés, et de votre protection.

[*Translation*]

the "warm town" and to demand of him assistance to continue the war against their enemy. In order that the English who are only too distrustful may be made to see that there is no secret understanding or connivance between these savages and myself, I shall give an audience to the Indians in the presence of some one of the English officers who have not left the town and of all the French officers of this colony. I shall write out exactly their harangue and my answer which I shall have the honor of sending to you on the first occasion.<sup>1</sup>

The government of this colony in its present condition is a very thorny proposition; it is very difficult to find means of contenting at one and the same time the French, the English, and the savages. I am trying as far as it lies in me to maintain tranquillity between all and to prepare the way for the Spaniards. I shall present the latter on their arrival a memorial to give them a knowledge of this colony and advice on the conduct which they should pursue. I hope this will not be useless. I shall seek always, my lord, here and everywhere to merit the kindness of your honor and your protection.

<sup>1</sup>These are the "talks" held on February 24. (*Ante*, 448 *et seq.*) Since this conference had not been held when Aubry was writing this part of the letter, he must have begun writing on February 23 and finished on February 25; but it should also be noticed that the conference lasted two days.

Je suis avec le plus grand respect Monseigneur Vostre Très humble et très obeissant serviteur.

AUBRY

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS ce 25 février 1765.

p. S. je profite du restard du départ du vaisseau, occasionné par la mort de Monsieur déstréhan trésorier [*sic*] de cette Colonie pour avoir l'honneur de vous envoyer la harangue qu'un chef Chaouanon désputé par quarante sept villages qui sont en guerre avec les Anglois, a tenu a Monsieur Dabadie pour lui demander des munitions afin de continuer la guerre contre eux, j'y joins la réponse de monsieur Dabadie.

depuis ce tems, il est arrivé un Chef illinois, pour le mesme sujet, et la mort de Monsieur Dabadie étant survenue dans ces entrefaites, les deux mêmes sauvages ont demandé a me parler, avant que de partir pour leur village.

afin de désabuser les anglois qui ne sont que trop soupçonneux, et leurs prouver qu'il n'y a rien de mistérieux dans notre conduite, et qu'il n'y a aucune connivance entre ces sauvages et nous, je leurs

[*Translation*]

I am with the profoundest respect, my lord, your very humble and obedient servant,

AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, February 25, 1765

P.S. I profit by the delay of the departure of the boat, occasioned by the death of M. Déstréhan, treasurer of this colony, to have the honor of sending you the harangue which a Shawnee chief delegated by forty-seven villages which are at war with the English made to M. Dabbadie to demand of him munitions to continue the war against the English. I join herewith the response of M. Dabbadie.

Since that time, there has arrived an Illinois chief sent for the same purpose and after the death of M. Dabbadie which happened in the meantime; the two same savages asked to speak to me before setting out for their villages.

In order to disabuse the English who are only too suspicious and to prove to them that there is nothing secret in our conduct and that there is no understanding between the savages and ourselves, I have

ay donné une audience publique en présence de tous les officiers de la Colonie, et de trois officiers Anglois qui étoient a la nouvelle Orléans.

Vous trouverés Monseigneur cy joint leurs harangues et ma réponse.

[*Endorsed:*] N<sup>lle</sup> Orleans 25<sup>fe</sup> 1765. M. Aubry. Il envoie copie du discours d'un chef de nation sauvage et celle de sa réponse<sup>1</sup>

[*Translation*]

given the Indians a public audience in the presence of all the officers of the colony and of three English officers who are at New Orleans. You will find, my lord, here joined their harangues and my answer.

[*Endorsed:*] New Orleans, February 25, 1765. M. Aubry. He sends copy of discourse of chief of savage nation and that of his response.<sup>1</sup>

GAGE TO JOHNSON, February 25, 1765

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 1765

DEAR SIR

I am just favored with your three Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> Inst<sup>t</sup> and shall acquaint Mr. Hasenclever with the Purport of the Letter concerning his affairs with you. I am glad you are of the same opinion as myself, respecting the Boundarys, which seems to be a critical Business.

No further Accounts have reached me concerning the volunteer of Maryland who was reported to have killed and scalped the Shawnese Indian.

If Pondiac's Fears do not prevent Him, I think He will come into us: and He certainly may do us great service. Nothing but French Influence I think can oppose us with all the Western Tribes. I hope the Illinois will be in your District, tho' I see M<sup>r</sup> Stewart thinks it most convenient for the southern Department;<sup>2</sup> and mentions it in his Report to the Board. The Communication this way is certainly the shortest and most easy.

I am glad to hear the Delawares are so near at Hand; but Don't recollect any thing particular which I think necessary to be inserted

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 448.

<sup>2</sup> The Illinois country was placed in the northern district.

in the Treaty, than what has been already mentioned. Their Reception may probably determine the Shawnese, if their Backwardness only arises from suspicion. If there are other Reasons we must soon know it.

There are Letters from Fort Pitt of the 24<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup>. I inclose you the Intelligence sent by that opportunity; by which you will see that some of the six nations were got to that Post; and employed by Captain Murray to go to the Shawnese. I don't believe there are so many Parties out from the Northern Indians against the shawnese and Delawares as Andrew the Huron says and I doubt of the two men being scalped at Detroit. I think there are Letters from Detroit of later Date than Andrew's Departure from thence. The Delaware Hostages were all at the Fort well treated, and well satisfied.

It seems certainly very proper that Mr. Croghan should remain at the Illinois till replaced by some other Person. If the Shawnese are pacified and sincere, there can be little doubt of his succeeding in the Enterprize which he has undertaken.

There are orders from the Treasury concerning the Expenditures of Money which perplex me a good deal. I must consider and see which way I can best act to carry on the service. No warrants whatever for any Contingent expences not fixed by Parliament or approved previously by the King. All sudden emergencys to be paid by Draught on the Treasury, for which the Commander in Chief is to produce his vouchers, and made answerable for, of which the Treasury will judge whether the Charges are proper and the vouchers authentick, I am

Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

JOHNSON TO GAGE, March 9, 1765

[M.H.S., Pontiac Miscellanies, 1765-1778, f. 11-C.]<sup>1</sup>

JOHNSON HALL March 9<sup>th</sup> 1765.

DEAR SIR,

This day I was favored with your Letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> together with the inclosure, part of what is therein contained agrees exactly with what *Killbuck* the Delaware Chief has informed me.

<sup>1</sup> This transcript has been collated with the original draft (Johnson MSS., 24:245) which is badly burned.



The Six Nations not being yet come down one Nation waiting for another. I shall treat with Killbuck next Week, to prevent any farther delay, and that he may be able to get home in proper time.

Andrew the Huron may have been misinformed, or may have exaggerated the acct of the partys of Northern Indians sent out ag<sup>t</sup> the Shawanese &c at least it does not appear verry probable to me.

The Delawares at Chenussio have I hear collected all their prisoners in order to come down and the Onondagas are by acc[oun]ts rec[eive]d this morning in daily expectation of them the Senacas & Cayugaes but by what I can find the Delaware Chiefs are cautious of venturing within our power, which occasions the delay. In short I don't like their behavior, any more than I do that of the Senacas of Ohio, or those Wiandots of Sanduskey whose late Speeches amongst one another are none of the most pacific. The word of any Frenchman obtains credit imediately, they almost universally believe that the French are coming with a large Force, & many of those who are well disposed seem greatly concerned at it, however absurd this notion is, it may have bad effects, if It gains farther ground, (w<sup>h</sup> indeed is impossible now to prevent) and a few ill disposed fellows may take Steps which may draw a whole Nation or Nations into a War.

The lower Mohocks lately sent to warn some people to remove who had settled on the Kayaderos patent at one of their best hunting places, near Saratoga Lake, the Settlers told them they would make good their possession, & were not afraid of them, as sev<sup>l</sup> people of Consequence were interested in the preservation of that Patent. to this Transaction I was a Stranger till a few days ago, the Mohocks came here whilst I was in meeting with some of the upper Nat<sup>s</sup> & publickly repeated the Whole, which I find has already propagated itself & occasioned the Ind<sup>s</sup> to say that our Words are not to be depended upon, & that whenever it is in our power we shall serve them much worse, than the Mohocks. The sev<sup>l</sup> circumstances of this & other Frauds are properly authenticated & laid before the Lords of Trade, but if nothing is done in any of these matters, I cannot but think myself in a very odd situation after Explaining to the Ind<sup>s</sup> so many proclamations for removing encroachm<sup>ts</sup> & doing them Justice all which I have assured them they may rely on.

I have rec<sup>d</sup> Letters from Mr Croghan from Carlisle on his way to

Fort Pitt, he has enclosed me acc[oun]ts to the am[oun]t of £2043.8.3<sup>d</sup> YC<sup>y</sup> over and besides the Credit given him in Philadelphia, this he says he was obliged to do the better to ensure Success, & because the Nations he has to pass thro, expect to have many ordinary Services rewarded with Silver Works &c of which they are very fond, as he has drawn upon me for the money I now transmit you & I shall be glad to receive your Warrant that I may answer the Draft as also that for the Officers & Rangers pay &c. a good deal of which I have already advanced to Answer their pressing necessities, I don't know whether I clearly comprehend the nature of the late orders from the Treasury, I could wish I knew what Articles require Vouchers from me & how far I can act, as sev<sup>l</sup> persons on different Services may draw upon me for money when at too great a distance to risque their Vouchers. I am likewise at a loss to Know what will be deemed Authentic Vouchers without which I may be a Considerable Loser.

The Lords of Trade have in their plan comprised the Illinois in my Department, & the Duty upon Goods to be sold there makes a considerable part of the Fund, for defraying the Expence thereof, whatever may have been done Since I am a Stranger to, but they properly belong to this District from their Alliance & Connections with the Northeren & Six Nation Indians — they should properly come within that, as well on acc<sup>t</sup> of the facility of the Communication as from the Connections of the Northern Ind<sup>s</sup> with those of the Illinois.  
[Endorsed:] Johnson-hall March 9<sup>th</sup> 1765. To Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage

FARMAR TO GAGE, March 11, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 621—C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major Farmar, To The Commander in Chief. Dated Mobile March 11<sup>th</sup> 1765.

<sup>1</sup> The above was inclosed in the following:

WAR OFFICE 1<sup>st</sup> August 1765.

SIR

Major General Gage having transmitted to me an Extract of a Letter he had received from Major Farmar of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment dated Mobile 11<sup>th</sup> March 1765, I beg leave to send you inclosed a Copy of it for Your Information.

I have the Honor to be, Sir Your most obedient, and most humble Servant  
BARRINGTON.

RT. HON[ORA]BLE. HENRY SEYNOUR CONWAY. &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup> &c<sup>a</sup>.

[Endorsed:] War-Office. 1<sup>st</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1765 Sec<sup>ry</sup> at War. R 2<sup>d</sup> (West Florida.)

"On the same Acco<sup>t</sup> I have also drawn on Your Excellency the 5<sup>th</sup> Instant, in Favour of Jacob Blackwell Esq<sup>r</sup> Thirty Days after Sight for One Hundred and Seventy Eight Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Six pence Sterling, this last Sum is a Duty on Deer Skins, which I procured from a Merchant in this Place, to Facilitate His Majesty's Service, as Cash without an exorbitant Premium for Bills on New York cou'd not be procured here, but every Method that the Governor and His Council [*sic*] cou'd Suggest, to Impede my leaving this Place, Stop His Majesty's Service, Ruin my Credit with the French at Orlean's and Intirely prevent the Expedition going up to the Illinois has been endeavor'd at,<sup>1</sup> The Governor and Council gave an Order to Ship the Skins, and Immediately recall'd it, on my representing the Difficulty's that they had thrown in My way, and Captain Stuart's Representation of the Expences he had been at on the Government's Account on that Expedition and the Advantage that were [*sic*] expected by the Northern Provinces, and the great utility that must arise to all His Majesty's Subjects in Case I got to the Illinois, Induced the Governor, and Council, to come to a Resolution, to lett the Deer Skins leave the Province on paying the aforesaid sum of One Hundred and Seventy Eight Pounds, Nineteen Shillings and Six Pence Sterling. At the same time I take the Liberty to lay before you, an Extraordinary as well as unprecedented piece of Behavior of Governor Johnstone's concerning the Expedition to the Illinois, The first Instant I had an Opportunity to Ship Ninety Five Barrels of Flour (under the Command of Ensign Wainwright going to Orleans to take care of the Batteaux) a part of the Provision that I intended to carry to the Illinois with Me; the Vessel was regularly cleared, and getting under Sail, when M<sup>r</sup> Johnstone came to the Wharfe, where, by some unknown accident, He enquired what Vessel that was, where She was Bound, and what She was Laded with, being informed She had Provision for the Troops, destined for the Illinois, He called the Master on Shore, demanded His Papers, & gott them, And then told the Agent Victualier [*sic*] that the Illinois was not in this Province, and therefore He was only obliged from the words of the Contract, to have Sufficent Provisions in this Province for One Thousand Men for Six Months, but on my Insisting that My Orders should

<sup>1</sup> The trouble between the military and civil departments in West Florida may be best followed in Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I.

be obey'd and the Quantity of Provision that I demanded, Shou'd be Immediately deliverd, The Quarter Master of the 34<sup>th</sup> Reg, He Insinuated by different pretences, to Colonel Wedderburn that I had no right to take Provision from the Contractors Stores which obliged the Colonel to Call a Meeting of the Field Officers, and Captains of the Garrison, to have their Oppinions, whether He ought to let the Provision out of the Stores or not, which was decided in My favor after Five Days detention of the Vessel on that head, but He soon found means to Stop her untill the 10<sup>th</sup> Instant, M<sup>r</sup> Macpherson the Secretary of the Province Insisted that I shou'd take passes for the Officers and Soldiers going out of the Province, but on my refusal to comply with so unprecedented a demand, and observing that with the same propriety He might Stop an Army, as well as that small Party, after a long deliberation he sent Me a Letter that He would dispence with the fees of his Office, in case I wou'd take Ticketts for the Officer and Party but I made several Quotations to him whereby he was Convinced that Troops were never obliged to comply with them [*sic*] Provincial Laws; that they always Marched wherever they were Ordered, this affair was no sooner Settled, than the Governor Immediately ordered, that She Shou'd not go untill I wou'd give Bond of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling that She wou'd not carry any Subject out of this Province, without a pass from the Secretary's Office; He trys various Methods daily to do us all the disservice He can: He even Publishes Accounts of the Indians declaring they will not let the Regiment Proceed to the Illinois founded upon Hearsay, without the least Authority from People of veracity, and in so Publick a manner, that every Soldier in the Garrison is acquainted with it, I am sorry to say that I believe it is done with no other design than to dispirrit the Troops destend [*sic*] for the Illinois."

[*Endorsed:*] Extract of a Letter, Major Farmar To the Commander in Chief. Dated Mobile March 11<sup>th</sup> 1765 in M. G. Gage's of 27<sup>th</sup> April 1765. Complaining of the Obstructions he meets with in the Exec<sup>n</sup> of his orders to go the Illinois from the Governor and Council of West Florida Inclosure. 1. in N<sup>o</sup> 6 Bundle D



JOHNSON TO DONNELLAN, April 3, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 10: 178—E.]

JOHNSON HALL, April 3rd, 1765.

Guy,<sup>2</sup> who writes by this Opportunity will inform you of Mr. Croghan's Journey to endeavour to obtain possession of the Illinois. As to any settlement to be made there at this time, I think them premature & such as may be productive of a general Defection of the Indians as their principal grounds of Uneasiness arises from our pushing our Settlements far into their Country & by the best Accts, the French are using every endeavour, amongst the Western & other Nations to stir up a Spirit of discontent amongst them.

JOHNSON TO GAGE, April 3, 1765<sup>3</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 24: 255—Draft]

JOHNSON HALL, April 3, 1765.

I have just received a letter from Mr Croghan of the 2<sup>d</sup> of March from Fort Pitt informing me that he had spoke with some of the Mingoes or Six Nations who came there, and informed him that the Deputation from the Shawanese to the Illinois which went off last fall, was returned, and report that the French had treated them w<sup>th</sup> the utmost civility, gave them large presents, & sent Several Traders after them to their Nation for supplying their Wants, The French at the same time assuring them they should want for nothing necessary to enable them to support the War, the Indians of that Country likewise promising them their Assistance, but that on the arrival of the Deputys at the Shawanese Town, finding that their Nation had lately entered into a Treaty with the English, it was agreed that the French should be sent back, as they would abide by their engagements, provided we gave them some convincing proofs of our sincerity, this is the Sum of what he writes, He adds that he has sent Belts to Pondiac, to the Cheifs of the Twighteges &ca to meet him at the confluence of Scioto.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original of this extract, made by Mr. Carter, was completely destroyed by the fire at Albany.

<sup>2</sup> Guy Johnson, son of Sir William.

<sup>3</sup> This extract, transcribed by Mr. Carter from the autograph draft, has been collated with the badly burned original.

<sup>4</sup> For Croghan's activities, see his journals, *post*, 2: 1 *et seq.*

The Bearer M<sup>r</sup> Wharton of Philadelphia Informs me that he had prepared a large quantity of goods for the Illinois Trade so soon as the same might be carried on, & for that purpose had sent it forward to be in readiness at Fort Pitt under the Eye of the Commanding Officer there; That the Paxton & other Rioters had waylayd them near Fort Loudon & seized & destroyed it to the amount of £3000 in Value, from their dislike as it is thought to have any Trade carried on, with these Indians. I likewise find by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's letter that he is arrived at Fort Pitt with part of the present, but that the remainder was not Pot up [*sic*] which induces me to believe that it may have been destroyed as well as the goods of the goods of the Merchants.

ST. ANGE TO DABBADIE, April 7, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A45, f. 58—C.]

Copie de la lettre de M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange Commd<sup>t</sup> aux illinois, Ecrite a M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie en datte du 7. avril 1765

MONSIEUR

Depuis ma derniere ecrite, tous les illinois sont revenus de leur hivernement; ils n'ont pas sitot été arrivés qu'ils ont delibéré sur le party qu'ils auroient a prendre au sujet de la proposition de paix que M<sup>r</sup> Ross et moy avons fait aux *caskakias*. je les ay invités a se rendre chez moy, ils y sont venus tous accompagnés des principaux chefs des *Ozages* et *missouris*; nous leur avons Reiteré les mesmes propositions de paix que nous avons fait cy devant en leur faisant

[*Translation*]

Copy of the letter of M. de St. Ange, commandant in the Illinois, written to M. Dabbadie, dated April 7, 1765.

SIR:

Since my last writing all the Illinois Indians have returned from their winter quarters and as soon as they arrived they deliberated on the decision they were to make about the proposition of peace which M. Ross and I made at Kaskaskia. I invited them to come to my house. They all came accompanied by the principal chiefs of the Osage and Missouri. We repeated to them the same peace propositions that we made before, showing them all the advantages they

connoître tous les avantages qu'ils auroient de les accepter, et l'affreuse misère dans laquelle ils seroient plongés s'ils continuoient la guerre; tout cela ne les a entraîné à aucunes nouvelles Reflexions. Le Nommé *Tamarois* chef des *Caskakias* qui a parlé au nom de sa nation, nous a répondu qu'ils avoient fait toutes celles qu'ils devoient, sur ce que nous luy avions dit, qu'il en avoit conféré avec sa nation, qu'ils étoient tous unanimement d'accord à continuer la guerre et qu'ils ne vouloient point recevoir les anglais sur leurs terres; les *ozages* et *missouris* en ont dit autant. enfin Monsieur je joint icy le conseil, Vous serez à même de juger de leurs dispositions, la façon avec laquelle ils ont parlés et ce que je leur ay dit conjointement avec M<sup>r</sup> Ross; J'ay fait signer ce conseil comme vous le verrez, par cet officier anglais qui en a une copie, et par tout ceux qui y étoient presens, ce conseil me fait prendre la liberté de ne point Vous rapporter icy tout ce qu'il contient, en outre le tems presse et me semble être encore favorable pour le départ de M<sup>r</sup> Ross, lequel après les invitations des *illinois* etc. et les dangers on est exposée sa vie et celle de ses gens, n'a point balancé à partir et à s'eloigner d'un lieu où il n'y a excepté les français, que des

[*Translation*]

would have in accepting them, and the frightful misery into which they would be plunged if they continued the war. All this did not lead them to any new determination. The one called *Tamarois*, a chief of the *Kaskaskia*, who spoke in the name of his nation, replied to us that he had done all he ought concerning what we had told him, that he had conferred with his nation, that they were all unanimously agreed to continue the war, and that they did not wish to receive the English on their lands. The *Osage* and *Missouri* said the same. Finally, sir, I inclose herewith the minutes of the council. You will be able to judge their disposition, the way in which they talked, and what I, conjointly with M. Ross, said to them. I have had the minutes of this signed, as you will see, by this English officer, who has a copy of it, and by all those who were present. The minutes of the council cause me to take the liberty of not reporting to you here all that it contains. Besides, time is pressing and it seems to me still favorable for the departure of M. Ross, who after the invitations of the *Illinois*, etc., and all the dangers to which his life and those of his people are exposed, has not hesitated to depart and leave a place

pargues pour luy, et je vous assure Monsieur que je ne suis pas fâché quil prenne ce party, car depuis quil y est, j'ay eu des inquietudes affreuses sur son compte, et j'ay tremblé pour luy. Lorsque l'on m'annonçoit l'arrivée de quelque party sauvage; il est porteur de mes lettres et de la presente, je souhaite quil puisse avoir L'honneur de vous les remettre ou de vous les faire tenir; J'Ecris aussy a M<sup>r</sup> farmar, et luy marque, que ce Conseil tenu par les sauvages illinois, luy apprendra la disposition de tous les autres; cet officier si est pris de la meilleure façon du monde pour les Engager a faire la paix, mais non plus que moy il n'y a rien gagné; néanmoins Monsieur je ne feray pas moins ce que j'ay fait jusques icy pour tascher de leur faire abandonner leur malheureuse entreprise.

Une raison qui me porte encore a presser le depart de cet officier, c'est que tous les Voyageurs m'annoncent, qu'il y a plus de quatre cens hommes dans la Riviere des illinois qui arriveront peut estre icy apres demain *Minawouanon*, est du Nombre, Je nay point eu de nouvelles Positives de Pondiak.

Suivant la seule disposition des illinois, qui jusques icy n'ont

[Translation]

where, save the French, there are only hostile spirits for him. And I assure you, sir, that I do not regret that he has made this decision, for since he has been here I have been very anxious about him, and I have trembled for him when the arrival of some parties of savages was announced. He is the bearer of my letters and of this one. I hope that he may have the honor of forwarding or of handing them to you. I am writing also to M. Farmar, telling him that the council held by the Illinois Indians will show him the disposition of all the others. This officer has used the best means in the world to induce them to make peace; but he has accomplished nothing, no more than I have. Nevertheless, sir, I shall not do less than what I have done until now to try to persuade them to abandon their unfortunate enterprise.

One reason which particularly causes me to hasten the departure of this officer is that all the travelers tell me that there are more than four hundred men on the Illinois River, who will perhaps arrive here day after tomorrow. *Minawouanon* is among the number. I have not had positive news of Pontiac. Judging solely by the tempera-



encore rien fait, Je suis persuadé, que les anglais ne parviendront pas cette année icy; et c'est ce qui me fait Monsieur Reiterer les demandes que jay Lhonneur de vous faire par celle du 31 du passé,<sup>1</sup> pour les secours de ce poste car je suis au bout de tout; Les *illinois*, *Ozages* *Missouris* et quelques *Poutewoutanons*, ayant eu presque le Reste que je pouvois avoir, Jugés a present Monsieur, dans quel Embaras je vais me trouver et combien J'auray a souffrir avec tous ceux qui me viendront; qu'importe, Je feray mon possible pour les contenter d'une façon ou d'une autre, pourvu que je mette a l'abry d'insulte tous nos habitans, et que je sois assé heureux pour meriter votre approbation dans ce que je fais, Voila Ce que Je demande.

J'ay Lhonneur d'estre avec un proffond Respect, Monsieur, Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

signé S<sup>r</sup> ANGE

Conseil tenu chez M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Ange, capitaine commandant aux *illinois*, Par la nation *Illinoise*, *Missouris* et *Ozages*; en presence de M<sup>r</sup> Ross off<sup>er</sup> des Troupes de S. M. B. Envoyé icy par M<sup>r</sup> farmar

[Translation]

ment of the Illinois, who have, as yet, done nothing, I am persuaded that the English will not reach here this year, and that is what causes me, sir, to reiterate the demands I had the honor to make to you in the letter of the thirty-first of last month<sup>1</sup> for help for this post because I am destitute. The Illinois, the Osage, the Missouri and some Potawatomi have received almost the last of the supplies which I had. Judge now, sir, in what embarrassment I am going to be, and how I shall have to suffer with all those who come to me. What does it matter — I shall do my best to satisfy them in one way or another — provided I can keep all our inhabitants free from insult, and be happy enough to merit your approbation in what I do. This is all I require. I have the honor to be, with profound respect, sir, your very humble and very obedient servant.

signed ST. ANGE

Council held at the house of M. de St. Ange, captain commandant in the Illinois, with the Illinois, Missouri, and Osage nations in the presence of M. Ross, an officer of the troops of his Britannic majesty,

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

commandant a la Mobille, Porteur de ses instructions, pour tascher de faire la paix avec toutes les nations sauvages de ce continent; de M<sup>rs</sup> De Bellestre, Berqueville, officiers en garnison aux illinois, de M<sup>rs</sup> lefevre subdelegué de M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie au d<sup>t</sup> paÿs, Louviere Capitaine de millice, Dubreuil, de Trant, et de guindre ce 4. avril 1765.<sup>1</sup>

Premier discours tenu aux dits sauvages par M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange.

Vous autres *Caskakias*, *Peorias*, *caokias*, *Metchigamias*, chefs *Ozages* et *missouris*, je suis bien aise de vous voir tous icy assemblés, pour vous repetter ce que Votre pere M<sup>r</sup> de Neyon et moy, Vous avons deja dit plusieurs fois.

Vous sçavez depuis longtems que, le Roy, Votre pere est maitre de tous les français, et quil a fait la paix avec le Roy des anglais, je vous ay dit mes chers enfans, quil vouloit que cette meme paix soit observée par tous ses enfans; Vous Voyés que tous les français vivent comme freres avec eux; il n'y a donc que Vous autres qui ne voulés pas faire a sa volonté, au contraire vous continués toujours a faire la guerre aux

[Translation]

sent here by M. Farmar, commandant at Mobile, bearer of his instructions to try to make peace with all the savage nations of this continent, and in the presence of MM. de Bellestre, Berqueville, officers of the Illinois garrison, MM. Lefebvre, subdelegate of M. Dabbadie in the said country, Louviere, captain of militia, Dubreuil, Détrent, and Deguindre. April 4, 1765.<sup>1</sup>

First speech, made to the aforesaid Indians by M. de St. Ange: "You, Kaskaskia, Peoria, Cahokia, Michigamea, chiefs of the Osage and the Missouri, I am very glad to see you all assembled here that I may repeat to you what your father, M. de Villiers, and I have already told you many times. You have known for a long time that the king, your father, is master of all the French and that he has made peace with the king of the English. I have told you, my dear children, that he wished that this same peace should be observed by all his children. You see that all the French live as brothers with them. You are the only ones, then, who do not wish to do his will; on the contrary, you continue to make war on the English. You know that

<sup>1</sup> There is a translation of this document in London. The reference is Admiralty, Secretary, Class 1, vol. 238.

anglais, vous sçavés que ce n'est pas la son intention, je vous lay dit et je vous le dis encore, Votre pere, M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie m'ecrit par toutes les occasions, de la part du Roy; de vous engager a mettre les armes Bas et a recevoir les anglais icy; Pourquoy meschers enfans cette paix at elle été faitte? si ce n'est afin de Retablir la tranquillité tant parmy les français que les anglais et tous ses enfans *rouges*, et plus pour eux que pour nous et les anglais; c'est pour vous rendre heureux que Votre pere a fait cette paix, et vous mettre a meme d'avoir tous Vos Besoins; au contraire Vous travailléés a vous rendres miserables, Vous chercher a boucher tous les chemins et obscurcir le Ciel, et a vous priver peut etre de tous secours.

Cet officier que vous voyés icy present, est venu de la part de son chef pour Vous proposer la paix, tous les anglais Vous promettent de vivres comme freres avec vous et de travailler a Vous rendre heureux; Ainsy mes chers enfans je vous invite donc a profiter de ce moment icy pour vous reconcillier avec eux, c'est l'intention du Roy Votre pere, et ce n'est qu'en le faisant, que vous prouverés que vous L'aimés Veritablement, Croiés Vous que, si il n'étoit pas avantageux pour vous de le faire, que je vous y engagerois? non, mais comme ce n'est

[Translation]

it is not his will; I have told this to you and I tell you again. Your father, M. Dabbadie, writes me on every occasion in behalf of the king to beg you to lay down your arms and to receive the English here. My dear children, why was that peace made, if it was not to establish tranquillity as much among the French as among the English and all his red children, and more for them than for us and the English. Your father made this peace to make you happy, so that you might have all your needs satisfied. On the contrary, you work to make yourselves miserable. You try to stop up all the roads, darken the sky, and deprive yourselves, perhaps, of all help.

"This officer, whom you see present here, has come in the name of his chief to propose peace to you. All the English promise to live as brothers with you, to work to make you happy. So then, my dear children, I invite you to profit by this occasion here to reconcile yourselves with them. It is the purpose of the king, your father, and it is only in doing it that you will prove that you really love him. Do you think that if it were not advantageous for you, I would advise you to

que votre bien, Votre pere vous demande de metre les armes bas, et de Recevoir les anglais icy, qui, Vous apporteront comme les français, tous vos besoins; debouchés dont vos oreilles pour entendre cette parolle, et faites donc a la volonté de votre pere, proffités encore une fois mes chers enfans de ce moment, ecoutés la parolle de Votre pere qui vous aime, et fermés l'oreille a tous les mauvais discours que ceux qui vous veulent du mal vous tiennent? ce chef anglais est prest a vous entendre, il n'est venu icy que pour travailler aux bonnes affaires; il est porteur d'un Ecrit de son chef, et il m'a remis une lettre de Votre pere M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie, qui me marque de travailler avec luy a vous faire faire la paix; faites la donc mes chers enfans, ayés Pitié de vos femmes, de vos enfans et de vous meme; acceptés donc cette paix que l'on vous propose, c'est elle seule qui vous rendra heureux, et si vous ne la faites pas, Vous alés etres miserables et denués de tout.

Vous autres *illinois*, combien de fois avés vous dit que, vous suiveriés toujours la volonté de votre pere? faites donc voir aujourdhuy que vous n'avés pas menti, sa volonté est que vous fassiés la paix suivés la donc puisque c'est votre bien. Toy, *Tamarois*, tes freres et tes autres chefs, tu sçait ce que je t'ay dit dernièrement a ce sujet

[Translation]

do it? No, but as it is only for your good, your father commands you to lay down your arms, and receive here the English who, as the French, will bring you all you need. Open then your ears to hear this talk and do the will of your father. Profit, my dear children, once more by this occasion, listen to the talk of your father who loves you, and close your ears to all the bad talks made by those who wish you ill. This English chief is ready to listen to you. He has come here only to work for a good cause, and he is the bearer of a writing from his chief, and he gave me a letter from your father, M. Dabbadie, who commands me to work with him to induce you to make peace. Do it then, my dear children. Have pity on your wives, on your children, and on yourselves. Accept, then, this peace which is proposed to you. It is the only thing which will make you happy. And if you do not do it, you will be miserable and destitute of everything. You Illinois, how many times have you said you would always do the wish of your father? Show today that you did not lie. His will is that you make peace; do it then, since it is for your good. You, Tamarois,



et tu m'as repondu que tu n'étais point le maitre de deliberer sur aucun party; de tous tems la nation *illinoise* a pris tel party quelle a voulu, sans le conseil des autres nations, ainsy je crois que vous etes a present decidés parceque vous etes maitres de vous; Je crois cependant, tel party que vous ayés pu prendre que vous resterés tranquiles comme nous sommes convenus, jusqu'a ce que vos chefs qui sont allés a la Nouvelle orleans pour sçavoir des nouvelles, soient venus; Peut etre auront-ils changés de sentimens et quils auront ecoutés la parolle de Votre pere Mr D'abbadie? Je vous invite a rester tranquiles jusqu'a leur retour, attendés lés avant que de laisser vos nattes.<sup>1</sup>

Je vous repette encore que ce chef anglais n'est point venu icy pour de mauvaises affaires il est venu Vous proposer la paix et scavoir votre pensée; encore une fois mes chers enfans mettés donc les armes Bas et soyés donc disposés a recevoir les anglais icy, cest Votre bien et celuy de tous Vos freres les français qui sont icy, si vous les aimés, acceptés les propositions que l'on vous fait et n'ecoutés pas les mauvais

[*Translation*]

your brothers, and the other chiefs, you know what I told you recently about this matter, and you replied you were not the masters to deliberate on any decision. The Illinois nation has always made whatever decision that it wished without consulting other nations. So I believe you are at present decided, since you are your own masters. I believe, moreover, that whatever decision you may have made you will remain peaceful, as we agreed, until your chiefs who went to New Orleans to get news return. Perhaps they will have changed their minds and have listened to the talk of M. Dabbadie, your father. I invite you to remain peaceful until their return. Await them before leaving your mats.<sup>2</sup>

"I repeat once more that this English chief has not come here with bad intentions; he has come to propose peace to you and to know your opinion. Once more, my dear children, lay down your arms and be disposed to receive the English here. It is for your good and for the good of all your brothers, the French, who are here. If you love them, accept the propositions that are made to you and do not

<sup>1</sup> The following explanatory note is written on the margin: "c'est du jons sur lesquels ils s'assoient dans leurs cabannes."

<sup>2</sup> Marginal note: "They are the rushes on which they sit in their cabins."

esprits qui veulent vous rendre malheureux, suivés seulement la parole de Votre pere, qui ne vous sera jamais desavantageuse; Voila mes chers enfans tout ce que je puis vous dire je souhaite que vous l'ayés bien entendu et que le maitre de la vie vous inspire a faire tout ce que je viens de vous dire, j'attend a present Votre reponse, j'espere que Vous me declarerés tout ce que vous pensés.

Reponse faite au discours cy dessus par le Nommé *Tamarois* chef des *Caskakias*, au nom de toute la nation illinoise

Mon pere, tu veux sçavoir notre pensée et le party que nous avons pris; Ecoute, je vais tout te dire et ne rien cacher, c'est au Nom de toute ma nation que je vais te parler; Oüi mon pere, la Nation illinoise a toujours delibéré sur ce qu'elle devoit faire, sans le conseil des autres nations, mais dans celle que nous avons faite nous avons suivi le sentiment de tous les hommes Rouges.

Nous sommes bien aises mon Pere, que ce Chef anglais soit venu icy pour de bonnes affaires et savoir notre pensée, il le sçaura comme toy, si il veut nous écouter, quil soit tranquile et point inquiet, il est chez toy et par consequent il ne doit rien craindre nos coeurs n'ont

[*Translation*]

listen to the bad spirits who wish to make you unhappy. Only follow the talk of your father, which will never be disadvantageous to you. There, my dear children, is all I can say to you. I hope you have understood it well and that the Master of Life will inspire you to do all that I have just told you. I await now your reply. I hope you will declare to me all you think."

Reply made to the above speech by one called Tamarois, a chief of the Kaskaskia, in the name of all the Illinois nation:

"My father, you want to know our opinion and the decision we have made. Listen, I am going to tell you all and hide nothing. I am going to speak to you in the name of all my nation. Yes, my father, the Illinois nation has always deliberated on what it was to do without the advice of the other nations but in the council that we have held we have followed the sentiments of all red men. We are very glad, father, that this English chief has come here for a good cause and to know our opinion. He will know it as you know it, if he wishes to listen to us. May he be tranquil and not anxious; he is at your house; consequently, he has nothing to fear. Our hearts bear him no

rien de mauvais contre luy et surtout dans ta maison, tu sçais qu'il y est entré dernièrement des gens qui nous tuent tous les jours,<sup>1</sup> ils n'ont point été chagrinés et nous les avons laissés en aller tranquillement.

depuis que tu m'as parlé avec ce Chef anglais pour faire la paix avec sa nation, mon coeur a été longtems a Balancer sur le party quil devoit prendre; J'ay tenu avec la mienne plusieurs conseils a ce sujet et je n'ay trouvé personne qui soit dans le sentiment de l'accepter; tous les hommes Rouges ont une Balance dans laquelle sont, notre pere le français, et langlais, en tel tems quil puissent la lever, Langlais L'emporte et pese toujours plus, pourquoi? parcequ'il est Remplý de mechancetés et qu'il n'a pas le coeur blanc Comme notre pere, en outre nous Voulons suivre le party de nos freres qui sont a present a se battre avec les anglais, nous entendons leurs coups de fusils.

J'ay envoyé a Monsieur D'abbadie notre pere, par deux de nos chefs, la parolle et le coeur de tous les hommes Rouges. La premiere, Porte, quil ne veulent point que les anglais viennent sur leurs terres et quil si opposeront toujours, le second assure que nous aimerons

[*Translation*]

evil, and especially in your house. You know that there have entered there recently people who are killing us every day;<sup>1</sup> they were not troubled and we let them go away tranquilly.

"Since you, with this English chief, asked me to make peace with his nation, my heart hesitated a long time on the decision it should make. I held several councils with my nation about the matter, and I did not find anyone who was of the opinion that peace should be accepted. All the red men possess scales in which are weighed our father, the Frenchman, and the Englishman. Whenever they raise it, the Englishman wins out and always weighs more. Why? Because he is filled with wickedness and he has not the white heart like our father. Besides, we wish to take sides with our brothers who are now fighting the English; we hear their gunshots.

"By two of our chiefs, I sent to M. Dabbadie, our father, the talk and the heart of all the red men. The first indicates that they do not wish the English to come on their lands and that they will always

<sup>1</sup> This is probably a reference to the British captured at Ouiatanon who escaped to the Illinois.

et que nous seront toujours attachés aux françois, et que c'est eux seuls que nous voulons avoir parmy nous, nous prions notre pere M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie, de faire sçavoir au Roy, Notre intention.

Nous t'avons assurés effectivement Mon pere, que nous ferions toujours a ta Volonté, mais aujourd'hui nous sommes forcés de faire autrement et de ne la pas suivre; enfin mon pere, ne sois pas fâché que je te dise, qu'après avoir bien pensés sur ce que tu nous as dit avec ce chef anglais; que nous avons tous resultés que, nous continuerions la guerre comme nos freres, que, nous ne recevrons jamais les anglais sur nos terres, Pourquoi, que, nous te prions toy, (en parlant a l'officier anglais.) de partir d'icy le plutot que tu pouras pour t'en aller rejoindre ton chef a qui tu pouras dire que le sentiment des illinois, est de vous faire la guerre comme tous nos freres, si vous voulés venir sur nos terres, Va t'en, part au plus vite, et dis a ton chef tout ce que tu as entendu; que nous sommes les enfans des français, et que c'est eux seuls que nous Voulons avoir parmy nous; dis luy que ces terres icy sont a nous et que personne ny pretend rien, pas mesmes les autres hommes Rouges; pourquoi Voulés Vous venir icy? Vous ne nous connoissés pas, jamais nous ne vous avons Vûs? dis a ton

[*Translation*]

oppose it; the second assures him that we shall love and always be attached to the French, and that they are the only ones we want among us. We ask, our father, M. Dabbadie, to tell the king our purpose.

"We indeed told you, my father, that we would always do your will, but today we are forced to act otherwise and not to obey you. And so, my father, do not be angry that I tell you, after having thought well about what you and this English chief told us, that we have all decided that we will continue the war as our brothers are doing, and that we will never receive the English on our lands. (Turning to the English officer.) Wherefore, we ask you to leave here as quickly as you can, to rejoin your chief whom you can tell that the sentiment of the Illinois, like that of all their brothers, is to make war on you if you wish to come on our lands. Get out, move on as quickly as possible and tell your chief all you have heard, that we are the children of the French and that they are the only ones we want among us. Tell him that these lands are ours and no one claims them, not even other red men. Why do you wish to come here? You do not know



chef quil reste sur ses terres comme nous sur les notres; proffite encore une fois, de la premiere occasion pour t'en aller et assure ton chef que nous ne voulons point d'anglais icy, et que c'est le sentiment de tous les hommes Rouges; Part, va t en tranquillement, ne craint rien, il ne t'arrivera aucun mal; il suffit que tu sois entré dans la maison de notre pere et que tu te sois assis a costé de luy, part et laisse nous avec notre pere le français, c'est luy qui a ouvert les yeux a nos ancêtres et qui nous a fait Vivre, ainsy nous ne voulons que les françois, a Dieu va t en, et ne pense plus a Revenir icy, car si tu te metois en Route pour le faire, nos guerriers qui sont etourdis pour-oient bien te faire Tomber a l'Eau. Il finit son discours en luy disant adieu et luy donnant la main.

Autre Discours des chefs *Ozages et Missouris*.

Mon pere, nous autres *ozages et missouris*, Nous pensons comme nos freres ainés,<sup>1</sup> nous ferons tout ce qu'ils Voudront, et, c'est bien que les anglais ne viennent pas icy, parceque nous aiderons toujours a nos freres a conserver leurs terres, en outre, nous ne connoissons que le

[*Translation*]

us; we have never seen you. Tell your chief to remain on his lands as we do on ours. Once more, take advantage of the first opportunity to leave and assure your chief that we do not want any English here and that this is the feeling of all the red men. Leave; go away tranquilly; do not fear that any harm will happen to you. It is sufficient that you have been in the house of our father and that you have sat beside him. Depart and leave us with our father, the Frenchman. He opened our ancestors' eyes and caused us to live, so we want only the French. Adieu, leave, and think no more of returning here, for if you start to do it, our warriors who are thoughtless might very well make you fall in the water." (He ends his speech by telling him adieu and giving him his hand.)

Another speech by the chiefs of the Osage and Missouri:

"My father, we Osage and Missouri think as do our elder brothers, the Illinois.<sup>1</sup> We shall do all they wish, and it is well that the English do not come here, for we shall always aid our brothers in preserving their lands; besides we know only the Frenchman for our father.

<sup>1</sup> On the margin is written: "parlant des illinois," i.e., "speaking for the Illinois."

Français pour notre pere, jamais nous n'avons entendu parler a nos ancestres d'une autre nation et ils nous ont toujours dit, que c'étoit le françois qui nous avoit donné la vie, et qui nous donnoit nos Besoins ils nous ont recommandés de ne jamais leur lascher la main; nous la tenons, mon pere, et elle ne nous Echapera jamais.

Pourquoy toy anglais ne restois tu pas sur tes terres? toutes les nations Rouges restent sur les leurs; celles cy sont a nous, nous les tenons de nos ancestres; ce sont eux qui les ont trouvées a force de parcourir, ils si sont etablis, et elles sont a nous; personne ne peut nous les disputer; part Va t en, Vat'en, Vat'en, et dis a ton chef que tous les hommes Rouges ne veulent point d'anglais icy; fais bien attention a ce que nous te disons, et ne t'obstinne plus a rester icy; Vat'en et ne revient plus, ce n'est que les français que nous voulons avoir parmy nous, a Dieu Vat'en, en luy donnant la main; ainsy finy ce conseil qui n'est qu'en attendant les sauteurs et Pondiak, et Jaye deffendus aux chefs et guerriers de ne faire aucune insulte a M<sup>r</sup> Ross. et de ne point Violier le droit des gens qu'ils observent parmy eux.

Nous certiffions le present conseil Veritable, les dits jour, mois,

[*Translation*]

Never have we heard our ancestors speak of another nation. They have always told us that it was the French who gave us life and supplied our needs. They advised us never to loose their hand. We still hold it, my father, and it shall never escape from us.

"Why do you, Englishman, not remain on your lands, while the red nations remain on theirs. These belong to us. We inherit them from our ancestors. They found them by dint of wandering. They established themselves there and they [*the lands*] are ours; no one can contest them. Leave, depart, depart, depart, and tell your chief that all the red men do not want any English here. Pay good attention to what we tell you. Do not insist on remaining here longer. Leave and do not come back any more. We only want to have the French among us. Adieu, leave" (giving him his hand). Thus the council ended, which is only awaiting the Chippewa and Pontiac and I have forbidden the chiefs and warriors to insult M. Ross or to violate the law of the nations which is observed among them.

We certify these minutes of the council to be true, the said day, month, and year.

et an signés, s<sup>r</sup> ANGE, JOHN ROSS, Lieutenant dans le 34<sup>eme</sup> Regiment de sa Majesté Britanique, LEFEVRE, DE TRANT, DEGUINDRE, DE BERQUEVILLE, DEPELLESTRE. M<sup>rs</sup> Dubreuil et Louviere etant absens ils n'ont point signés, et le s<sup>r</sup> deLestre Interprette ne scachant signer a fait sa marque ordinaire d'une croix.

[*Endorsed:*] Joint a la lettre de M. Aubry du 16. may 1765

[*Translation*]

signed ST. ANGE. JOHN ROSS, lieutenant in the Thirty-fourth Regiment of his Britannic majesty, LEFEBVRE, DÉTRENT, DEGUINDRE, DE BERQUEVILLE, DE BELLESTRE. MM. Dubreuil and Louviere being absent did not sign, and M. de Lestre, interpreter, not knowing how to sign, made his customary mark with a cross.

[*Endorsed:*] Inclosed in the letter of M. Aubry of May 16, 1766

ROSS TO FARMAR, May 25, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 74r—C.]

Copy of a Letter from Lieut Ross of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment to Major Farmar. Dated New Orleans, 25<sup>th</sup> May 1765.

SIR,

Agreeable to your Orders I Set off from Mobile & proceeded to the Chactaw Nation from thence to the Chickasaw Nation and to the Cherokee River,<sup>2</sup> where I made a Canoe and came down to the Ohio, decended that River to the Mississippi which I mounted to Illinois, to fulfill the Instructions which You gave me; I Endeavored to make a Peace with the Indian Nations of that Continent; and Used all the persuasions I was master of to persuade them to receive you; There are two of the Nations (called the Sakias and Quakminas<sup>3</sup> which Inhabit the Mississipi a Considerable distance above Illinois) gave me their Promise, but part of the Illinois Nations with whom I

<sup>1</sup> This is inserted here, out of its chronological order, because the events narrated in it belong to this period. For another account of Ross, see *ante*, 468.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Tennessee River. From this account and others, the name of John Ross must be added to the list of the early explorers of Tennessee and Kentucky.

<sup>3</sup> There appears to be no means of identifying what tribe is meant by this name, unless it is the Kickapoo.

had Several Talks told me, that they would abide by the Sentiments of the Indians in general, although for some time I had hopes of Succeeding; I began at last to be doubtfull, as the strange Parties that came in afterwards Seemed daily more and more Obstinate, and when I made them Speeches, they would not hear me but break out in Exclamations against the English, Complain of the bad Usage they had received from them, & finish the whole with the War Song, and at last carried their Rage so far, that they intended to Shew their Resentment upon me, and had Several Meetings upon the Same, but were by Some Means or other, always prevented.

One Day a Chief of a Nation of Indians called the Ozages, bordering upon the Missouri came to See Captain S<sup>t</sup> Ange the Commandant, and Demanded an Audience, upon Seeing me, as I was always present upon the like Occasions, he threw himself in a Rage and would have given me a Stroke with his Hatchet; had not Capt S<sup>t</sup> Ange Interfered, telling him that he Sacrifice him, and as the Interpreters were trying to appease him he kept Singing the War Song and Holloood out, that as he had but One Warrior with him he could not at present Satisfy his Desire, but having promised Pondiac to Strike at all Englishmen He should stay there untill his arrival to have his Satisfaction of me. Sometime after, an Assembly of the Illinois Nations was called, the result of which may be Seen by the Council, The Day after Captain S<sup>t</sup> Ange received a Letter in the name of two Chiefs, one of the Chippawas, the other of the Pouteatamies, who had two of their Chiefs Prisoners at Detroit, desiring him not to let me go away untill they should arrive, as they intended to make me Prisoner; which Letter when received, He called me to a side & told me, that my Situation had all along troubled him, but this Letter gave him the greatest Concern beseeching me to depart, saying, that he had as yet with great difficulty protected me, not by Strength of Arms, as he had but Eight or Nine Men in his Garrison, but by his Influence over the Savages; But that as Soon as these Indians arrived he was no longer capable of it, one of these Chiefs having behaved rudely to Him even in his own Chamber, for no other reason than that of Speaking in behalf of the English: From the above reasons and some others needless to repeat, at the desire of Captain S<sup>t</sup> Ange, I departed from this place, in order to Join You.

The Indians in general, Seem to Complain of the bad usage they



have received from the English, but whether or not it is so, the French Traders do their utmost Endeavors, to give them the worst Ideas imaginable of the English, and Stirr them up to continue the War; Captain S<sup>t</sup> Ange, Myself, and Several Others were Eye Witness to the same: Before I finish, I think it incumbent upon me, to make mention of the behavior of Captain S<sup>t</sup> Ange, who behaved to me in a very friendly manner during my Stay at Illinois, which was near two months.

I am, Sir, &ca.

(Signed) JOHN ROSS Lieut<sup>t</sup>  
in His Majesty's 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>

[*Endorsed.*] Copy of a Letter from L<sup>t</sup> Ross of 34<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to Major Farmar Dated New Orleans 25<sup>th</sup> May 1765 In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's of the 23<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1765. Concerning the Illinois Indians. Inclosure 2. in N<sup>o</sup> 2 Bundle E

# CRAWFORD'S STATEMENT, July 22, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 693—C.]

## Declaration of Hugh Crawford<sup>2</sup>

NEW YORK 22<sup>d</sup> July 1765

That He left Mobile the 2<sup>d</sup> December last, with Lieut. Ross of the 34<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and reached the Illinois the 18<sup>th</sup> Febr<sup>y</sup> following, a few days after their arrival there, Eight or Nine Savages went to the Governors House, to hold a Council, where they declared they would not permit the English to remain there upon any Account, that One of the Chippewa Chiefs offered the friendly Pipe in a Contemptuous manner to Lieut Ross, who was going to receive it, but the Chief gave it to another and behaved very Insolently to Him. That Several other Councils were held soon after, by Small Partys that came to See the Governor, who were of the Same Opinion as the first.

<sup>1</sup> Inserted here because the facts narrated are contemporary with those told in the preceding.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Crawford was a noted Scotch-Irish trader of Pennsylvania and claimed that he had traded on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers since about 1739. He was associated with such men as George Croghan and Thomas Smallman. At the outbreak of the conspiracy of Pontiac, he was at Ouiatanon on the Wabash and was taken prisoner by the Indians. The fact that he was one of the first British subjects to reach the Illinois has not been known before. In 1766 he was employed to bring Pontiac to Oswego to confer with Johnson. He died in 1770. *Hanna, Wilderness Trail*, 2:373.

That about the beginning of March, the heads of the *Missouri's*, *Ausasies*, and the Illinois, assembled at the same Place, when they Sung the War Song, and resolved not to Suffer the English to come into their Country, as they had taken most of their Fathers (the French) from them, they were determined to protect those that were then with them, and would not allow them to be removed. That He left the Illinois the 7<sup>th</sup> April, and Arrived at New Orleans the 7<sup>th</sup> May; He further Adds, that the Illinois appeared much More inclined to Admit the English into their Country, than any other of the Nations Assembled there; That part of the Chippawas, and the Pouteatamies left Fort St Josephs, in order to Settle about the Illinois. That from the Intelligence he could get, the Different Nations, Said they could Assemble Six Thousand Men. That just before he left the Illinois he was told that the French were Building a New Fort, below the Mouth of Missouri River. That the Party that went with Lieut Fraser came to the Illinois after he had left it, but followed him down the Mississippi Soon Afterwards, and Arrived at New Orleans about the 20<sup>th</sup> May, that they told him, that they had been Extremely ill used by the Indians, that they Beat them, and Robbed them of every thing they had. That Lieut Fraser remained at the Illinois waiting for M<sup>r</sup> Croghan; That Pontiac took him and them under his Protection and did every thing in his power to Save them from the Abuse of the other Savages.

[*Endorsed:*] Copy Declaration of Hugh Crawford New York 22<sup>d</sup> July 1765 In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's Lett<sup>r</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1765. Concerning the unfavourable Dispositions of the Indians at the Illinois.—In-closure. 2. in N<sup>o</sup> 1 Bundle E.

### THE MUTINY ACT, March 24, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[*Statutes at Large*, 26:305]

An act to amend and render more effectual, in his Majesty's dominions in America, an act passed in this present session of parlia-

<sup>1</sup> The date is that of enforcement. Certain clauses of the Mutiny act are printed here because they established such administration of justice as there was in the Indian country, within which the Illinois was situated. General Gage pointed out in one of his letters to the secretary of state that there was wholly lacking any power to enforce law in the territory left to the Indians by the proclamation of 1763, and the clauses quoted above were passed by parliament to remedy this deficiency.

ment, intituled, An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

.....

XXV. And whereas several crimes and offences have been and may be, committed by several persons, not being soldiers, at several forts or garrisons, and several other places within his Majesty's dominions in *America*, which are not within the limits or jurisdiction of any civil government there hitherto established; and which crimes and offences are not properly cognizable or triable and punishable, by a court-martial, but by the civil magistrate; by means whereof several great crimes and offences may go unpunished, to the great scandal of government; for remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty fourth day of *March*, one thousand seven hundred and sixty five, and for so long afterwards as this act shall continue in force, if any person or persons, not being a soldier or soldiers, do or shall commit any crime or crimes, or offence or offences, in any of the said forts, garrisons or places, within his Majesty's dominions in *America*, which are not within the limits or jurisdiction of any civil government hitherto established, it shall and may be lawful for any person or persons to apprehend such offender or offenders, and to carry, him, her, or them, before the commanding officer for the time being of his Majesty's forces there; and such offender being charged upon oath in writing, before the said commanding officer, and which oath the said commanding officer is hereby empowered to administer, that then, and in every such case, the said commanding officer shall receive and take into his custody, and safely keep, every such offender, and shall convey and deliver, or cause to be conveyed and delivered, with all convenient speed, every such offender to the civil magistrate of the next adjoining province,<sup>1</sup> together with the cause of his or her detainer, to be committed and dealt with by such civil magistrates or magistrate according to law; and every such civil magistrate is hereby commanded and required to commit every such offender, that he or she may be dealt with according to law; and in every such case, it shall and may be lawful to prosecute and try every such offender in the court of such province or colony, where crimes and offences of the like nature are usually

<sup>1</sup> So far as is known, no such case occurred in the Illinois country during the period, but probably since Fort de Chartres was subordinated to Fort Pitt, "the next adjoining colony" would have been considered to be Pennsylvania.

tried, and where the same would be properly tried in case such crime or offence had been committed within the jurisdiction of such court, and such crime shall and may be alledged to be committed within the jurisdiction of such court; and such court shall and may proceed therein to trial, judgement, and execution, in the same manner as if such crime or offence had been really committed within the jurisdiction of such court; any law, usage, custom, matter, or thing, whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every bill, complaint, action, or suit, against any person or persons, for any act, matter, or thing, to be acted or done in pursuance of this act, or the said other in part recited act, in any of his Majesty's dominions in *America*, shall be brought and prosecuted in and before some principal court of record in the colony where such matter or thing shall be done or committed; and in case the same shall not be done or committed within the jurisdiction of any such court, then in the court of the colony next to the place where the same shall be done and committed, and in no other court whatsoever.

.....

[AUBRY] TO THE MINISTER, April 24, 1765

[A.N., C., C<sup>13</sup>A45:47—E.]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

24 Avril 1765.

MONSEIGNEUR

Vous Verrés Par la lettre que j'ay reçu de M<sup>r</sup> de s<sup>t</sup> ange, Commandant du poste des illinois, dont j'ay l'honneur de vous envoyer la copie,<sup>1</sup> que les sauvages donnent encore bien de l'occupation aux

[*Translation*]

[*Ministerial reference:*] M. Dubuq

April 24, 1765.

MY LORD:

You will see by the letter which I have received from M. de St. Ange, commandant of the post of the Illinois, of which I have the honor to send you a copy,<sup>1</sup> that the savages are still giving much trouble to the English and that the latter are experiencing great

<sup>1</sup> Printed *ante*, 439.



anglais, et qu'ils Eprouvent de grandes difficultés a si rendre, malgré tous les efforts que ce commandant fait pour leur en faciliter la prise de possession.

Un officier de leur nation y est allé par terre, de la mobille avec quatre hommes,<sup>1</sup> il a été envoyé pour parler aux habitans et aux sauvages, et pour tascher d'engager ces derniers a faire la paix avec Eux; Je fais tout ce que je peut pour que les nations placées sur le Mississipy, ne les troublent point dans leur navigation Ny leurs Etablissemens, et J'ay bien de la peine a y reussir.

.....

[*Translation*]

difficulties in going there in spite of all the efforts which this commandant makes to facilitate the taking possession by them.

An officer of their nation has gone there by land from Mobile with four men;<sup>1</sup> he has been sent to speak to the inhabitants and the savages, and to try to engage these last to make peace. I am doing everything that I can to prevent the nations situated on the Mississippi from troubling the English either in their navigation or their establishment, and I have much trouble in succeeding.

.....

GAGE TO BRADSTREET, April 25, 1765

[H.C.L., Gage Letter Book]

NEW YORK April 25<sup>th</sup> 1765

SIR,

I have received your Letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, with the Returns from Niagara &c inclosed. I wonder Col. Campbell had not informed them at Niagara about the People who had been scalped. There are Letters from Detroit of the same Date as those from Niagara, sent to Fort Pitt by Maisonville.<sup>2</sup> The Pouteatamies of

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Lieutenant Ross, *ante*, 439, 442.

<sup>2</sup> François Rivard *dit* Maisonville was a member of a Detroit family. He was made British interpreter and was selected to accompany Lieutenant Fraser on his journey to the Illinois (see *post*, 2:3). He later became an Indian agent on the Wabash. During the American Revolution he joined the British side and was captured by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes, where he was treated cruelly by some of the Americans. He was sent as a prisoner to Virginia, where he committed suicide. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, 1:140 n. 117.

S<sup>t</sup> Joseph killed three men in November last, and have since been to Detroit to ask Pardon, and promise to give satisfaction. I suppose in the usual way. Maisenville wanted to go to Albany to give you an Account of his Embassy to the Illinois says he delivered the Belts and Messages to the several Nations few of which could give any answers, their Chiefs being on the hunt. He is now gone with Lieut Fraser down the Ohio, on a second Journey to the Illinois. Your Letter to Mons<sup>r</sup> St Ange by Capt Morris was delivered to him. He transmitted a Copy of it to New-Orleans which is come round to me from thence. Mons<sup>r</sup> St Ange thought Capt Morris was Prisoner, and expected he would be brought to Fort Chartres in the spring.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Leake may possibly be out in his Calculations, if the Prices come much higher the Provision will not bear the Carriage.

I had, I thought Reason to believe that the Carpenters were wise in your Estimate, As there was a very large Article for Carpenters, and Lieu<sup>t</sup> Montresor did not seem to me to know anything of any Carpenters being delivered over to his Branch.

I have sent Captain Gordon to Albany to inspect into the publick Buildings there. I am, Sir your most obedient humble servant

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

P. S. L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell complains of want of Barrack Utensils and Bedding I thought this last had been sent to them. There was Bedding sent last year by M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler, as he told me, by your Direction, and I understood for the Detroit. I should be glad to know where it went, and what Quantity, as also what Bedding or other Barrack Furniture you have in the stores at Albany. The Barrack Masters are all appointed, and ordered to their Districts, to make Inspection and send their Reports of all the Posts, and will for the future furnish when ordered all that is wanted.

T. G.

GAGE TO HALIFAX, April 27, 1765

[Lansdowne Papers, 131:121—C.]

Extract of a Letter from Major General Gage to the Earl of Halifax. New York, April 27<sup>th</sup> 1765.

The Pouteatamies of S<sup>t</sup> Joseph recommenced Hostilities very soon after their Conference and Treaty last Year with Col<sup>l</sup> Brad-

<sup>1</sup> The two letters mentioned are printed *ante*, 304, 354.

street at Detroit, in killing & scalping two Men of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment in November. The Chiefs of the Village have been since with Lieut. Col<sup>l</sup> Campbell, who commands at the Detroit, to make Apologies for it, and to promise him all the Satisfaction they could give; assuring him, that it was the Action of some of their young Men related to an Indian killed by us at the Detroit, last Summer, and was not done with the Knowledge or Approbation of the Nation: They were to meet Col<sup>l</sup> Campbell again in the Spring, and come to him in Form, to give the Satisfaction he should require. All was quiet and well at Missilimakinak on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January. Cap<sup>t</sup> Howard of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment, commanding there, had made some Repairs to the Fort, having compleated two Bastions, and mounted Guns upon them, before the Winter set in, and provided a good Quantity of Timber to compleat the Rest; which he hoped he should be able to do before the Return of the Indians in the Spring. The Senacas had been in Form at Niagara, for the first Time since they made Peace with us; and every Thing was peaceable in that Quarter.

The Conferences which Sir William Johnson has so long expected to hold with the Six Nations, and other Indians with whom we were lately at Variance, in order to a final settling of all Disputes with them, and thereby to establish a lasting Peace, has not yet taken Place: Sir William can assign no Cause for their Delay; and Your Lordship will see by the Extract of his Letter to me on that Subject, which I transmit herewith, that he has Suspicions of their being ill disposed. I have desired Sir William would give Notice to the Officers commanding at such Posts, where it would not be proper to open the Trade, if he finds good Reason to postpone it at any of them. There has been a great Cry for the Trade to be opened, and the Indians impatient for it, and the Traders have hurried up with very large Quantities of Goods. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, Sir William's Deputy, who was employed with Lieu<sup>t</sup> Fraser to endeavour to get to the Illinois, has not found the Shawnese and Delawares very ready to attend him at Fort Pitt; tho' Letters from thence of the 22<sup>d</sup> March say, they would be there in four Days: But Lieu<sup>t</sup> Fraser, tired of Delays, engaged a Party of Volunteers from Fort Pitt to row his Boat, and is set out for the Illinois, leaving M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to follow him. Those Gentlemen have been further delayed in their Operations, from the Loss of the Presents which had been provided at Philadelphia, to facilitate the Success of their Enterprize. The Traders took Ad-

vantage of those Presents going up to Fort Pitt, on the King's Account, to forward Indian Goods with them, that they might get first to Market, before the Governor's Proclamation was issued to open the Trade. The People of the Frontiers, exasperated at seeing Supplies carried to the Indians, rose in Arms, disguised themselves, and pursued the Convoy in the Woods, where they killed some Horses, and burned & destroyed Fourscore Horseloads of Goods; amongst which were the Presents that had been provided by M<sup>r</sup> Croghan. Governor Penn has been upon the Frontiers, to make Enquiry into this Violation of the Peace.

The Assembly of South Carolina have made Provision for the building a new Fort of Brick or Stone, in Lieu of an old wooden Fort, called Fort Moore; and also for the necessary Repairs of all the other Forts in their Province. The Assembly have also voted Supplys for the carrying of Military Stores to their Forts, 'till the 1<sup>st</sup> of July; but this is an Expence they begin to murmur at, as no other Province is burthened with it; and it is precarious whether they will be perswaded to continue it. Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governor Bull has sent for the two French-Men who were taken by the Cherokees; and intends in June to mark out the Boundary between the Settlers of the Province, and the Indians: a very salutary Measure to prevent Disputes with the Cherokees, and very pleasing to them.

[*Endorsed.*] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Extract of a Letter from Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage to the Earl of Halifax. New York, April 27<sup>th</sup> 1765. In M<sup>r</sup> Stanhope's Letter of 20 June 1765.

CROGHAN TO PENN, May 12, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[*P.C.R.*, 9: 249]

FORT PITT, May 12th, 1765.

SIR:

The several Nations of Indians here has been much longer coming to this Post than I expected, owing to the Jealousy of each other, each wanting to lead the other, & disputes Subsisting amongst themselves; however, I have at length got them together, & tho' some of the

<sup>1</sup> As noted before the originals of these documents printed in the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records* have not been discovered, so that no collation could be made. Anyone familiar with the idiosyncracies of Croghan's personal letters will recognize that the English of this has been corrected.



Delaware's tribes seemed discontented, seeing the Shawanese bring in their prisoners and agree to everything that his Excellency General Gage required of them, with the Senecas, then the Delawares came into the same measures. They have all appointed Deputys of their Chiefs to go to S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson, and replace hostages there, amongst which is a Chief of each Nation. They have given me my Choice of their Nations to go with me to the Illinois, and from the disposition of the Nations where I am going (by what I can learn), my Journey would have been but of little Service if I had not settled matters with those Nations first, and got a Deputation from them to go with me. Inclosed I send your Honour a Copy of my Journal<sup>1</sup> since I came here, to which I refer you, for my transactions with the Indians. I am

Your Honours most Obed<sup>t</sup> humble servant,

GEO. CROGHAN.

THE HON<sup>BLE</sup> JOHN PENN, Esq<sup>r</sup>

FRASER<sup>2</sup> TO GAGE, May 15, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 735—C.]

Extracts of Letters from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Fraser, late 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment to His Excellency the Honorable Major General Gage, Commander in chief in North America.

CASCASKIAS ILINOIS May 15<sup>th</sup> 1765.

I Am sorry to inform Your Excellency that Matters have taken a very bad turn since I had the Honor to write Your Excellency last,<sup>3</sup> A few days after my Giving Myself up Prisoner to the Sautons Potawatamies & Chippawas to Share the fate of My Men whom they had in their Hands, and that I had made up Matters with these

<sup>1</sup> Printed *post*, 2:1 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> On February 12, 1757, there were issued commissions of lieutenancy in the Seventy-eighth Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders, to three men named Alexander Fraser. This makes the identification of the above difficult. After his trip to the Illinois, the above Alexander was made lieutenant in the Ninth Regiment on October 25, 1766. In April, 1768, he was at Pensacola, in June at New Orleans, and in July and August at Fort Bute. The regiment there was stationed in Ireland. Fraser was promoted to a captain in 1776 and was transferred to the Thirty-fourth Regiment. During the Revolutionary War he served with that regiment in Canada. He arose in rank to the position of lieutenant colonel, and retired or died in October, 1797.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier letters from Fraser have not been discovered. The extracts here printed have been separated and placed in their chronological order.

Nations and disposed them entirely for Peace, an Illinois Indian came into His Village and informed his Nation that, Fourteen of their People had been Killed and Scalped by a Party of English and Cherokees, who were lying in wait for the Convoy that was expected by the French. They fled immediately to their Arms, and rushed into my Quarters to Kill Me, but luckily Pondiac and some of His People were with Me, and protected me, they took Several of my Men Prisoners, whom they wou'd have kill'd, but that Pondiac had threatned to revenge their Death on their Nation, and Order'd them to be deliver'd up immediately. He afterwards Guarded them with His Men, and tho' several Hundred Indians of the Illinois and the Connections came Armed to Demand them, He told them that He and all His Men would die in our defence, sooner than see us their Prisoners.

Everything was on the best footing imaginable, tho' M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had outstaid His Time (by Three Weeks) which He told Me, He would take to come to Ouabache, the Indians were not in the least uneasy, they made all the Wampum they had into Peace Belts, and borrowed other Belts for the Congress as well as Peace Pipes from Mons<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Ange. But the Shawanese Chief who is come with the Convoy, told the different Chiefs that He had brought a War Belt for to bid them Strike the English, that the English wanted to impose upon them, and inslave them afterwards. He Seconded His Speech with some Barrels of Rum which had weight enough to overturn all I had done since I had come to this Place, I have since been several times beat and Narrowly Miss'd being Kill'd by those who some days before offer'd to defend Me with their Lives, my Men were always Prisoners or hid since, and I have had several of them wounded.

I was told a little time ago that the different Chiefs have held a Council, and determin'd to search Me for Papers, I may have and afterwards set off Me and My People down the River.

I forgot to send Your Excellency the Number of Men able to bear Arms in this Colony in my former Letter as I intended, I Subjoin it, as nearly as they cou'd guess, who informed Me.

White Men able to bear arms . . . . .	700.	}
White Women . . . . .	500.	
White Children . . . . .	850.	
Negroes of both Sexes . . . . .	900	
Indians able to bear Arms . . . . .	650.	

N. B. The most part of the White Men and Negroes are in general going back, and Coming from N: Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

FRASER TO CAMPBELL,<sup>2</sup> May 17, 1765

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.678, f. 55—C.]

Copy of a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Fraser To Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell

SIR

I am an officer sent by General Gage into this Country with some Orders regarding the Inhabitants and Indians of the Colony and some Dispatches for Mons<sup>r</sup> De St Ange the Commanding officer at Fort Chartres.

I should have done my self the Honour to have wrote sooner to inform you Sir of my Arrival and anything new we had at this place, but that I was informed the road was stop'd by the Indians and that no Letters were allow'd to pass.

I found Pondiack here on my Arrival accompanied by a Number of his Nation and some Chiefs of the Pottowattamies and Chippawas arived some time afterwards, They took a few Soldiers who came with me from Fort Pitt Prisoners, and took every thing they had from them, They were going to put them to Death when I gave myself up to them (having escaped at the time my men were taken.) my doing so appeas'd them so much that they next day let us go again I assembled them and Invited them to go to meet Mons<sup>r</sup> Croghan to the little Wiaitonon, where the Illinois Indians and Pondiack had intended to hold a Congress with him, they consented to go and seemed very well dispos'd till a Shawanese Chief<sup>3</sup> came from New Orleans and Delivered a belt to the different Nations desiring them to continue or renew the War against the English. He said he was desired to tell them that by Mons<sup>r</sup> Dobrie the Governor of New Orleans, who had given him the belt and a good deal of presents, that he assured all the Indians that he would send them Presents frequently and Traders sufficient to supply them with Ammunition & Arms to carry on the War.

<sup>1</sup> Compare this with the census figures quoted *ante*, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Commandant of Detroit.

<sup>3</sup> This must have been Charlot Kaské, the report of whose conference with Dabadié and Aubry is printed *ante*, 444.

I am sorry Sir to inform you that this Message has occasioned a very great Change amongst them, and I am afraid if the French Commandant does not take measures to prevent it that we will soon see those Nations committing hostilities again, no step has hitherto been taken regarding it, tho' I wrote several days ago from this place to the Commandant at Fort Charteres for that purpose. M<sup>r</sup> Croghan stays so long beyond the time he propos'd to be at this place that I am afraid it may have a bad Effect. A Number of the Chiefs of all the Nations hereabouts have waited for him upwards of Twenty days but seeing now no appearance of his coming they will stay no longer I prevailed on Pondiack to stay till, he would arrive, if he would come in ten days. I thought proper Sir to take the Earliest opportunity of Acquainting you of this least the Indians might attempt anything in your quarter I write General Gage by the same occasion & I hope they will get safe to hand. I leave this place this night to go down the river to meet Major Farmar who is expected up here tho' the Indians say all that they will not allow us to get possession of this Country.

I have the honour to be with true respect Sir, Your most &<sup>ca</sup>  
(signed) AL<sup>R</sup> FRASER

ILLINOIS AT THE CASKIAS SETTLEMENT 17<sup>th</sup> May 1765

[Endorsed:] N<sup>o</sup> 4 Copy Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Fraser To Lieut Colonel Campbell May 17<sup>th</sup> 1765

FRASER TO GAGE, May 18, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.63, f. 735—C.]

ILLINOIS, CASCASKIAS VILLAGE

May 18<sup>th</sup> 1765.

This day Monsieur Maisonville arrived here from the Entry of the Ouabache, with the Chiefs who had gone thence, to meet M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, they have been away Twenty four Days, but neither saw nor heard anything of him. They made me a great many Reproaches on their Return for having told them that He ought to have come at all.

The Chiefs whom I detained here for some Weeks, for His arrival, will stay no longer, they say they must go to their Villages to



Plant their Corn. I prevail'd on Pondiac however to stay for Ten or Twelve Days, yet He is the Person who seems most inclined to peace of any amongst them, and it is much to be wished that He may be prevail'd on to make a Peace, as it will probably be of a longer duration than any made without him. He is in a manner Ador'd by all the Nations hereabouts, and He is more remarkable for His integrity and humanity than either French Man or Indian in the Colony.

FRASER TO CAMPBELL, May 20, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[B.M., Add MSS., 21.678, f. 56—C.]

Copy of a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Fraser to Lieu<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Campbell.

ILLINOIS CASCASKIAS 20 May 1765.

SIR,

I had the Honour of writing<sup>2</sup> you from this place the 18<sup>th</sup> In<sup>st</sup> Acquainting you of the Message the Shawanese Chief who came lately from New Orleans had given to the Indians whom I had detained here to wait for Colonel Croghan. I complained to Mons<sup>r</sup> de St Ange in a Letter from this place of his giving the Message in the name of Mons<sup>r</sup> Obrie the present Governor of New Orleans as it seemed to make a very great Alteration in the Disposition of all the Nations hereabouts I Desired that Mons<sup>r</sup> De St Ange would Contradict it as I could not suspect Mons<sup>r</sup> Obrie could be capable of advising the Indians to make war with us when we were on such good terms with his Nation. But Mons<sup>r</sup> St Ange has not hitherto made me an Answer to this though I had Letters from Him on other Subjects. It is a great Encouragement to the Indians to continue the war, to see the vast Quantities of Goods that are come up here within these three weeks past.

The Indians would almost have made peace on our own terms before this Convoy came up, as they were in the greatest want of every thing, but the French who intend to quit New Orleans, as it is Credited to the Spaniards have sent all their Goods up here, and they are Eternally Spurring on the Indians to Continue the War thinking to dispose of it the sooner. The Shops and most of the houses in Town have been already crowded with goods before the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 10:216 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 493.

Arrival of a second Convoy here last night, which has brought a Considerable Quantity more, I have been insulted by some of the Traders here, and threatened in the plainest terms that I might assure myself if I made the least mention of them to the Indians that I should suffer for it. I told them that their threats should not in the least alter my resolution of Executing my Generals orders, & if I should suffer that they should pay for it. They alledged that I had spoke to the disadvantage of the Inhabitants and wanted the Indians to cut their throats, I had no great difficulty in proving this Allegation to be false & I told them that I saw plainly such Stories could never have been invented with any other design than to deprive me of my Life and I had soon some instances that confirmed my suspicions in a manner to be true.

I had sent away my men the night of the 18th as I proposed, but I thought best to stay behind myself till I should receive some News of Col<sup>o</sup> Croghan I kept the Departure of my men so private that scarce an Inhabitant in the place had known of it till they were two days on their Journey. Pondiack was the first whom I acquainted of it. I told him my reasons were that I had no provisions nor Cloathing to give them, and that the Indians had always beat them when they got drunk. He told me it was very well, that I had done very right. But the Merchants who had threatned me the day before had him to dine with them, filled him Drunk, and soon afterwards I (as well as my Servant) was taken prisoner, He and his men fought all night about us he was reproached by them for having allowed my men to get off they said that we would get off next day if they should not prevent our flight by killing us, Thus Pondiack would not do. All night they did nothing else but sing the Death Song but my Servant and I with the help of an Indian who was sober defended ourselves till morning when they thought proper to let us escape. When Pondiack was sober he made me an Apology for his behaviour, and told me it was owing to bad Counsel he had got, that he had taken me, but that I need not fear being taken in that manner for the future. He told me if I chose to go to his village that he Expected to meet the Chiefs who had gone away there and as they had promis'd to wait the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> Croghan at that place, that after he would hold a Council with him he would go with me and deliver me safe to the Commanding Officer at Detroit he begg'd I would let

him know whether that should be more agreeable to me than going down the river. I chose the later and he approved of it and beg'd I would give him a Letter to you Sir to acquaint you of his having saved my Life as well as those of my men several times. He told me if the nation on the Ohio had made peace (as I assured him they had) that he would make peace also how soon he would see them. I gave him some Presents and I intend to sett off in a day or two as I can learn no news of M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, and that I have the Generals Instructions for going down the river to meet Major Farmar.

I think the Indians seem at present very well inclined to peace and if M<sup>r</sup> Croghan has put matters on a good footing with the Nations on the Ohio and comes to this Country, I do not doubt but he may fix a solid Peace with them but as the French in this Colony are so capable of making them do what they please I think Sir that you ought to be on your guard against them without shewing any Suspicion, as they are all unanimous they will begin the War again or make a General peace soon. Mons<sup>r</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Ange has held several Councils with them but I would not suspect him of any Evil designs or giving them bad Counsels as he always spoke all he could for our Interest, when I was present. But Mons<sup>r</sup> Obries giving Permits for taking so much Goods into this Country at present gives reason to Suspect what the Shawanese had told the Indians to be not entirely without foundation.<sup>1</sup> If he had delayed the Convoy two or three days, one Mons<sup>r</sup> Gotterie<sup>2</sup> a French Officer could come along with it who is Employed to settle a peace with the Indians in our behalf. the French say that the Arcansa Indians intend to take his presents from him and send himself back.

I have the honour to be Sir &c

(signed) ALEX<sup>R</sup> FRASER.

[Endorsed:] Copy of a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Fraser To Lieu<sup>t</sup> Colonel Campbell May 20<sup>th</sup> 1765.

<sup>1</sup> See what M. Aubry actually said, *ante*, 452.

<sup>2</sup> This is Gauterais, who with Sinnott was sent by John Stuart to make peace with the Indians. Upon this expedition, see *ante*, 405 *et seq.*

BRITISH OFFICERS PETITION AUBRY, May 23, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 701—C.]

Copie du Memoire de Monsieur Major Farmer, et des Officiers du 34<sup>e</sup> Regiment d'infanterie de Sa Majeste Britanique Commandés pour prendre possession des Illinois par la Riviere Mississippy présenté a M<sup>r</sup> Aubry Commandant pour le Roy a la Nouvelle Orléans.

Tres humblement Représenté que c'est L'intention des cours de France, et de la grande Bretagne, que le troupes de sa Majesté Bre-tannique prennent possession des Illinois, lequel Service ne peut pas être executé, Si l'on ne prend tous les Moyens possibles pour prévenir la desertion des troupes Ce que nous trouvons Sans effet dans notre Situation presente etant Si près de la Nouvelle Orleans qui est un azille pour Eux et ou ils trouvent de l'encouragement par des personnes mal intentionees, et Maitres des Vaisseaux, quoy qu'en meme tems nous Savons parfaitement que votre Excellence ne les favorise point.

C'est pourquoy Ceux qui vous presentent Ce memoire Esperent que votre Excellence voudra bien considerer l'intention des Cours respectives de France et dangleterre Ainsy que la position du 34<sup>e</sup>

[*Translation*]

Copy of the memorial of Major Farmar and the officers of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of Infantry of his Britannic majesty, who had been commanded to take possession of the Illinois via the Mississippi River, presented to M. Aubry, commanding for the king at New Orleans.

It is very humbly represented that it is the intention of the courts of France and Great Britain that the troops of his Britannic majesty take possession of the Illinois, which service cannot be executed if every possible means is not taken to prevent the desertion of the troops. We find our efforts without effect in our present situation since we are so near New Orleans, which is an asylum for the deserters and where they find encouragement from ill-disposed people and masters of vessels, although at the same time we know perfectly well that your excellency does not favor them. That is the reason why those who present this memorial hope that your excellency will be willing to take into careful consideration the intention of the respective courts of France and England as well as the position of the



Regiment de S. M. B. campe actuellement Sur les terres de S. M. T. C. et trouver quelque Moyen pour prevenir toute desertion pour lavenir Ce qui nous Esperons votre Excellence voudra faire en declarant vous livrez tous les Soldats qui deserteront dorsenavant [*sic*] Comme gens indignes de votre protection, Ainsi Signe ROBERT FARMER Major, A DUNDAS Cap<sup>ne</sup> GORDON FORBET, Cap<sup>ne</sup> POUNALL Cap<sup>ne</sup> JOHN HENRY Lieu<sup>t</sup> HUNTER SEDGWICK Lieu<sup>t</sup> WILLIAMS BEAUGH Lieu<sup>t</sup> JOHN ROSS Lieu<sup>t</sup> et W<sup>MS</sup> ROBINSON Enseigne.

AU CAMP DE L'AUTRE COSTÉ DU FLEUVE Ce 23 May 1765.

[*Translation*]

Thirty-fourth Regiment of his Britannic majesty now in camp on the territory of his very Christian majesty and find some means to prevent all desertions in the future. We hope that your excellency will accomplish this by declaring that you will give up all soldiers who desert from now on as people unworthy of your protection.

signed ROBERT FARMAR, major; A. DUNDAS, captain; GORDON FORBES, captain; POWNALL, captain; John Henry, lieutenant; HUNTER SEDGWICK, lieutenant; WILLIAMS BEAUGH, lieutenant; JOHN ROSS, lieutenant; and WILLIAM ROBINSON, ensign.

AT THE CAMP ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER

May 23, 1765

RECEIPT BY FARMAR, May 24, 1765

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21.675, f. 22—C.]

These are to Certify that the undermentioned quantity of provisions is issued on Board the Brigg Polly Thomas Tudor Master, and on board the Brigg Alexander William Brown Master for the use of His Majesty's Service on their Expedition to the Illinois under my Command by coming at Sea from Mobile to New Orleans, and one Jarr of Oyl Broking at Mobile accedently by taking out of the Store and Loading in to the Waggon Viz<sup>t</sup>

Flour, Four thousand and fourteen pounds. Bread, Three thousand two hundred and sixty pounds Beef, Four hundred and twenty Pounds. Pork, Four thousand five Hundred and fifty Eight pounds. Butter, Sixty three pounds. Pease, One Hundred and Eighty Gallons Rum, Three Hundred and four Gallons.

And for which I have signed two Certificates of this same Tenor and Date.

Given under my Hand this 24<sup>th</sup> day of May 1765

ROBT FARMAR

Major of 34<sup>th</sup> Regim<sup>t</sup>

The above is a true Copy taken from the original.

ROBT LEAKE Comry Gen.

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE, May 24, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 15—L.S.]

JOHNSON HALL, May 1765

MY LORDS

I have the honour to enclose your Lordships a Copy of my late proceedings with 900 Indians of the different Nations at this place in which is a Copy of the Treaty of Peace subscribed to by the Deputys from the Delawares of Ohio, who came here in consequence of the transactions with Coll. *Bouquet*.

In my letters of Dec<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> January Last I laid before your Lordships the state of the Matters to that Period, and recommended several things of a more particular Nature to Lieut. Coll. Eyre chief Engineer who was unfortunately drowned on the Coast of England.

Since that time I made it my business to sound the Indians inclinations more narrowly, & to know whether they were not really tired of the War, and what could be the true motives which prevented the *Shawanese* from sending Deputys to me agreeable to their engagements w<sup>th</sup> Coll. *Boquet*. The enquirys I made enabled me to conclude, that partly the fears of that Nations, but chiefly their intercourse with & promises from the French of Mississipi, had withheld them and that the Western Nations appeared verry unsettled neither was there all that cordiality which I could have wished in the conduct of the Senecas. The *Potawatamies* of S<sup>t</sup> *Joseph* killed two of the Garrison of *Detroit*, but were afterwards induced to make some submission for it, to the Commanding Officer, & assigned a verry idle pretence for so doing, at the same time a report gained ground daily amongst the Indians, that the French were to make a general effort

<sup>1</sup>Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:711. The date, May 24, is obtained from a reference to this in a later letter. *Post*, 522.

shortly for regaining the Country, & many Presents & Belts were actually given to some of the Nations as a proof of it by some French Men in the garb & under the Character of Officers, & however ridiculous it appears, the Indians were with the utmost difficulty undeceived, and the Western Nations still entertain that Notion. The General being of opinion that we might obtain possession of the Illinois by a Journey from Fort Pitt, M<sup>r</sup> Croghan one of my Deputys was sent to that Fort in order to assemble the Neighbouring Indians, & induce them to send some of their Cheifs with him & a Regular Officer sent by Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage in order to pave the way for the March of a Garrison to the Illinois, which, I hope M<sup>r</sup> Croghan has by this time effected.<sup>1</sup> at the same time I sent to the Seneca's to desire they would forthwith fulfill their engagements entered into last year by oblidging the Delawares of Susquahana to come here & bring with them all the Prisoners, Deserters, Frenchmen & Negroes yet in their hands, the Delaware Deputys from Ohio having been already with me in consequence of their engagements w<sup>th</sup> Coll. Bouquet, The Senecas at length came accompanied by the Delawares of Susquahana, & the Chiefs of the Six Nations am<sup>ts</sup> in the whole to more than 900, from My Transactions, with whom, I have now transmitted a Copy of all the principal Matters by which your Lordships will perceive that the Delawares of Ohio have agreed to all the Terms I proposed, & that altho those of Susquahana did not bring in all the Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup> as required, they have nevertheless left me their Two Cheifs & Ring-leaders, & the Seneca's two Others one of whom is the most leading Man throughout all the Northern Nations, as Hostages that every thing shall be complied with within 40 days, & I have sent an Interpreter Accompanied by six Whitemen & some Indians to collect all the Prisoners &c<sup>a</sup>.

As I could not have met with a more favourable opportunity for knowing the sentiments of the Six Nations with regard to the Boundary recommended in your Lordships Plan,<sup>2</sup> I accordingly conferred

<sup>1</sup> See Croghan's journals, *post*, 2:1 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> For the proposal of an Indian boundary see the plan referred to (*ante*, 273). The running of a boundary line between the Indians' hunting grounds and the territory open to settlement was a policy often advocated by both Sir William Johnson and John Stuart, the latter actually starting to run such a boundary, as early as 1763. The policy was accepted by the ministry in 1767, and the boundary was established. *Post*, general index. For a discussion see Alvord, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," in *Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 165 *et seq.*

with them upon that subject, but not being yet fully empowered, I only proposed it as a matter verry essential to their own Interest, and what had appeared best for preventing future Disputes, their determination upon that subject will appear by the Enclosures, as also to what length they are concerned in the Affair of *Kayaderusseras* Patent, from the Complaints of the Mohawks to them. The latter had a conference with me several weeks ago upon that subject, on which occasion they acquainted me that they had warned two Familys lately settled thereon to remove, who returned them for answer, that they would not, nor were they apprehensive they could be obliged to do so, as a number of Persons of Power in New York were concerned therin, & would make good their Possession, & (according to the silly independ<sup>t</sup> stile often used here) should the King order them off, they would nevertheless remain. The Mohawks were so much exasperated thereat, that I had no small difficulty to prevent them from making use of force, and they then declared they found themselves under a necessity of Interesting the rest of the Six Nations in the Affair, of this, I acquainted the L<sup>t</sup> Governour of New York by letter which produced an Order of Council that the Patent should be proceeded ag<sup>st</sup> by *scire facias* which however did not content the Mohawks, who declare that they thought themselves trifled with, and as I could not positively assure them that the Patent would be thereby vacated, they made a formal complaint to the rest of the Confederacy, w<sup>h</sup> occasioned them to address me thereon, as in the enclosures.

Nothing has yet been done in this matter, as the late Orders from the Lords of the Treasury to the General, makes it in some degree doubtfull whether I should take upon me the Expençe of the suit in the name of the Crown, especially as I know it may have a verry uncertain Issue, because so many Persons are interested in it, & particularly the principal Lawyers of this Province, whose influence & authority in this Country can be fully shewn, amongst whom I shall not scruple to affirm are some of the most selfish and interested persons in His Majesty's Dominions, Another thing of equal weight with me, is the consequence in case thro the causes aforesaid, or some nicetys I am not aware of, but which doubtless would be found, grounded on the Doctrine that, "A Patent is good in Law," the suit should go against the Indians, I am persuaded such an event would



prove dangerous, for as not only the Indians, but every body who knows anything of the Matter (the Proprietors and their freinds excepted) know the whole to have been a notorious fraud, it will disperse a gen<sup>l</sup> Discontent throughout all the 6 Nations, the effects of which I am but too well acquainted with, for these Nations are all, in an especial manner interested in the Affair, as the Lower Mohawks have so little Lands left, that they must either be thrown upon them or the Government for a Subsistence, this Tract being so enormous that it includes all their best hunting grounds. One thing being necessary to remark is, that the Proprietaries altho they Speak of the length of time since the grant was obtained, as a disadvantage to them in that they cannot obtain their proper proofs as so distant a period, yet is it their cheif support, as the Allegations against it must be in some measure defective, & this they well know by letting their Title rest, & never so much as surveying or portioning it in 57 years, so that the Indians thought no more about it, for some years, or until the Proprietaries began to stir in it. The Oneidaes whose suspicion has been particularly raised by the late Conduct with regard to this Patent, have desired to know whether any such Claims lye Dormant ag<sup>st</sup> their Lands, in short it is become a general matter of concern, & your Lordships will perceive that it has created many difficultys with regard to the boundary, & is likely to produce more. Some of those in our Capitals who rule all the rest cannot feel for the distresses, in which their transactions with the Indians may involve the Frontiers, & whatsoever Lands they have in these parts cannot be injured by a Rupture w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, because the present Proprietaries generally let them lye untenanted, as some of them pay little or no Quit rent, and as their Titles would not bear an enquiry during the Lives of the present Generation, I do not merely give this as a bare opinion, I affirm it, & can prove it to be true, and I know many grants some of them of no long standing, which are as yet utterly unknown not only to the Indians, but to the Country People in general, & which may hereafter create much disturbance, & some of these in the Country of the *Oneidaes*, with w<sup>h</sup> I could have acquainted them when they enquired about it, had I Judged it prudent; it requires but small skill to account for this formerly the Land Jobbers no sooner heard of a good Tract of Land, but they immediately set about engaging two or three Indians to set their Mark to a Deed which

a little liquor & a small present soon affected, altho nothing but mere Accident, or the settling the lands could ever disclose the Transaction, As the subscribing Indians knowing the Jealousy of their Nation on so tender a subject have seldom dared to divulge it, the liquor & avarice procured their private consent, and I have known some Indians put to Death, and others obliged to fly their Country meerly on that Acc<sup>tt</sup>. In short my Lords was an Enquiry made into the transactions of the Land Jobbers, & former Managers of Indians Affairs, we should not be at a loss to account for the Indians' Jealousy & Defection, but rather be astonished that one Individual amongst so Resentfull a People should remain in our Interest, but they who have acted these parts, are united by the strong ties of party & Interest so as not to be shaken by any power here, and they will always make use of the influence of their freinds & agents at Home to misrepresent any Man who has firmness enough to oppose them; Your Lordships may naturally conclude that I Cannot escape their Malice as I have been oblidge to give notice from time to time to your Board of every complaint w<sup>h</sup> appeared to me Just, and which unredressed might prove dangerous, & this has been my constant conduct in every Province within my District, at the same time I have accommodated many affairs of a more trifling nature, & which could not in their consequences much affect the public tranquility, I presumed I did my Duty in both cases, and whilst your Lordships are of the same opinion, I shall continue to do so, tho I incur much more of their Hatred.

The Mention of a bad title is alarming, and the affair of Kayadaruseras has drawn upon me a load of scurrility & Detraction, but I comfort myself it proceeds from those who always did, and always will, traduce every officer of the Crown, that is not of their Party, it would have been a Miracle had I escaped their lashes after the freedom they have used with Great Britain I, who have so greatly mismanaged Indian Affairs which were so happily conducted under the auspicious Government of the *Albany Commissioners*, & they have retailed the verry words they so falsely made use of amongst their scurrilous productions 12 years ago. Your Lordships Plan, of which they had early intelligence has greatly affected them, they fear the system is now establishing which will put a period to the powers of corruption, & therefore they propose one of their own on the prin-

ciples of the old management, *A Bull feast at Albany & a little Rum* they affirm will do every thing & that they should have the management to the Northward with Agents dispersed thro the Country, that then all would go well, & I should not have it in my power to impose upon the Government, (with whom the chuse to have no dealings) or make a Mystery of Indian Affairs w<sup>h</sup> I must own it has always been to them. Regular Troops are not necessary no Coward in the three Kingdoms dare suspect their Loyalty, & they can be of no use but to check the Provinces, they add that "then the Indians will consume like a March snow & no Enquiry be made concerning lands pattented & sold 60 years ago." here they discover what touches them, & I will readily allow the Justice of their last remark, for iniquity would then have its free Scope without the knowledge or controul of the government, & the Indians would soon be obliged to redress themselves, & therby convince the public of the success of such *salutary* measures. I think I have culled some of the choicest flowers from their late productions & I hope they will give y<sup>r</sup> Lordships some idea of the treatment I meet with as an addition to the continued Drudgery of my Department. I cannot leave the subject without remarking on the absurdity of those opinions which are founded on a want of due knowledge of the Antient & present state of the Indians.

The Indians of the Six Nations after the Arrival of the English, haveing conceived a Desire for many Articles they Introduced amongst them & therby finding them of use to their necessitys or rather superfluities cultivated an acquaintance with them and lived in tollerable freindship with this Province for some time to which they were the rather inclined as they were then strangers to bribery, & at enmity with the French who had espoused the cause of their Enemys supplied them with Arms, & openly acted against them, this enmity encreased in proportion as the desire of the French for subduing these people who were a bar to their first projected schemes, however we find the Indians as far back as the commencement of the verry confused Manuscript Records in my possession, repeatedly upbraiding this Province for their Negligence, their avarice, and want of Assisting them at a time when it was certainly in their power to destroy the Infant Colony of Canada, altho supported by many Nations, & this is likewise confessed by the Writings of the Managers of these times, the French after repeated losses, discovering that the six Nations

were not to be subdued, but that they could without much difficulty effect their purposes (which I have good authority to shew were of early stand<sup>e</sup>) by favours & kindness, on a sudden changed their conduct in the reign of Queen Anne, having first brought over many of their People to settle in Canada, & ever since by the most Endearing kindnesses, & by a vast profusion of favours have secured them to their Interest, & whilst they aggravated our frauds & designs they covered those committed by themselves under a load of gifts which obliterated the Malpractices of Individuals amongst them, & enabled them to establish themselves wherever they pleased without fomenting the Indians Jealousy. The able Agents they made use of, & their unanimous, indefatigable zeal, for securing the Indian Interest were so much superior to any thing we have ever attempted & to the feeble transactions of the interested and trading Commissioners of Albany, that the latter became universally dispised by the Indians who daily withdrew from our Interest & conceived the most disadvantageous sentiments of our integrity & Abilities. In this state of Indian Affairs I was called to the management of these People, as my scituation & opinion that it might become one day of service to the Public, had induced me to cultivate a particular intimacy w<sup>th</sup> those People, to accommodate myself to their manners, & even to their dress on many occasions. How I discharged this trust will best appear from the Transactions of the War commenced in 1744 in w<sup>h</sup> I was busily concerned. The steps I had then taken alarmed the Jealousy of the French, Rewards were offered for me, and I narrowly escaped assassination on more than one occasion, the French encreased their Munificence to the Indians, whose example not being at all followed at New York I resigned the Management of Affairs on the ensuing Peace, as I did not chuse to continue in the name of an office, which I was not empowered to discharge as its nature required. The Albany Commissioners (Men concerned in the Clandestine Trade to Canada & frequently upbraided for it by the Indians) did then reassume their seats at that Board, & by their conduct so exasperated the Indians that several Cheifs went to New York in 1753, where, after a severe Speech to the Gov<sup>r</sup> Council & Assembly they broke the Covenant chain of freindship & withdrew in a rage, the consequences of which were then so much dreaded that I was by the Gov<sup>r</sup> Council & House of Assembly, the two latter then my Enemies earnestly en-



treated to effect a reconciliation with the Indians, as the only person equal to that task, as will appear by the Minutes of Council & resolves of the House, A Commission being made out for me I proceeded to *Onondaga* & brought about the much wished for Reconciliation, but declined having any farther to say to Indian Affairs, altho the Indians afterwards refused to meet the Governour & Commissioners till I was sent for at the arrival of General Braddock I received his Commission with reluctance, at the same time assuring him that Affairs had been so ill conducted, and the Indians so estranged from our Interest, that I could not take upon me to hope for success, however indefatigable labour & (I hope I may say without vanity) personal Interest enabled me to exceed my own Expectations, and my conduct since if fully & truly known, would I beleive testify that I have not been an unprofitable servant, 'twas then that the Indians began to give public signs of their Avaritious Disposition, the French had long taught them it, & the desire of some Persons to carry a greater Number of Ind<sup>s</sup> into the feild in 1755 than those who accompanied me, induced them to employ everry Agent at a high salary who had the least interest w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, and to grant the latter Cap<sup>ts</sup> & Lieu<sup>ts</sup> Commissions (of w<sup>h</sup> I have a Number now by me) with sterling pay to induce them to desert me, but to little purpose, for tho many of them received the Commissions accompanied with large sums of money, they did not comply with the end proposed, but served with me, & this has not only furnished them with severe complaints against the English, as they were not afterwards all paid what had been promised, but has established a spirit of Pride & Avarice which I have found it ever since impossible to subdue, whilst our extensive connections since the Reduction of Canada with so many powerfull Nations long Accustomed to partake largely of the French bounty has of course increased the expence, & rendered it in no small degree necessary for the preservation of our Frontiers, Out Posts & Trade.

Thus my Lords I have given as breif a detail, as I could of the rise & progress of the Indian Expences, to which I was the rather induced as what I have said on that subject & in the former part of my letter may serve as an answer to the little reflections & insinuations of the Malicious or interested, who taking Advantage of my distance from the Court, & ignorance of their representations may presume to traduce

a Character with which they otherwise dared not to concern themselves.

I most Humbly beg your Lordships pardon for engrossing so much of your time on a subject which may be considered as of a private nature, I heartily wish I may never have occasion to enlarge upon it, but in common justice to myself I could not be totally silent when attacked by a sett of Persons whose views of Party & private Interests would blast the Happiness of a Country which they have neither Conduct nor Resolution to defend.

Since writing the foregoing I rec<sup>d</sup> a packet from Detroit informing me that in March last the *Miamis* took a Soldier of that Garrison Prisoner at a few Miles distance from the Fort, that the Commanding Officer endeavoured to encourage some of the Chippawaes & Ottawaes to obtain satisfaction, & procured a French Man in whom he could best confide with a party to proceed & Demand the Prisoner, as well as enquire how that Nation came to act in such a Manner, this party was way laid & made Prisoners by the *Miamis* at some distance from their Town, and but for the regard these Indians have for all French men, they would have been probably put to Death, however the Indians contented themselves with plundering them of their Cloathing, arms &c<sup>a</sup> & severely reprimanding the Frenchman for going on any business for the English, telling him that his Nation w<sup>d</sup> shortly punish him, that the French were coming with two great Armys against the English, & that their (the Indians) taking the Prisoner was only as a prelude to what they would shortly do, this occasioned the several courts of Enquiry since held at Detroit, of which I enclose your Lordships Copys, as they will the better enable you to judge how far these Indians are imposed upon, & set up by the French in their Towns, of which I could send your Lordships many more evidences from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> & examinations of sundry Persons of Veracity, by all which it may appear that either the Governour of New Orleans, and Comm<sup>d</sup> at the Illinois secretly promote, or at least wink at this conduct of the French, which I fear will be practiced by the latter so long as they remain in the Ind<sup>n</sup> Towns & I cannot see how we can remove them, 'till we stand superior in the Ind<sup>s</sup> Esteem. Several French Familys, of the worst sort, live at the *Miamis*, Several at *Wawiaghtanon*,<sup>1</sup> & in short in all the places where they formerly

<sup>1</sup> Ouiatanon.

had Posts, or trading Houses, and such is the ignorance, or credulity of the Indians, that altho they may find themselves repeatedly deceived, such reports will still gain credit, from their blind partiality for the French. The possession of the Illinois would in some measure tho' not absolutely check their Villainy.

I hope Mr Croghan is now far advanced on his way thither, the last acc<sup>tt</sup> I had from him mentioned his being at Fort Pitt, where he had assembled some Indians for the purpose mentioned in the former part of my letter, but an Unlucky Accident has I fear greatly retarded him. Some Merchants at Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> desirous I presume to get the first of the Trade of the Illinois, had sent forward a quantity of goods, which as they inform me, was to have been stored at Fort Pitt until the Illinois was in our possession, & that they should have permission to trade there, these goods were sent forward in Company with the present which followed M<sup>r</sup> Croghan for the Indians in that Quarter, which coming to the ears of some of the Frontier Inhabitants of Pensilvania &c<sup>a</sup> who were greatly Irritated at their losses during the War, & resolved to prevent any goods passing to the Indian Country, they assembled in a Riotous manner waylaid the convoy, destroyed great part of the goods, and killed some of the Horses, & amongst the rest the greatest part of M<sup>r</sup> Croghans present, this affair has made a great noise, some People affirm that the Merchants sent their goods on M<sup>r</sup> Croghans encouragement, neither had they any pass the Merchants declare to me, that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had nothing to do in the affair, only told them that the Indians at Illinois would expect a Trade to be opened with them, as soon as possession was taken.

The L<sup>t</sup> Governour of Pensilvania went to the Frontiers to enquire into the affair, and I hope shortly to know the real Circumstances of the case, & that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will be able to clear himself from the imputations I have mentioned, w<sup>h</sup> from my long knowledge of him I have reason to expect. *Pondiac* that verry active chief of the Ot-tawaes being now at the Illinois will be a farther disappointment, as M<sup>r</sup> Croghan purposed sending for him, & tampering with him at Fort Pitt before He pursued his journey, however as the Indians came in verry readily on M<sup>r</sup> Croghan's invitation, the scheme will probably

<sup>1</sup> The firm of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, whose extensive correspondence is printed later. See general index.

Succeed, unless thro the Influence & Artifices of the French at the Illinois, thro which should it fail, I really know not well how we can obtain possession of that verry important Country, unless by the Success of some future pacifick measures from hence, for I have reason to think from the nature of the Navigation and length of the voyage by *Mississipi* that no force which can be spared for that service can possibly effect it, if opposed by the united force of the Indians in that Quarter. I have reason to hope that the private Steps I have taken with the Delwares & six Nations & some Belts of importance which I am confident they will make the proper use of, will at least keep Matters quiet with the Western Indians for some time, or until I am enabled to have proper Agents amongst them. *Gaustrax* one of the Seneca Hostages now here, who is in fact a Man that has an almost universal Influence, after frankly declaring all the Motives that led him to engage in the War, has declared that he is now determined to give credit to my Assurances that all abuses will be rectified, & he will in consequence thereof second my proceedings with some Belts from himself which will undoubtedly have great weight if they arrive in time amongst the other Nations. Indeed I judge it verry necessary that I should meet with the Western Indians this Summer to cement our Alliances, but I cannot do this without having a verry considerable present for them, & I apprehend the late orders from the Lords of the Treasury to the Genr<sup>l</sup> will not admit of incurring that Expence.

Genr<sup>l</sup> Murray Gov<sup>r</sup> of Quebec has Acquainted me that by his Instructions, he is directed to appoint a Person for the management of Indian Affairs within his Government,<sup>1</sup> I hope I shall shortly receive your Lordships orders respecting that as well as the other affairs of my Department for until they are Settled it is not in my power to fall upon such measures as may best secure the tranquility of this Country which your Lordships plan seems so well calculated to effect.

I hope at the same time to hear concerning *Kayadarusseras*, that in case nothing is done against it in England, I may no [*sic*] whether I can take upon me to incur the Expence of a suit here on Acc<sup>tt</sup> of the Crown, & that at so great an uncertainty, 'till then I shall not undertake it without the approbation or advice of the General;

<sup>1</sup> No such person was appointed. Johnson had charge of the Canadian Indians.



I presume at the same time I shall have some orders regarding the Affair of a Boundary which appears so Judiciously calculated for the preventing of future disputes. I flatter myself I shall be able to effect it to his Majestys satisfaction, & that of the Colonies interested, to that end I believe it will be thought necessary that the Governours, or Commiss<sup>rs</sup> from the Governments should be present to see that every thing is conducted for their Interest, and I hope your Lordships will approve of the Steps I have already taken to sound the Indians on that Subject, & pave the way for effecting that Important point with their perfect concurrence, a Valuable Present will doubtless be judged necessary on that occasion, and it is submitted to your Lordships whether the large Tracts w<sup>h</sup> they will yield up, should be at once purchased for the use of the Crown, or whether the Lands comprehended within the Line, & which are not already purchased by the Colonies, should remain in right of the soil to the Indians, to be disposed of, from time to time by them at his Majestys pleasure, these Matters once fixed will I expect put a period to the amount of the Indian Acc<sup>ts</sup> & that by an establishment which whenever made, shall to the utmost of my Abilities be carried into Execution in such a manner as to evince it's importance & Utility.

I ought to apologize more than once for the length of this letter, the several subjects I judged it necessary to write upon would not admit of greater brevity, and I hope my future Correspondence will not require my being so circumstantial, I rely therefore on your Lordships pardon & favourable Construction of what is here offered, and with a due sense of all past obligations Joined to the most cordial sentiments of Esteem, I beg leave to subscribe myself

My Lords, Yours Lordships Most Obedient & most Humble  
Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

THE R<sup>T</sup> HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE LORDS OF TRADE.

[Endorsed:] Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Letter from S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson, to the Board, dated May 1765, relative to the present state of Indian Affairs. Rec<sup>d</sup> July 15, } 1765. K. 4. 3 papers  
Read

AUBRY ANSWERS PETITION OF BRITISH OFFICERS, May 26, 1765  
[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 701—C.]

Copie de la Reponse de Monsieur Aubry Commandant pour Sa Majeste tres Chrestienne A la Louisianne, au memoire qui luy à été adressé le 24 de May 1765 par le Major Farmer, et Messieurs les Officiers du 34<sup>e</sup> Regiment d'infanterie de S. M. B. qui ont ordre d'aller prendre possession du poste des Illinois par le fleuve du Mississippi.

MESSIEURS

je Suis Extremement Sensible a la disgrace que vous Epreuvez par la desertion de vos Soldats, et je vois avec douteur [*sic*] que Cet Evénement peut porter prejudice aux operations dont vous êtes Chargés Si il m'étoit possible, Messieurs, de pouvoir Agréer á vôte demande, je le ferois avec Tout le Zele et l'empréssément dont je suis Capable, mais la circonstance Critique dans la quelle je me Trouve ne me le permet pas, je ne jouis icy que d'une Autorité Momentannée, C'est la malheureuse mort de M<sup>r</sup> D'abbadie qui est la Cause que je suis a la teste de Ce pais, Ce ne Sera que pour tres peu de tems; j'attends les Espagnots [*sic*] de jour en jour, et si par des Evenements

[*Translation*]

Copy of answer of M. Aubry, commanding for his very Christian majesty in Louisiana, to the memorial which was sent him May 24, 1765, by Major Farmer and the officers of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of infantry of his Britannic majesty who have been ordered to take possession of the post of the Illinois via the Mississippi River.

SIRS:

I am extremely sensible of the disgrace which you experience through the desertion of your soldiers, and I see with grief that this event can endanger the operations with which you are intrusted. If it were possible for me, sirs, to agree to your demands I would do it with all the zeal and earnestness of which I am capable. But the critical circumstances in which I am do not permit me to do it. I am enjoying here only a momentary authority. It is because of the unfortunate death of M. Dabbadie that I am at the head of this country, and this will be only for a short time. I await the Spaniards day by day. And if, through unexpected events they still delay

imprévûs, ils tardoient encore a venir, la cour enverra Selon les apparences icy un Gouverneur jusqu'a leur Arrivee.

Il est Certain, Messieurs, qu'il Seroit Convenable pour L'avantage de nos deux Collonies, qu'il y Eut un Cartel étably entre l'angleterre et la france Afin de se rendre mutuëllement les deserteurs dans Cette partie du monde, je ne manqueray pas par la premiere occasion d'adresser votre memoire a Mg<sup>r</sup> Le duc de Choiseul et de luy représenter que Ce Seroit un bien reciproque pour nos deux etablissements mais je ne puis, Messieurs, rien Entreprendre que je n'aye auparavant recû ses ordres á Ce Sujet, et je violerois le droit des gens Si je vous rendois vos deserteurs Sans y etre Autorise.

Depuis trois mois que je commande dans Cette Colonie j'ay Saisy avec Empressement toutes les occasions de pouvoir vous être utile M<sup>r</sup> jean Henry Lieu<sup>t</sup> du 34<sup>e</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> m'ayant Ecrit au Sujet d un Sergent qui avoit deserté, et luy avoit Emporté trois Cens piastres gourdes Aussy tot que j'ay recû Sa lettre, je l'ay fait arretter et vous l'ay renvoye.

je fais aussy tout Ce que je puis pour contenir les Nations placées

[*Translation*]

coming, the court will send here, according to appearances, a governor to act until their arrival.

It is certain, sirs, that it would be for the advantage of our two colonies, if there were an agreement established between England and France to return mutually the deserters in this part of the world. I shall not fail upon the first occasion to send your memorial to my lord the Duc de Choiseul and to represent to him that it would be a reciprocal advantage for our two establishments; but I cannot, sirs, undertake anything, since I have not received previously his orders on this subject; and I would violate the law of nations if I returned your deserters to you without being authorized to do so.

During the three months that I have commanded in this colony, I have eagerly seized every opportunity to be useful to you. M. John Henry, lieutenant of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, wrote me in regard to the sergeant who had deserted and carried away with him three hundred *piastres gourdes*. As soon as I received his letter, I had him arrested and sent back to you.

I am also doing everything that I can to restrain the nations

sur le Mississippi, et vous procurer le Moyen de prendre possession des terres qui vous ont été Cedeés par le dernier traite de paix, je vois avec Satisfaction que je n'ay pas travaille en vain et que plusieurs de vos Batteaux ont deja monte un Espace de Chemin assés considerable sur le fleuve, et en ont redesendu de meme sans avoir été insultes ni molestes par les Sauvages.

Le poste des Illinois ou vous avez ordre d'aller est le Seul ou vos troupes n'ayent pas encore pu parvenir les Sauvages qui sont dans Cette partie ne paroissent pas bien disposes en votre faveur; Quoy que je sois extremement Eloigné de ces Nations, et que j'ay peu d'influence sur elles, je n'ay Cependant rien negligé pour les Calmer et vous procurer le moyen de vous y rendre en Seurette, j'espere que mes peines ne Seront pas perduës, et qu avant peu, on n'entendra plus parler de ces Sanglantes tragedies qui font horreur a l'humanite.

Vous devez Etre persuadees, Messieurs, que tant que je commanderay icy, je feray tout Ce qui dependra de moy pour Entretenir la plus parfaite union et amitié, Entre les deux Nations et Contribuer autant que je pourray Au bon-heur reciproque de nos deux

[*Translation*]

situated on the Mississippi and to procure for you the means of taking possession of the territories which have been ceded you by the last treaty of peace. I see with satisfaction that I have not worked in vain and that several of your bateaux have already ascended a considerable part of the river route and have descended again without being insulted or molested by the savages.

The post of the Illinois whither you are ordered to go is the only one which your troops have not yet been able to reach. The savages who are in this territory do not appear well disposed towards you. Although I am very distant from these nations and have little influence over them, yet I have neglected nothing to calm them and to procure for you the means of going there in safety. I hope that my trouble will not be lost and that before long, one will no longer hear of these bloody tragedies which are a horror to humanity.

You may be convinced, sirs, that as long as I shall command here, I shall do all that depends upon me to maintain the most perfect union and friendship between the two nations and to contribute as



Colonies; tels sont les vrais Sentimens de Celuy qui est avec beaucoup de respect &<sup>a</sup>

Signe AUBRY

A LA NOUVELLE ORLEANS Ce 26 May 1765.

[Endorsed:] In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's, of the 10<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1765.

[Translation]

far as I can to the mutual welfare of our two colonies. Such are the true sentiments of him who is with great respect, etc.,

signed AUBRY

NEW ORLEANS, May 26, 1765

[Endorsed:] In Major General Gage's of August 10, 1765.

FRASER TO GAGE, May 26, 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.63, f. 735—C.]

ILINOIS CASKASKIAS May 26<sup>th</sup> 1765.

My Men who were very ill treated every Day by such Indians as were Drunk, and were destitute of Cloathing &c I sent away the 19<sup>th</sup> my Servant excepted who wou'd not be prevail'd on to go away as I staid Myself. I took the Opportunity of sending them away while all the Indians were all at a Council at Fort Chartres.

The Traders talk'd publickly before the Indians and French of my having come with Manifesto's and Orders for them to take Oaths to betray their Country, they said that knowing the Risk I must Run in doing this I had sent away my Soldiers, but that I ought not to forget that I was still here Myself and that it required but a Single word from any of the French to make the Indians cut Me in peices. They said that I staid here with no other design but to wait till I wou'd see any Traders going amongst the Indians and then to give Your Excellency information of it, They said, They ow'd no Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, or would they ever Acknowledge Him as their Sovereign, that they despised the threats of any Army, coming into the Country, if they dreaded any ill treatment from it, they would not be long a crossing the Mississippi where they were no longer in our Power.

Pondiac told Me that He had sent after the Chiefs who had gone

away to bid them be ready to meet at His Village, where He proposes now to go to hold the Congress and meet M<sup>r</sup> Croghan; He told Me that He was afraid some of the Indians might Kill Me if I stay'd behind him, and advised Me to go with Him to His Village, or if I chose rather to go by Sea, that I shou'd sett of [*sic*] before He did, and give Him a Letter for M<sup>r</sup> Croghan, with another for Colonel Campbell at Detroit, to tell them that He had taken what care He cou'd of Myself and my Men, He told Me that He wou'd go to Detroit with M<sup>r</sup> Croghan after the Council; I told Him that I wou'd rather go by the Mississippi, and He said He was very glad of it, as some Young Men who had lost Friends during the War might hurt Me in spite of His Care. I go off in a day or two, down the Mississippi as He goes away. I wrote M<sup>r</sup> Croghan of the Change matters have taken since my last to him.

GAGE TO PENN, June 2, 1765

[*P.C.R.*, 9:266]

NEW YORK, June 2d, 1765.

SIR:

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Sir William Johnson has finished his Congress with the Delawares, Senecas, &ca., in a very satisfactory manner, & he says beyond his Expectations. It is not necessary for me to relate to you what has passed with the Delawares and Shawanese at Fort pitt, as I am informed from thence that a Copy of the Conferences held there was transmitted to you. As the Shawanese have punctually complied with the Engagements made with Col. Bouquet, and as Sir William has settled affairs on the Mohawk River with the Tribes who met him there, to as much advantage as could be desired, I am only to make application to you that the Trade may be opened on the side of the Ohio as soon as possible. This seems the more necessary to be done immediately, as the Indians, desire it very strenuously as a proof of Sincerity on our part, having themselves complied with all the Conditions imposed upon them by us, And the Trade is already opened in every other part.

The Indians have appeared so well disposed that there is great reason so [*sic*] expect the Country will enjoy a Series of peace and Tranquility, unless interrupted by the Riotous and Lawless proceed-

ings of the people upon the Frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland & Virginia. I have the honor to inclose you extracts of three Letters on the subject of the violences they have been guilty of, and unless some measures are taken to restrain their Licentiousness, to punish them for the murders they have committed, and keep them in subjection to the Laws, There is too much reason to apprehend our Affairs will soon be thrown into worse confusion than they have ever been in. I have the honor to be, with great regard, Sir,

Your most Obedient humble Servant,

THOS. GAGE.

HONBLE LIEUT<sup>T</sup> GOVERNOR PENN.

BOUQUET TO GAGE, June 4, 1765

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21637, f. 109—C.]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 4 June 1765

SIR

An Indisposition has prevented my Acknowledging sooner the Receipt of your Excellencys Letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> May, & of the several Papers lately come from London & West Florida.

The distracted state of that Department, and the Violent animosities of Parties, open a most disagreeable Prospect for me.

Conscience of the Urgent Necessity of my repairing there immediately, I embark the 20<sup>th</sup> in a very small Schooner.

I need not repeat that untill a Paymaster is Appointed to answer Contingent Expences, I shall find myself under Continual Embarrassm<sup>t</sup> for the unavoidable Charges of Expresses, Boats, to send for Major Farmer &c as I will avoid as much as possible to draw for any Monies upon the Treasury, till that Article is thoroughly fixed.

I must beg leave once more to represent to your Excellency, how much it may affect the good of the Service to trust the takeing Possession of the Illinois to a Person, in whose Prudence and Address you can Confide, as any, inconsiderate measure, might deprive us of the French Inhabitants established there, and Consequently alienate the Numerous Tribes of Indians resorting to that Post, who in a manner influence all the Western Nations.—Being unacquainted with the Eldest Capt<sup>n</sup> of the 34<sup>th</sup> who is of Course to Succeed Major Farmer, You will perhaps be better able to Judge whether he

is a Proper Person for a Command of that Importance, and so remote from you.

I'll Send Lieu<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Lelan with the dispatches for Major Farmer, I have the honour to be with great Respect—Sir—&c

H B.

JOHNSON TO BURTON, June 6, 1765<sup>1</sup>

[Johnson MSS., 10: 263—E.]

Mr. Croghan, my Deputy, has at last prevailed upon the Indians about the Ohio to accompany him to the Illinois, from which place he set out the 14th of May.

GAGE TO PENN, June 16, 1765

[P.R.C., 9: 267]

NEW YORK, June 16, 1765.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit to you some Extracts of Letters which I have received concerning the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of Cumberland County, who appear daily in Arms, and seem to be in an actual State of Rebellion. It appears, likewise, that the Rebels are supported by some of the Magistrates, particularly one Smith, a Justice of the Peace, and headed by his Son. Unless these Insurrections are immediately quelled, and the Authors and Abettors of them brought to punishment, it is impossible to say where they will end. If the King's Troops are fired upon, and his Forts threatned with Assaults by Men in Arms, headed by Magistrates, who refuse the ordinary Course of justice demanded of them by the Officers, I can't pretend to answer for the Consequences. It belongs to you to point out the Measures proper to be taken in such Circumstances, but it is my duty to represent these matters to you, and to offer you every assistance in my power for the support of Government, and to enforce an Obedience to the Laws, both which seem in danger of entire Subversion.

It is proper to acquaint you that a very large Convoy of Goods went from New Orleans for the Illinois last February, & that it is probable they are by this time arrived there. This makes it neces-

<sup>1</sup> The original of this extract, made by Mr. Carter, was destroyed by the fire at Albany.



sary for us to open the Trade at Fort Pitt as soon as it is possible, & that the Officers commanding there should be made acquainted when the Traders may be expected, that he may give notice of it to the Indians of Ohio, and prevent their going to the Illinois for their necessaries. If the Trade is postponed at Fort pitt, the Indians will soon discover where supplys are to be had, & we shall drive them again into the Arms of the French.

I am, with great regard, Sir, Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,  
THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE.

HON<sup>BLE</sup> GOV<sup>R</sup> PENN.

FRASER TO GAGE, June 17 [?] 1765

[P.R.O., C.O., 5.83, f. 735—C.]

No Date of Time or Place. By the Contents, wrote from New Orleans.<sup>1</sup>

I arriv'd here the 16<sup>th</sup> Instant from the Illinois, which Place I left the 29<sup>th</sup> Ultm<sup>o</sup> as You wou'd have known by my Letter to Your Excellency, at my Departure from thence.

I gave Major Farmar a Report of all matters above according to the best observations I cou'd make. He thought I and my Men might be of some Service to him in going up to the Illinois, and I offer'd to Accompany him. I have great hopes that He will get happily there, as Pondiac Assured Me as I was in my Pettiauger coming away that He should make Peace how soon the Shawanese and other Nations on the Ohio wou'd recal the Belts they had given Him to make War: And as He knew they were Negotiating a Peace, He wou'd not Kill any English without they wou'd offer to Kill His People.

[Endorsed:] Extracts of Letters from Lieu<sup>t</sup> Fraser, late 78<sup>th</sup> Regiment To His Excellency The Honorable Major General Gage, Commander in Chief in North America.<sup>2</sup> In Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage's, of the 23<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1765. Concerning his Transactions with the Illinois Indians Inclosure 1 in N<sup>o</sup> 2 Bundle E

<sup>1</sup> Written thus in the original. Since in the preceding letter to Gage, May 26, he states he is going to leave the Illinois, the date of this letter must be shortly after June 16 when he arrived in New Orleans.

<sup>2</sup> All these extracts of letters from Fraser to Gage come from one document, of which this is the endorsement.

GAGE TO JOHNSON, June 17, 1765  
[N.Y.P.L., Myers Collection—A.L.S.]

NEW YORK June 17<sup>th</sup> 1765.

DEAR SIR,

By Letters of the 21<sup>st</sup> ul<sup>mo</sup> from Detroit. The Poutteatamies of s<sup>t</sup> Joseph do not seem inclined to give satisfaction, and have desired their Hostages might be sent them. The Miamies would not deliver up the Prisoner of the 17<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to the Chippewas who was sent to them by Col<sup>o</sup> Campbel to make a Demand of the Prisoner, but bid them tell the Commander, they would bring him themselves when Pondiac returned from the Illinois. They would first hear what he had to say. It is reported that Pondiac has seduced all the Nations upon the ouabache, at the Illinois, Miamies s<sup>t</sup> Joseph, and many to the Northward, and there are very bad Reports about L<sup>t</sup> Fraser and those who went with him from Fort Pitt on the 22<sup>d</sup> of March. That his Party, consisting of six Englishmen, a Mohock, a Huron & a Delaware & one Maisonville a Frenchman were taken Prisoners at the Illinois by Pondiacs order, & brought to ouatanon, where they were all burned, except the Frenchman and the Huron, whom Pondiac was bringing Prisoners to the Miamie Village. I hope it is a false Report, I am

Dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THO<sup>s</sup> GAGE

S<sup>R</sup> W<sup>M</sup> JOHNSON Bar<sup>t</sup>

SHUCKBURGH TO JOHNSON, July 14, 1765  
[Johnson MSS., 11:48—A.L.S.]

DETROIT 14<sup>th</sup> July 1765

SIR

We have had two very plausible Acc<sup>t</sup>s of Col<sup>o</sup> Crogan's being assassinated on the Ohio. I say Assassinated because we had an Acc<sup>t</sup> Six Weeks or two Months agoe that he was burnt w<sup>th</sup> his Retinue Maisonville & the Wiandot w<sup>ch</sup> were with him. so that it looks as tho' it was determin'd M<sup>r</sup> Crogan shou'd be put out of the way & that there shoud be no Mediator between us & the Western Ind<sup>s</sup> or any Negotiations carried on to Effect. one of the Acc<sup>t</sup>s say that M<sup>r</sup> Crogan is not kill'd but oblig'd to Return after being Plunder'd of

his Wampum Belts Goods &c. & some of his suite kill'd. from thence I am yet in hopes it may not be true poor Dr Antony who was w<sup>th</sup> him I hope was not among the Unfortunate. this comes by Mr Meldron who has promis'd to deliver it. You'll have a more particular Acc<sup>t</sup> of the disposition of the Ind<sup>s</sup> up this way from the Commanding Officers of the Posts but I must observe that in general they are mighty desirous of Trade & condemn those who are for continuing hostilities. to w<sup>ch</sup> they are set on (tis past all doubt) by the Malig-nants here & the Renegado french who are settled among them and are continually blowing lyes in their ears to keep up their animosity ag<sup>st</sup> the English in order to Engross the Trade & in short all Ind<sup>n</sup> Man-agement, w<sup>ch</sup> they have hinted by their behaviour, cannot be carried on without them, we have some Acc<sup>ts</sup> of the Illinois Country being taken Possession off by some English Troops, if so it will in a great Measure frustrate the wicked attempts of the People here from setting up every Nation of Ind<sup>s</sup> ag<sup>st</sup> us I'm inform'd the People of Illinois are more manageable than those of this place who are inflexibly Bad. I hope by that time this reaches you the April Mail will be arriv'd when youll be so good as to let me know how you have succeeded in your kind intentions to me.

I am Dear Sir Will<sup>m</sup> your Ob<sup>t</sup> & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

R<sup>d</sup> SHUCKBURGH

[Addressed:] To Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Johnson Bart. att Johnson Hall ☞ fav<sup>r</sup> of Mr Meldron. Albany

[Endorsed:] Detroit 14<sup>th</sup> July 1765 Doctor Shuckburghs Letter

JOHNSON TO LEAKE, July 18, 1765

[D.H.N.Y., 2: 820]

JOHNSON-HALL July 18. 1765.

DEAR SIR,

Mr Byrne delivered me your favour of the 10<sup>th</sup> Inst & I am Ex-tremely obliged to you for the desire you Express to serve him, & Mr Frazier. The reduction of your branch may well be supposed to prevent your good intentions at present, and I dare say if it should hereafter be in your power you will remember him.

I have Just finished Treating with the Shawanese Delaware &

mingos, they appear well pleased, & the Settlement of my Department on the proposed system will I am confident prove the only means of Keeping them so.

M<sup>r</sup> Croghan is now I hope at the *Illinois*, I had a Letter from him from the Scioto River, where the Shawanese delivered up to him Seven French Incendiaries who had been very busy in fomenting the late disturbances, this I consider as a very strong proof of their present pacific disposition as the French are so much esteemed by them, and if we get possession of the *Illinois* it will be a severe blow to the French, & Greatly Contribute to check the Influence & private transactions with the Indians.

I shall be always very Glad to hear from you whenever your leisure will permit, as I am With Cordial Esteem & Sincere regard, Dear Sir, Your most hearty Welwisher & verry Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

ROB<sup>t</sup> LEAKE Esq

JOHNSON TO THE LORDS OF TRADE [July, 1765]<sup>1</sup>

[P.R.O., C.O., 323.23, f. 93—A.L.S.]

MY LORDS

My last letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of May<sup>2</sup> contained my Transactions with the Delawares who came to enter into Peace, since which, in consequence of what passed at the Conference the Senecas & Delawares of Susquahana have delivered up to me 25 Persons of both Sexes being the last that remained Prisoners in their Hands, and a few days ago arrived Several Deputys from the *Shawanese* to enter into a Peace, accompanied by Several Chiefs of the Six Nations, with Mingoes & Delawares of Ohio, the former to Subscribe to the Peace together with the Shawanese, & the latter to confirm and strengthen the Treaty signed by Killbuck & the rest, of which I lately sent your Lordships a Copy. I have now the honour to enclose you my proceedings and Treaty with these Indians, which I hope y<sup>r</sup> Lordships will approve of.

My Deputy M<sup>r</sup> Croghan who thro' the Malice of some Persons was charged with some private Interest with the Traders going to

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, 7:746.

<sup>2</sup> Printed *ante*, 500.



the Illinois has since cleared up his Affairs to the entire satisfaction of the General, but having the Neighbouring Nations to Assemble & treat with, he was not able to leave Fort Pitt and proceed for the Illinois 'till the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, when he set out accompanied by several Cheifs & Leading Men of the Shawanese Mingoes & Delawares who appeared to express a fixed Resolution to support him in effecting the purposes of which he was sent, this favourable disposition of theirs was the effect of his Negotiations with them, at which time he so far prevailed on the Shawanese as to induce them to deliver up to him 44 Prisoners. L<sup>t</sup> Fraser the Officer who was to accompany M<sup>r</sup> Croghan to the Illinois being too zealous set out before M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had effected the necessary points with the Indians, and from the Acc<sup>ts</sup> lately received from *Detroit* there is reason to think he has been put to Death, together with those that accompanied him, by *Pondiacs* party.<sup>1</sup>

I have great cause to think that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan will succeed in his Enterprize, unless circumvented by the Artifices of the French, or thro' the late licentious conduct of our own People; Altho his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage has wrote to the Ministry on that Subject, yet I think I should not be silent thereupon as it may be productive of verry serious consequences.

The Frontier Inhabitants of *Pensilvania, Mary Land, & Virginia* after having attacked & destroyed the goods which were going to Fort Pitt (as in my last) did form themselves into partys threatning to destroy all Indians they met, or all White People who dealt with them, they likewise marched to Fort Augusta, and from thence over the West Branch of *Susquahana* beyond the bounds of the last purchase made by the Proprietaries, where they declare they will form a Settlement in defiance of Whites or Indians, they afterwards attacked a Small party of his Majestys Troops on the Road but were happily oblidged to retire with the loss of one or two Men, however from their Conduct & threats since, there is reason to think they will not stop here, neither is this licentiousness confined to the Provinces I have mentioned, the People of *Carolina* having cutt of a party of Indians coming down under a pass from Co<sup>l</sup> Lewis of the particulars of which your Lordships have been doubtless informed.

Your Lordships may easily conceive what Effects this will have

<sup>1</sup> On the success of Fraser see his letters, *ante*, 491, *et seq.*

upon the Indians who begin to be all acquainted therewith, I wish it may not have already gone too great a length to receive a timely check, or prevent the Indians Resentment, who see themselves attacked, threatened, and their property invaded by a sett of Ignorant misled Rioters who defy Government itself, and all this at a time, when we have Just treated with some, and are in Treaty w<sup>th</sup> other Nations.

It will appear evident that whatever might otherwise be the consequence of my Negotiations, little can be expected therefrom, or from anything else, whilst counteracted, and defeated by the misconduct of these, or such like People, who if suffered to pursue their designs must not only involve themselves, but the whole Frontier Inhabitants in the Distresses attending a General Indian War.

My Last gave your Lordships an Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Intelligence from Detroit &<sup>ca</sup>, the motions of the Indians & the Intrigues of the French, since that time the Command<sup>r</sup> Officer there has been alarmed with a report of a large Body Assembling to attack that, & the other Garrisons, but the Same has since proved premature. About that time I received a Visit from *Wabbi commicol* a Mississagey Cheif (well affected towards the English) who with near thirty others came to repeat their engagements and Assurances of preserving Peace, and using their Influence with the other Nations to abide thereby on their parts, this Cheif with his party I have since dismissed with a handsome Present, & some Belts and Messages to *Pondiac* acquainting him that as all Nations in this Quarter are now at Peace, it is expected (if he hopes for favour or forgiveness) He will imediately come in, I have likewise sent some proper Belts to the Western Indians, to shew them the folly they commit in suffering themselves to be led away by the designing interested French, or ambitious Indians. The Six Nations have likewise sent Belts of the like Nature in their own names, threatning these Nations with a Confederacy against them should they offer to disturb the public tranquility, I have accompanied these Indians with an Interpreter well qualified & acquainted with these Nations, to see that the whole is properly & fully Expressed to them, & the Senecas, Delawares, Shawanese &<sup>ca</sup> have withdrawn the War Belts they formerly sent to the Westward.

Pondiac is certainly verry busy amongst the Indians backed & Supported by the French, yet I dont despair of convincing him of

his folly & rashness provided an Interview can be effected either by me, or my Deputy, w<sup>h</sup> his Apprehensions heightened by the Suggestions of the French has induced him hitherto to avoid.

When Matters wear so promising an Aspect as they now really do, it must be a great Mortification to me, should the state of affairs be overthrown thro the Intrigues [*sic*] of the French, or the misconduct of ourselves, yet both the Causes at present greatly conspire to destroy the Tranquility of the Colonies.

It is a Misfortune attending Ind<sup>a</sup> Affairs that your Lordships must of course hear so many different Sentiments, & contrary opinions relative thereto, Every Man who goes from these parts, presumes to give his opinion from Experience & knowledge, & therefore many are given in England which, the Authors would not be so absurd as even to hint, before those acquainted with the Ind<sup>s</sup> in this Country, and which they could not entertain if in the smallest degree versed in that difficult Subject. The different Governments will likewise express themselves variously on that Head, arising from their confirmed prejudices, private Interests & ignorance of the Matter. The Sentiments daily expressed are a Sufficient proof of this, to which I might add the many puerile Questions & Remarks which I have from time to time been a Witness of from the lips of some who might be thought best acquainted with these Matters. Officers cannot be thought to be acquainted with the Subject from their short residence, & Ignorance of the Indian Language. The Traders are allowed on all hands to be the Worst Judges, & the Inhabitants of our Capitals dont chuse to venture amongst them, or could they conquer their fears, would not chuse to purchase a knowledge little interesting to them at the expence of their time ease & good living, Yet amongst all these are Men who pretend to know more than a Superintendent. Whilst this remains the case, Whilst so many different Systems are daily talked of, & whilst most Men are desirous to represent the Management of Indians as a Matter of no more difficulty, & perhaps less Importance than that of a Company of soldiers, My opinion must be greatly weakened, but as I have never yet had reason to think it had suffered at y<sup>r</sup> Lordships Board, I shall take the liberty to offer it occasionally, & I now with pleasure assure Your Lordships that I have at length (with great pains and a considerable Expence) effected a pacification with almost all the Indian

Nations in my Department, that I am Confident of this, and persuaded it will remain so, if proper Measures are speedily & effectually taken, and if I have it in my power to put that Plan in Execution, w<sup>h</sup> is calculated for that end, but should it so have happened that y<sup>r</sup> Lordships met with any Disapointment or opposition therin, so that a proper Attention cannot be shewn for our numerous Alliances I am as confident, and as fully persuaded that no Individual, nor any Number of Persons whatsoever will be able to maintain a Harmony between us & the Indians but on the contrary, that a Rupture more general & infinitely more calamitous than the former must be the consequence of such Neglect. Why the Indians would act that part, or why they expect all that Attention & notice from Us, I have repeatedly explained in several former letters, and it only remains to averr my sentiments & state the fact, the result of Experience, of continual application & Study, & of my recent Discoveries concerning their secret thoughts & resolutions, So that if different conduct from that proposed will by them be considered as a Neglect, if this Neglect will operate upon them as a proof of our dislike & Ill designs against them and consequently terminate in a Quarrel, w<sup>h</sup> tho accommodated in one Year, may be commenced in that following. there then only remains for us with a large Body of good Troops Supported by such Indians as may be induced to engage in the War, to secure our Communications, then enter their Country & leave the Affair to the decission of sevr<sup>l</sup> Campaigns in which case a few Indians may fall, but the much greater Number will fly Westward, where we cannot follow them, but from whence they will occasionally Issue with all the Rancour of enraged & desperate Savages to the ruin of our Frontiers, & the Destruction of our Trade.

If the causes already Assigned do not produce the berore-mentioned Consequences, my opinion will Justly deserve to be despised, which your Lordships will I flatter myself suppose I should be most unwilling to Risque, and as my Conscience assures me of my uprightness & Zeal for the true Honour & Interest of my Sovereign, it Inspires me with a Value for my Character, w<sup>h</sup> I would not forfeit by misrepresentation, or Sacrifice for any Office under the Crown. This will I hope Stamp a Credit on my remarks whilst Your Lordships freindship will indulge me in the honest Declaration of my Sentiments, unprejudiced, Uninterested, the Effects of a thorough Conviction



founded on Experience, the Result of a long & Laborious application to the Dutys of my Office, & the Polity of the Indians within my Department.

The Scituation of a SuperIntendant here will not admit of any comparison with your Lordships beyond that of Servants to the same Monarch, who are mutually bound to declare what their respective Stations enable them to Judge most necessary for promoting one common Interest, w<sup>h</sup> is inseperable from the true Interest of the Crown. An Argument I have reason to think will apologize for the liberty I have taken & for the freedom with which I have declared my thoughts on this, & former Occasions.

I had wrote so far, when I received the agreable News from L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>ll</sup> Vaughan Commanding at Niagra, that M<sup>r</sup> Croghan had arrived at the Illinois, & Settled all Matters, the Informant is a Frenchman newly returned from that place, who he writes me is a Man of Credit, & I have reason to think it true, I have also received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Croghan dated at the Mouth of *Scioto* the 26<sup>th</sup> of May,<sup>1</sup> wherein he informs me he was there met by a Number of Ottawaes, Shawanes &<sup>ca</sup> whom he so far prevailed with, as to induce them to deliver up to him Seven French Traders from the Illinois, who were in their Towns, & had been verry busy in promoting the War, & creating a Misunderstanding between Us & the Indians, they have likewise promised to deliver Five more who are in their Country. This conduct of theirs is a convincing proof that they are at present Sincere or otherwise they would never have delivered up Persons so dear to them, which with their behaviour here, & that of the rest of the Nations, gives me the pleasing prospect of a firm Peace, which I can venture to insure if impowered to act according to your Lordships Plan, & Enabled to make such Appointments as may render the Management of Indian Affairs Uniform & Regular, which cannot be expected till then, more especially as the late Orders & Restrictions not only prohibit the undertaking any thing without previous approbation, but have necessitated me to disburse my own Money, as well as to take up Several Sums upon Credit for carrying on some verry essential parts of the Service, which would not admit of delay.

I flatter myself with the expectation of Informing Your Lordships, in a little time of the certainty of M<sup>r</sup> Croghans Success in the verry

<sup>1</sup> Not found.

important affair on which he has been dispatched. and I remain  
with the greatest Esteem My Lords Your Lordships Most Obedient,  
& Most Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON

THE R<sup>t</sup> HON<sup>ble</sup> THE LORDS OF TRADE

[*Endorsed:*] *Plant<sup>s</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>* Letter from S<sup>r</sup> William Johnson to the  
Board, without date, relative to the present state of Indian Affairs  
within his district. Rec<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 29. Read 1 paper K (5)

## APPENDIX





## APPENDIX

### EARLY PREPARATIONS TO OCCUPY THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY<sup>1</sup>

BOUQUET TO AMHERST, February 12, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21634, f. 207—Draft]

PHILAD<sup>A</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1763

SIR

Agreeably to your Excellencys orders three Shipwrights are going to Fort Pitt, to prepare materials to build twenty Batteaux,<sup>2</sup> Three more will follow them in the beginning of march.

By the last Letter from that Post, Capt Ecuyer informs me that the Shawanese have delivered a few Prisoners, & promised to deliver what remains in their hands in the Spring.

They have not the same Expectation from the Delawares.

Inclosed is a Speech made him by the Six Nations Indians who live down the Ohio.

I beg leave to lay before you a Letter I received from a Soldier detached to the Detroit, of Capt Shlosser's Company I find him in the List of those who claim their discharges & his title a Certificate of M<sup>r</sup> Adlum a Justice of Peace at York Town in Pensilvania, some years after the man was a soldier; a very indifferent authority.

I have made Inquiries concerning the Packett containing my accompt & Vouchers transmitted in Sept<sup>r</sup> 1761 to Monckton, to whom I inclose by this Express the Depositions of the Several Persons through whose hands it has passed, It rests now w<sup>h</sup> the Post Office at New York to account for its miscarriage As I have given Credit to the Publick in that Accompt for three Bills now returned to me; I humbly beg your Excellency will please to order the Same to be paid, till I can recover Duplicates of the Vouchers from the People who performed the Services & received the money.

I have the honour to be

TO COL<sup>L</sup> AMHERST

<sup>1</sup> We did not discover these letters in time to print them in their proper place.

<sup>2</sup> General Amherst made preparations to occupy the Illinois country before the outbreak of the Indian War. See introduction, xxxi.

SIR

I have the honour to inclose you the monthly Returns from Fort Pitt for December & January & a Court of Inquiry upon a Conductor of the Artillery, Capt Ecuyer writes me that he does not think him guilty of embezzling the Powder, but does not mention the Reasons he has to think so.

The Speech

Harriss Lett<sup>rs</sup>

The Preliminaries

[*Endorsed.*] To Sir Jeff 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>ry</sup> 1763

BOUQUET TO AMHERST, March 17, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21634, f. 217—C.]

PHILADELPHIA 17<sup>th</sup> March 1763

SIR

The Camp Equipage of the first Batt<sup>n</sup> R. A. R will be sent to the different Detachments as soon as Carriages can go: It has been ready since 1761, but kept in this Town by General Monckton's orders.

I write to Capt. Callendar to buy Four Good Horses fit for Carrying Burthens, at Carlisle where they may be had cheaper than at Bedford, and to Send them with his own at the End of this month, to the Detroit. Captain Ourry will pay for them, and write to Major Gladwin that they are Sent by your orders for the Service at the Miamis.

If a Detachment goes down the Ohio, a Drafftsman with some Instruments would be useful to give you a better Sketch of that River, as Capt. Basset does not draw very well.

There are few Axes to spare at Fort Pitt, would you approve to have Fifty made at Germantown?

Our Contractors being not very expeditious, They will require warning as early as possible to send Flour to Pittsburgh.

I shall postpone my Journey to Maryland, till I receive your orders.

I have the honour to be with great Respect Sir Your most obedient  
& most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JEFFERY AMHERST

[*Endorsed.*] To Sir Jeffery Amherst 17<sup>th</sup> March 1763

BOUQUET TO SHARPE, May 21, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21634, f. 262—Draft]

PHILADELPHIA 21<sup>st</sup> May 1763

SIR

I have the honor to inclose you a Letter I received yesterday from the Detroit: I have deprived myself of the Pleasure of writing to you sooner, in expectation of being able to acquaint you with the Dispositions made for taking Possession of our Western Frontiers; but no orders are come yet from England for this Department.

The Indians appear much displeased at the Cessions made by France to us in their Country, which I Suppose the Government will have explained to them before we take Possession. Some orders for that Purpose having already been sent to the Southern Gouvernement.

I left the Spanish mare at my Farm quite lame, but as she Seems to have Some blood, and may bring a good Colt, I take the liberty to avail myself of your kind offer & have ordered her to be sent to Annapolis.

This Town appears now very dull to me compared to the agreeable Society in your Province, which I shall always remember w<sup>th</sup> equal Pleasure & gratitude.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obed<sup>t</sup> & most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

[*Endorsed:*] To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor & Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland 21<sup>st</sup> May 1763

AMHERST TO BOUQUET, May 23, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21634, f. 266—L.S.]

NEW YORK, 23<sup>d</sup> May 1763

SIR,

I Have received your Letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Instant: It is very probable that Orders may Come from Home for holding a Meeting with the Western Indians at Fort Pitt, or the Detroit, and therefore I think it best to avoid the Expence of Calling them together, untill I receive Directions for the General Arrangement in this Country.

The Contractors must forward the Provisions you have Ordered, in the best manner they can; Should anything happen to Occasion an

Alteration, I shall not fail to Acquaint you therewith, that We may stop our Hand.

I Would have the Carpenters kept no longer than they have Compleated the Twenty New Batteaus, & Repaired the Old Ones: You will therefore Order them to be Discharged when they have Effected the above Service.

I am, Sir, Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup> Servant

JEFF: AMHERST.

P: S: I enclose you a Note from M<sup>r</sup> Leake in regard to the intended Supply for Fort Pitt, this makes no Alteration, unless you think it best to direct any from M<sup>r</sup> Leake's Observations.

J: A:

COLONEL BOUQUET.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Sir Jeffery Amherst the 23<sup>d</sup> May 1763, Received the 28<sup>th</sup>

MONTRESOR TO BASSETT, November 2, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21649, f. 434—A.L.S.]

DETROIT Nov<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1763

DEAR BASSET

Now Master Thommy you may look upon this as a matter of favor for I'm just now cursd with a diabolical violent fever accompanied with an infernal head ach & pain in my Breast & to compleat the whole damnd with my old disorder the Rheumatism I may well say to my self Je suis pauvre diable & to be candid with you have a kind of heat in my urine for I'm on the Common since the Death of poor Nancy I suppose you have heard at N York of the different disagreeable circumstances that befell me during my peregrination hither of my being cast away below Presquise then attackd by a party of Wiandots which were repulsed they killd us three men two in the Breastwork & I was attackd on board the Schooner in the River of Detroit in which I lost not a man the Indians had one Jibbeway killd & one Powtewattemy wounded since I arrived which was on the 3<sup>d</sup> of last month nothing very extraordinary except popping Shots The 11<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> the Indians sued for Peace & Major Gladwin was so circumstanced as to be obliged to listen to them, at this time we had but 14 days flour in the Fort & not a stick of wood; the 30<sup>th</sup> of



Oct<sup>r</sup> arrived a Courier from Les Illinois with letters to Major Gladwin & Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquet, sign'd Neyon he also had the impudence to send Belts & Pipes of Peace to all Indians mentioning that he was obliged to evacuate that country to us as it pleases the two kings but that the French will never abandon their dear Children the Indians, & that they may be supplied with every thing they want from the opposite side the Mississippi Copy of the whole will be sent to Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquet by this opportunity it was a meer accident that Major Gladwin got it for Pondiac sent it in for him to peruse with a letter from him (Pondiac) hoping forgiveness & praying admittance to plead for himself but Major Gladwin very judiciously refused as he wou'd have been put to death & if that had been the Case twou'd have occasioned a fresh rupture Now Master Grub I confess 'tis cruel to bear a beating without resenting it, now suppose as how, do you see an [*sic*] these Chaps should retire to the Mississippi (when they are invited which must be the Case provided the General will not make peace with them in the Spring, for Gladwin has referr'd them entirely to him) why if so be it should so happen these Gentry are so numerous & so expert in Arms that they'll make it difficult our taking post in those parts, these Indians including the Delawares are reckon'd the best Warriors in America Now these Indians by abandoning this country will make it scarce worth our possessing for the Multiplicity of Animals in these parts makes it a most valuable mine & you know they are best calculated for working it Again as I was a saying before if these Red Heads should retire they'll become eternal Ennemies to us, corrupt other nations, & instruct them in the Art of War, We lose all this Valuable trade besides the Vast consumption of our Manufactures, particularly that of Rum which we are silly enough to deprive them of.

Let me see I'm running on at a hell of a Rate, why you have felt bold too your Way I'll assure you that attack of Col<sup>l</sup> Bouquets cuts no small figure this way I give you joy of your success; Why we of the Genie are intelligent beings by their making Post Boys of us. I saw your name in Print you rogue you, I see you will give one a stinking chance now & then I must certainly get a step some time or other A propos you're to go back again I suppose then this will about meet you, & when you write to me direct it to the Care of Bruce at N York for I set off for York some time this month after the Schoon-

er & Reinforcement arrives, so shall have more snow shoe work provided I carry my Night Cap then I'm contented but that's a Quere with me for all the Nations may not be acquainted with the pacific Dispositions of their chiefs, the thieves have lost above 90 of their best Warriors before this miserable stockade. Notwithstanding my fever &c &c &c I oblige myself almost daily to continue my Survey of this place & Environs to a scale of 400 foot to an Inch, its the prettiest settlement in America. I beg you'll write to Bruce & let him know of any particulars you may think worth relating in this Scrawl (provided you can make shift to read it) I should like to be informd of the Circumstance of that noble invention calld Baggage & Forage, I believe the Major proposes sending me to the General about the middle of this month we are now in Snow in Blanket Coats & Mocasins. I need not repeat to you of the Gallant defence of our Schooner or of the attack of the Four Row Galleys against 20 of the Ennemies Pirogues & Canoes In short the behaviour of the troops here has been brave & glorious No wonder when they have such an Excellent commanding Officer as Major Gladwin

Adieu Sincerely Yours

J MONTRESOR

Brehm send his Comp<sup>s</sup> to you & mine to Ecuyer & Bob Gr[oat]

[Addressed:] To Cap<sup>t</sup> Basset his Majesty's Engineer at Fort Pitt

BOUQUET TO GAGE, December 1, 1763

[B.M., Add. MSS., 21637, f. 6<sup>b</sup>—C.]

FORT PITT Dec<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1763.

SIR

Yesterday two six Nation Indians arrived here express from the Detroit with the inclosed Packett for your Excellency and are to wait here for your Answer, Major Gladwin has Communicated to me the agreeable change of Affairs that way, which I hope will soon extend to our Ohio Savages.

I received by that Opportunity a letter from the French Com-madant of the Illinois to the same purpose As that he had wrote to the Major But I suppose those Posts will be taken possession of from below which is on Several Accounts much easier—our last Convoy

arrived likewise yesterday & brought in your letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> October, The Snow and bad roads had obliged them to discharge at Bedford the Waggon, and most of the Horses being uneable to proceed, by which means we have received a very scanty Supply a disapointment owing to the inactivity in the Contractors who might have Complied with the Orders a full Month Sooner.

Having no Answer to my last letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> October, I have Disposed the Troops into Winter Quarters agreeable to Your Orders of the 10<sup>th</sup> of October Viz<sup>t</sup>

At Fort Pitt	{	The Royal Americans
	{	Three Companies of the 42 <sup>d</sup>
At Ligonier . . . . .		One Company of the 42 <sup>d</sup>
At Bedford . . . . .		One ditto
At Carlisle . . . . .		Three Companies of ditto
The remains of the 77 <sup>th</sup> Regiment March to New York.		

The great Reduction of the Royal Americans by Desertion & the Extent of this Fort and precarious State of its Temporary Fortifications in a Case of a Flood, have obliged me to keep here three Companies of the 42<sup>d</sup> the garrison being so small, as the Circumstances could possibly permit to reduce it.

H B





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